



An Exact
 CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY
 AND
 FULL DISPLAY
 OF
 POPES Intollerable Usurpations
 Upon the antient just Rights, Liberties, of the Kings, Kingdoms, Clergy,
 Nobility, Commons of
 ENGLAND and IRELAND.



THE design of this *Chronological History and Display*, being principally to remonstrate to the world, by *irrefragable Testimonies and Records*, the manifold *unsufferable Usurpations* of the Bishops and See of Rome, from time to time, upon the antient indubitable just Rights and Liberties of the Kings, Churches, Nobles, Commons of England and Ireland, whiles they continued under their Foreign Jurisdiction: More especially by *Excommunications, Interdicts*, absolving Subjects from their Oathes of Allegiance, raising *Rebellions*, dethroning our Kings, enforcing them to resign their Crowns, to become their sworn *Vassals, Tributaries*; exempting Bishops, Clerks from their *Homage, Judicatures*; collating Bishopsricks, Monasteries, Ecclesiastical Dignities, Benefices, by *Provisions to Aliens*, or others; translating, swearing Bishops, Abbots, to them and their *Papal See*; vacating due Elections at their pleasures; Appeals to Rome, *Dispensations, Tenths, Procurations, First-Fruits, Bribes, Symony, Crossadoes*, varieties of *Extortions, Oppressions*, by their Legates and other Instruments: To discover their originals, *progresse, growth, revivals, suppressions*, with the manifold memorable *Complains, Letters, Oppositions, Writs, Prohibitions, Declarations* against them, both in and out of *Parliament*; and the frequent *Treacheries, Usurpations*, of our *Popish Prelates, Spiritual Courts, Officers*, upon our Kings just Rights, *Prerogatives, Regalities, Courts, Subjects Liberties*, (to the extraordinary danger, mischief of the Crown, Realm, Church, Christian Religion, and peoples grievance.) And what *Soveraign Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction* our Kings, as Gods Vicars, have exercised, from King *Lucius* his Conversion, Anno 183. till the total extirpation of the Popes usurped Authority, by King *Henry the 8.* and *Edward the 6.* by *Histories*, and memorable *Records* in the *Tower and Rolls*, for the most part unknown to our greatest Clerke, *Antiquaries*, worthy publick view; yea adding much light to our *Ecclesiastical and Political Histories*, (very defective in these *Transactions of grand Importance*;) I apprehended it absolutely necessary, by way of *Introduction* (like a (a) *Wise Builder*) to lay a deep, sure *Foundation*, whereon to bottom this *Weighty Structure*, that so if any *Floods* shall hereafter come, or *Windes blow*, and beat upon it from *Rome*, or other *Quarters*, they may not be able to shake, or overturn it, because it is founnded upon a *Rock*.

a Mat. 7. 24.
 25. Luke 9. 43.

B

To

An Exact History of Popes Intollerable Usurpations

b Gratian Distinct 10, 96.
& caus. 2 qu.
7 Here p. 120,
121. Sarius
Concil Tom. 2.
p. 309, to 310.
Hincmarus Epist. 4. c. 3. Epist. 5. c. 38.
Damascenus Orat. 2. De Imaginibus.
Damianus l. 4. Epist. 9. Hugo de Sancto Victore l. 2. De Sacram. pars 1. c. 4. Alexander Alensis Summa pars 3. qu. 40. m. 5. Joannis Parisiensis de potestate Regia & Pontif. Alvarus Pelagius de Planctu Ecclesie l. 1. Artic. 51, 52, 53, 54, &c. Tho. Waldensis Doctrinalis Fidei, Tom. 1. Artic. 3. c. 78.
c Alvarus Pelagius de Planctu Ecclesie l. 1. Artic. 13, 37. Thomas Bozsius de jure status, l. 5. c. 10. Marta pars 1. c. 18. n. 25. Here p. 8, 38.
d Irenaeus adversus Hæreses, l. 9. c. 12. Tertullian de Præscriptionibus adversus Hæreticos, & contra Marcionem, l. 1. Epiphanius contra Hæreses, Titus Bostrensis contra Marcionem l. 1. he argues in like manner. B. bi. Patrum Tom. 4 p. 365, 366, 375, 376, 439. Cent. Magd 3. col. 112. Cent. 2. col. 98.
f De Quætionibus Novi & Veteris Testamenti, qu. 210.

To this end I shall (by Gods assistance) in one intire Book, *Chronologically* and *Historically* remonstrate, and (where necessity requires) *Polemically* examine, discuss the *Original of Sovereign Jurisdiction*; in what Persons God himself hath settled the *Primitive Right* and *Exercise* thereof, as well over the *Churches Militant* as *Civil State*, from *Adams Creation* till *Christs Ascension*, and from thence till this present age: And irrefragably demonstrate, by *Scripture*, *Heathen Philosophers*, *Fathers*, *Councils*, *Ecclesiastical Histories*, *Imperial Laws*, *Edicts*, *Popes own Epistles*, *Decretals*, *Bulls*, *Archbishops*, *Bishops*, *Popish Divines*, *School-men*, *Canonists*, *Protestant Writers*, *Testimonies*, and *Presidents*, in all ages, *That the Supreme Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*, (in governing, protecting, reforming the Church, and people of God; maintaining, propagating the Orthodox Christian Faith, the true publike worship of God; suppressing all Heresies, Errors, Blasphemies, Idolatries, Schisms, sinnes, against both Tables, in all Persons, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal; taking care of the souls, and salvation of men) is originally vested by God himself, in *Kings*, *Emperors*, or *Sovereign Princes*, as Gods *Viceregerents*, and *Christs Vicars* upon Earth, as the principal part of their *Royal Authority*, *Office*, *Trust*; not in *High-Priests*, *Priests*, *Apostles*, *Popes*, *Patriarchs*, *Archbishops*, *Bishops*, or any other Ecclesiastical persons whatsoever; who are all *Subjects* to, and *subordinate Ministers* under them, in the *Churches Militant*, within their respective *Empires*, *Kingdoms*, *Dominions*, as all *inferiour Civil Magistrates*, *Officers of Justice*, are in their *Civil States*, *Kingdoms*, *Courts*: And that the received *Distinction* of (b) *two supreme Jurisdictions*, *Powers*, specifically different from, and independent on each other in their very essence, nature, by *Divine Institution*, and (at least ever since our *Saviours Ascension*) immediately vested in *two distinct callings*, professions of men: to wit, the *Sovereign Civil Jurisdiction* in and over all *secular persons*, affairs, in *Emperors*, *Kings*, and *Temporal Powers* alone; the *Supreme Ecclesiastical or Spiritual Jurisdiction* in and over all *Churches Militant*, *Bishops*, *Priests*, *Church-Members*, *Divine* and *Ecclesiastical affaires*, only in *Popes*, or *Patriarchs*, not *Emperors*, *Kings*, *Secular Princes*, *States*: is but a meer *Popish Imposture*, *Forgery*, *Fancy*, *Stratagem*, to cheat, rob, deprive all *Christian Emperors*, *Kings*, *Princes*, of the richest *Pearl*, *Jewel*, chiefest *Branch* and *Flower* of their *Diadems*, to exempt the *Clergy* from their *Jurisdictions* under this pretext, and to subject both their *Persons*, *Crowns*, *Kingdoms*, *Subjects*, to the *Antichristian Usurpations*, *Tyrannies*, *Exorbitances*, *Oppressions* of *Ambitious Popes*, *Prelates*, *Priests*, as *Ecclesiastical Histories* evidence, ever since this *Herese* of two distinct *Sovereign Authorities*, delegated by *Divine Institution* to two several *Functions*, was first broached in the *Christian Church*: being the same in substance with that of *Duo Principia*, (condemned by *Popes themselves*, and the greatest (c) *Champions* of their *Universal Sovereign Monarchy*, as a most dangerous *Herese*) invented first by (d) *Marcion*, *Manes*, *Hermogenes*, and other *Hereticks*, against whom (e) *Tertullian* thus long since argued: *Quid erit unicum & singulare, nisi cui nihil adequabitur? Quid principale, nisi quod super omnia, nisi quod ante omnia, & in quo omnia? Hac Deus solus habendo est, & solus habendo, Deus est. Si & alius habuerit, tot jam erunt Dii, quot habuerint: quia Dei sunt. Quid summum sit, Deus est: summum autem non erit, nisi quod unicum fuerit. Unicum autem esse non poteris, cui aliquid adequabitur. Veritas autem sic unum Deum exigit defendendo, ut solius sit quicquid ipsius est. Ita enim ipsius erit, si fuerit solius: Et ex hoc alius Deus non possit admitti, dum nemini licet habere de Deo aliquid. Ergo, inquis, nec nos habemus Dei aliquid. Imo, habemus, & habebimus; sed ab ipso, non à nobis. Nam & Dii erimus, si & meruerimus illi esse de quibus predicavit, Ego dixi, vos Dii estis: & stetit Deus in Ecclesia Deorum: sed ex gratia ipsius, non ex nostra proprietate, quia ipse est solus, qui Deos faciat.* I may most aptly apply it to *Emperors*, *Kings*, who are *Earthly Gods*, made such by God in their own *Kingdoms*, as his *Vice-roys*. The *Sovereign Power*, *Jurisdiction*, over all persons, *Churches*, causes, as well *Civil* as *Ecclesiastical*, within their respective *Realms*, must be but one *inure indivisible Sovereign Authority*, incommunicable unto any other subject or person whatsoever, but by *subordinate derivation* and *delegation* by, from, or under them; else they should presently cease to be *Earthly Gods*, had *Popes* or *Bishops* a distinct *Supreme Ecclesiastical Power* within their *Realms*, coequal with, undervided from, or independent on them. Whence (f) *St. Augustine* thus resolves: *Sicut terreni Imperatoris auctoritas currit per omnes, ut in omnibus ejus sit reverentia. Ita Deus instituit, ut ab ipso Rege Dei auctoritas incipiat, et currat per cunctos. Quamvis frequenter mundus hoc non intelligit, & alii se subiciant in potestate positum quam*

quam debet, tamen institutio est, ut unus sit qui timeatur. Ubi ergo hac institutio non est, ibi Cathedra pestilentie reperitur: (as it is at Rome.) Nusquam enim unius Dei auctoritas abjicitur, nisi apud eos qui multorum Deorum pradicant metum. From hence our (g) *Thomas Waldensis* thus concludes: Ecce ab ipso Rege incipit auctoritas, & currit per cunctos executores justitie; & hoc instituit Deus: non ergo instituit Deus, ut inciperet à Summo Sacerdote, & sola executio potestatis maxaret in Principem. (h) Ecce, inde est Imperator, unde & homo antequam Imperator: & unde homo antequam Imperator, nisi à Deo? Quamvis a Deo per Sacerdote Christianus homo, tamen nec homo, nec Christianus homo, nisi a Deo; Ita nec Imperator, nec Christianus Imperator, nisi a Deo, quambis per Pontificem fidelis sit Imperator a Christo; et inde potestas illi, unde et spiritus; et nunquid spiritus illi a Pontifice? Tertullianus intendi. Quod non, sed a Deo profecto: ergo non potestas illi a Sacerdotio provenit, a cuius dono animam non accepit. Potestatis Regiæ primum initium in ipso Rege a Deo, et ab ipsius auctoritate manat in subditas potestates; as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, as I shall here demonstrate, against all Papal or Pontifical pretences to the contrary.

g Doctrinalis Fidei, Tom. 1. Artic. 3. c. 78. sect. 3. f. 391. h See Tertullian Apolog. c. 30, 31. Here p. 92.

For methods sake I shall digest the sum of my *First Book* into these 5. Propositions.

1. That from *Adams* creation, till the *Law* given by God to *Moses*, (and by him unto the *Israelites*, his peculiar people) the Supreme Paternal, Regal, Magistratical, with that now stiled Spiritual, Pontifical, Ecclesiastical Authority or Jurisdiction, both in and over the Family, State, Church Militant, was by Divine and Natural Rights vested, united in one person, not many; to wit, First in *Adam* himself, but after his decease in the *First-born*, (unlesse disinherited by God for sin) or in the *Patriarch*, or *Master of the Family, Tribe*, who was both King and Priest, having the Priesthood annexed to his Paternal or Regal Office, not these to his Priestship.

2ly. That God, after the *Israelites* deliverance from the *Egyptian* bondage, when he first new-modelled them into a Commonwealth, (and afterwards into a Kingdom) settled both their State and Church-government, dividing the Priesthood from the Supreme Civil Magistracy, Kingship, vesting the one in *Moses, Josuah, David, Solomon*, and their Royal Successors; the other in *Aaron*, his Sons, and Tribe of *Levi*; left the Sovereign Ecclesiastical Power, Jurisdiction over all persons, causes, still annexed to the Kingly or Supreme Magistratical Office, and residing in the King, or chief Civil Officer as before, transferring to Priests only the Ministerial Priestly Offices, not the Sovereign Spiritual Jurisdiction, the same in kind with, a real part of, and various dispensation only from the Civil Supremacy.

3ly. That the Supreme Government of the Church Militant, after *Christ's* Incarnation, under the Gospel, was vested in *Jesus Christ* himself, God and Man, only as he is the King, not Priest or Prophet of the Church, his Priestly and Prophetical Offices being united to his Kingly, as the first, highest in dignity and order, not his Regal to his Pontifical or Prophetical Offices.

4ly. That *Jesus Christ* as Supreme King, Lord, Head of his Kingdom the Church, whilst on Earth, never claimed, nor exercised any Temporal Regal Jurisdiction, or Magistratical Authority over any of his Subjects, much less over Emperors, Kings, Kingdoms, Nations, or Sovereign Civil Powers, nor ever deprived any of them of their Crowns, nor absolved their Subjects from their Allegiance, nor cast down, pulled, or rooted up their Kingdoms, nor gave them to whomsoever he pleased: Neither did he either before, at, or after his Passion, Resurrection, or Ascension, derive any such Superlative Power to St. Peter, as his sole universal Vicar or Viceroy, nor to any other Apostle, Bishop, Priest, or Pope whatsoever: Nor yet delegate to them his Supreme Spiritual Jurisdiction over his Kingdom in this world, the Church Militant, and all the Members of it: but only the Ministerial part of his Prophetical Office, (his (i) High Priesthood being personal, untransferrable, incommunicable to any other) to wit, preaching the Gospel publickly to all Nations, administering the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lords Supper, according to his Institution and Command, feeding his sheep with the sincere milk of his Word, teaching them (as his Apostles, Ministers, Servants) to obey whatsoever he hath commanded them; beseeching, intreating them as his Ambassadors, in his stead, to be reconciled unto God: to declare, pronounce them absolved from their sins by God himself, upon their sincere Repentance, and to denounce damnation against them in case they do not repent and believe in Christ.

i Heb. 7. 15. to the end. c. 8. 1. c. 9. 11, 12, 24, 25, 26, 28. c. 10. 11, to 24.

5ly. That

gly. That *Gods* principal end and intention in ordaining *Kings* and *supreme Civil Magistrates* in the world, was not the bare external administration of *Justice* between man and man, the protection of their Subjects from *violence, oppression*; the preservation of them in *worldly peace, plenty, prosperity*; the punishment of *Malefactors*, the rewarding of *Well-doers*, encouragement of *Arts, Vertue, Trade, Industry*, or fighting their *Battels* in times of *War* against *Invading Enemies*; though (k) considerable parts of their *Regal Office*, and *Sovereign Authority*: But the advancement of *Gods honour, worship, service, glory*, and *spiritual Kingdom*, whose *Viceroy*s they are; the suppression of all *Idolatri, Blasphemy, Heresie, schisme, sin, wickednesse*; the promotion of the *eternal salvation, felicity* of their people, and to be (l) *Kings for the Lord their God*, by advancing his interest all they can. Upon which ground (in order to effect these ends) *God* himself, as well under the *Gospel* as *Law*, hath delegated the *supreme Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction* only to *Kings*, and other *Sovereign Temporal Potentates*, not to *Popes, Bishops, Priests*, who are subordinate to them as their Subjects, Ministers, not Copartners with them in their *Sovereign Ecclesiastical Authority* in point of Interest, nor yet in its actual execution, no further then they are pleased by their *Laws* or *Commissions* to delegate it to them, as their *Substitutes*.

k Here, p. 191,
192, 193.

l 2 Chron. 9.8.

When I have Chronologically evidenced, and fully demonstrated the truth of these five Conclusions in so many distinct Chapters, in this *First Book*, I shall then wholly addresse my self to my intended Chronological History, in relation to the *Kings* and *Crown of England*, from *Lucius* our first Christian King, *Anno Dom.* 183. till the *Popes* extirpation, concluding my *First Tome* thereof, with the reign of King *Henry* the third, *Anno* 1273.



THE FIRST BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Proposition 1. *That from Adams Creation, till the Law given by God to Moses, and by him unto the Israelites, (his peculiar people) the Supreme Paternal, Regal, Magistratical, together with that now stiled Spiritual, Pontifical, Ecclesiastical Authority or Jurisdiction, both in and over the Family, State, Church Militant, was by Divine and Natural Right vested, united in one person, not divers; to wit, First in Adam himself, but after his decease in the First-born, (unlesse disinherited by God for some crime or cause) or in the Patriarch, or Master of the Family, Tribe, who was both King and Priest, having the Priesthood annexed to his Paternal or Regal Office, not these to his Priestship.*

m See Bishop
Carlton of Ju-
risdiction Re-
gal, Episcopal,
Papal, ch. 2.
Alvarus Pela-
gius de Planctu
Ecclesie l. 1.
Artic. 13, 36,
51, 52, 63.

NO evidence the truth of this *Proposition*, so far as the light of *Scripture* or *Nature* in the first remote obscure age of the world have revealed it, for the Readers satisfaction, I find it generally acknowledged by *all or most* (m) *Divines, and Christian Authors*, who have written of the *Church*, or the *Original of Republics, Jurisdictions, or Chronologies*.

r. That

1. That as God (the *Original* of all power) at the very Creation gave (c) *Adam* a *Sovereign Dominion* over the fish of the sea, & over the fowl of the ayr, and over all the earth, the cattle and every creeping thing therein, to which he gave their several names, (as a badge of his *Sovereignty* over them) by Gods own direction; So he likewise ordained him as well after, as before his fall, to be both a (d) *King* and *Priest* over the little world, his family, & posterity issuing from him during his life, not only to govern & correct them when they transgressed, but, to offer sacrifices, prayers to God for, and instruct them in his worship, Laws, fear. Hence (e) *Cædren* makes *Adam*, the first *KING* & *Governor*, and that with reason enough, (as (f) *Mr. Selden* notes, because he governed and commanded all mankind as long as he lived, who by the Law of Nature and Fifth Commandment, are enjoined (g) To honor and obey their Father in the flesh, and he not only obliged to provide for, protect, defend and correct, as a Father; but likewise to *instruct and educate them in the fear and admonition of the Lord, as a Priest: Now *Adam* being a *King* and *Lord* not only over all Creatures, but (h) *Eve* his wife, before he was a Father, and over his Posterity (by his Paternal right) before they were capable of instruction; And the Title of *King*, being alwaies prefixed before that of *Priest*, as most honourable and first in order, when ever mentioned, and meeting together in one person, as in (i) *Melchisedec*, (k) *Christ*, (l) *Others*, who were both *Kings* and *Priests*, and the (m) *High Priests* alwaies inferior, subordinate to the Chief *Civil Governors* and *Kings* of *Judah*, and in *Heathen Nations*. It thence most clearly follows, that the *Priesthood* and *Spiritual Jurisdiction* in *Adam* was at first united and subordinate to his *Kingly*, *Sovereign Magistral Office* and *Authority*, and so continued whiles residing in one person, from the Creation till the Law given in mount *Sinai*.

1 Tim. 2. 12, 13. 1 Pet. 3. 5, 6. Eph. 5. 22, 23, 24. Col. 3. 18. [b] Gen. 1. 4. 18 Hebr. 7. 1. 1, 2, 4. [t] Rev. 1. 6. c. 5. 10. c. 20. 6. 1 Pet. 2. 6. Lam. 2. 6. [v] 2 Kings 23. 4. 1 Kings 1. 22, 26, 27, 35. 2 Kings 12. 7.

2ly. That *Cain*, *Adams* first-born, having forfeited his birthright and (n) *life* too by the murder of his Brother *Abel*, and thereby (o) *Seth* becomming his first-born, when *Adam* deceased, his *Kingship* and *Priesthood* descended first to *Seth*, and after him successively to the Patriarchs, who were not only the (p) *Princes* and Chief *Governors* of their Families, Tribes to rule, protect and correct them when they offended, but likewise their *Priests*, to erect *Altars* and *Houses* to God for his publique worship, to offer sacrifices, prayers, vows to God for them, to blesse them in his Name, to teach them his *Laws*, *Fear*, and the *Covenants* made by God to them and their seed, and commanded them to put away their strange gods and idols, (as *Jacob* did.) All which is evident by the examples of *Noah*, Gen. 8. 20, 21. c. 9. 25, 26, 27. *Abraham*, Gen. 12. 7. c. 13. 4, 18. c. 17. 1, 2, 8, &c. 23, to 27. c. 18. 19, 23, &c. c. 20. 7. 17. c. 21. 23. c. 22. &c. *Melchisedec* (both *King* of *Salem* and *Priest* of the most High God) Gen. 14. 18, 19. Hebr. 7. 1. *Isaac*, Gen. 26. 23, 24, 25. c. 27. 21, 28, to 41. & of *Jacob*, Gen. 28. 8. to the end, c. 31. 54. c. 32. 9, to 13. c. 33. 20. c. 35. 1. to 16. c. 43. 14. c. 46. 1. c. 47. 7. 10. c. 48. 3. to the end. c. 49. 1. to 33. Hebr. 11. 21. and affirmed by St. *Jerom*, the *Ordinary Gloss*, with most other Commentators on these Texts, (q) *Alexander Alensis*, and other Schoolmen, **Bishop Jewel*, (r) *Dr. Field*, *Jacobus Bouldoc*, *De Ecclesia a Mundi principio usque ad Mosen*; *Salianus* in his *Annales Ecclesiasticæ*, and other Annalists in the times before the Law.

3ly. Upon this account, after the Law given and *Priesthood* vested in *Aaron* and the Tribe of *Levi*, the (s) *firstborn* (though they lost this privilege of exercising the *Priests Office* as before, yet they were still the *Lords*) to redeem themselves with an oblation of five shekels by the poll, for their exemption from the *Priesthood*; because God had taken the *Levites* from among the *Israelites*, instead of all the *firstborn* among the children of *Israel*, which redemption was given to *Aaron* and his *Sonnes*, who officiated in their steads.

4ly. That upon this original right, privilege of *Primogeniture*, *Christ* himself as (t) *Gods* firstborn, was not only made *Higher* then the *Kings* of the *Earth*, (u) *King* of *Kings*, *Lord* of *Lords*; but likewise (x) *Head* over all the *Church*, that in all things he might have the *Preeminence*. And had (like the *First-born* before the Law) the *Supream Priestly Office* and *Power*, united to his *Kingly*; Yea in some fence *Christ* hath fully restored this antient Right to all who are *Spiritually Gods* (1) *First-born*, and the (2) *First-fruits* of his *Creatures*, as the Gospel stileth them, ha-

* Pl. 62. 11. Mat. 6. 13. Rom. 13. 1, 2. (c) Gen. 1. 26, 27, 28, c. 2. 19, 20. c. 9. 2, 3, 4. Psal. 8. 6, 7, 8. Heb. 2. 7, 8. (d) Dr. Field of the Church, b. 5. ch. 1. *Jacobus Bouldoc*, *Ordo Ecclesiæ à Mundi principio usque ad Legem*. (e) *Annales*. [f] *Titles of Honour*, b. 1. ch. 1. p. 4. [g] Exod. 20. 12. Deut. 5. 16. Mat. 15. 4. Eph. 8. 15. Col. 3. 10. 1 Tim. 5. 8. Eph. 6. 4. Gen. 18. 19. Psal. 34. 11. Deut. 6. 7. [h] Gen. 3. 16. [i] Psal. 110. 32. to 46. c. 2,

[o] Gen. 4. 22. 14. [p] *Bouldoc*, *Ordo Ecclesiæ à mundi principio usque ad Mosen*, l. 1. c. 19. *Salianus* *Annales Ecclesiæ*. Dr. Field of the Church, b. 5. c. 2, 3. [q] Gen. 23. 6. c. 32. 28. * *Quæst. Hæret.* in Gen. & in Job. c. 1. * *Defence of the Apost.* part 6. c. 11. div. 4. [r] *Summa Theol.* pars 4. qu. 2. m. 1. [s] Of the Church, b. 5. ch. 2, 3. [t] Exod. 13. 13. c. 22. 29. c. 34. 20. Numb. 3. 12, 13. 42, to 51. c. 8. 16, 17, 18. [u] Pl. 89. 27. [v] 1 Tim. 6. 15. Rev. 17. 14. c. 19. 16. [x] Col. 1. 15. to 20. (1) Heb. 12. 23. (2) Rom. 16. 5. Jam. 1. 18. Rev. 14. 4.

(3) Rom. 8. 23.
(4) Rev. 1. 6.
10. c. 20. 6.
1 Pet. 2. 5.

ving the (3) First-fruits of the Spirit growing in them, whom (4) he hath MADE KINGS AND PRIESTS UNTO GOD HIS FATHER, as the Marginal Texts resolve.

5ly. That the very Gentiles and Pagan Nations by the Law and Light of Nature, velted the Supream Ecclesiastical Authority, and oft times the Priesthood it self in their Kings, and chief Temporal Magistrates, who erected, consecrated Temples, Altars, Groves, constituted by their particular Lawes the several Orders, Offices of Priests; the Number, Worship, Services of their Gods, and the Sacrifices, Ceremonies and whole manner of their Worship. To instance in some particulars.

(y) *Fanus* the antientest of the Kings in *Italy*, was the first who brought in thither the form of Religion; He consecrated Groves, erected Temples, from whom they were called *Fana*; ordained Priests and Sacrifices. *Evander* his next Successor, introduced many other Ceremonies in the Worship of the Gods. *Anius*, as (2) *Virgil* relates, was at once, REX IDEM HOMINUM, PHÆBIQUE SACERDOS. After *Rome* was built, *Romulus* the first King thereof, and *Numa Pompilius* who succeeded him, made several Lawes concerning the whole Worship, Service, Holy-dayes, Ceremonies of their Gods, instituted their distinct Orders of Priests, as highest Priest, chief Priests, and lesser Priests, *Vestals*, *Salii*; distinguishing and limiting all their respective Offices, Jurisdictions, habits, by special Lawes, recorded by (d) *Dionysius Halicarnassens*, (e) *Plutarch*, (f) *Livy*, and others: Yea (g) *Godwin* observes, That it was A CUSTOM among the *Gracians*, as likewise afterwards among the *Romans*, THAT THEIR KINGS SHOULD PERFORM AS WELL THE CEREMONIES AND HOLY RITES OF RELIGION, as Civil businesses, being BOTH KINGS AND PRIESTS, till (h) *Numa* perceiving that foreign wars did often occasion the Kings absence, whereby the service of the Gods was neglected, thereupon ordained several Orders of Priests, (as their Vicars generals or Curates) to discharge their priestly function: Yet after this institution their *Consuls*, *Censors*, and some of their *Pagan Emperors*, as (i) *Tiberius*, *Vespasian*, *Trajan*, were created PONTIFEX MAXIMUS, their Highest Priest, (or POPE) and managed the Supream Civil and Pontifical affairs, and that by election of the Senate, and the people only, without the Priests; as (k) *Alexander ab Alexandro*, and the *Roman Histories* record. I shall close this Chapter with that of the *Roman Historian*, (l) PRINCIPIO RERUM GENTIUMq; IMPERIUM PENES REGES ERAT, populus nullis legibus tenebatur, arbitria Principum pro legibus erant; and that as well in all Sacred, Religious, as Civil and Military affairs.

[y] *Godwins*
Roman Antiq.
1. 2. Sect. 1. &
c. 9. & his *Mo-*
ses & *Amos*, 1.
1. c. 4.
[2] *Æneid* 1. 3.
Godwins Roman
Antiq. 1. 2.
c. 9.
[d] *Antiq. Rom.*
1. 3. Sect. 3, 8.
[e] In *Romulus*,
& *Numa*.
[f] *Rom. Hist.*
1. 12.
[g] *Paulus Manu-*
tius Antiq.
1. 1.
[h] *Rom. Ant.*
1. 2. c. 9.
[i] See *Dionys.*
Halicarn. Ant.
Rom. 1. 2. &
Plutarch *Nu-*
ma.
[j] *Cor. Tacit.*
annal. 1. 3.
[k] *Ep. fecit*, De-
fence of the *A-*
pol. part 6. c.
11. divi. 4. 5.
p. 711.
[l] *Gen. diem*
1. 2. c. 8.
[m] *Justinus*
Historia, lib. 1.

BOOK I. CHAP. II.

2. My Second Proposition is, That God, after the *Israelites* deliverance from the *Egyptian* bondage, when he first new modelled them into a Commonwealth, and afterwards into a Kingdom; settled their State and Church government, and divided the Priesthood from the Supream Civil Magistracy and Kingship, vesting the one in *Moses*, *Josuah*, *David*, *Solomon*, and their Royal Successors, the other in *Aaron*, his Sons, and the Tribe of *Levi*, did even then leave the Sovereign Ecclesiastical Power and Jurisdiction over all persons and causes, still annexed to, and residing in the Supream Civil Magistratical Office and Officers, transferring only the Ministerial Priestly Offices to the Priests, not the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. being not different in kind from, but the very same with the Civil, varied only by the Object, not Subject of it.

THIS I shall evidence as clear as the noon-day Sunne.

1. By Ten memorable particulars recorded in Sacred History, concerning *Moses*

Moses, (the first Supream Temporal Governor in the Israelites Commonwealth,) demonstrating his Sovereign Jurisdiction in all Sacred, Religious, Church affairs.

1. God himself by the Ministry of (a) *Moses* (not *Aaron*) instituted, described, [a] *Exod. 13* celebrated the feast and Sacrament of the Pascheover, and sanctified all the firstborn of the children of *Israel* unto God, and was to *Aaron* INSTEAD OF GOD, *Exod. 4. 16.*

2ly. (b) *Moses*, not *Aaron*, penned and prescribed that memorable Song of Praise [b] *Exod. 15. 1.* which all the *Israelites* sang unto the Lord, immediately after their deliverance out of *Egypt*, and drowning of the *Egyptians* in the Red Sea. &c. *Rev. 15. 3.*

3dly. (c) *Moses*, not *Aaron*, gave them instructions concerning the gathering, and for reserving of an Omer of Manna to be kept before the Lord, as a Type of Christ, the true Manna. [c] *Exod. 16.* John 6. 31, 32, 33, &c. 1 Cor 10. 3.

4ly. God himself immediately (d) appeared unto *Moses* in Mount Sinai, and by his Mouth and Ministry alone (not *Aarons*) delivered the first Covenant, and the Moral, Ceremonial and Judicial Law unto his people *Israel*, the only rule of their Worship, Obedience, Government Sacred and Civil. [d] *Exod. c. 19.* to 21. 24. Mat. 4. & 5. John 1. 17. c. 7. 19. Jo. 8. 31. 35.

5ly. That when (e) *Moses*, *Aaron*, *Nadab*, *Abihu* and seventy of the Elders were afterwards called up into Mount Sinai by God; *Moses* alone was called to come near to God, and *Aaron* left behind; That *Moses* alone wrote all the words of the Lord, built an Altar for the 12 Tribes of *Israel*, read the Book of the Covenant to them, sprinkled the blood of the Covenant both on the Altar, Book, & all the people; received the Tables of stone and Law written therein by God himself; and the pattern of the Tabernacle, Mercy-seat, Altar, and all the furniture and utensils thereof, the garments of *Aaron* and the Priests, the manner and ceremonies of their respective Consecrations, and all the oblations, sacrifices, and parts of Gods worship to be therein performed both by the Priests and people, from God. Hence it is specially recorded both in the Old Testament and New, That these precepts concerning the Sanctuary of God, (a) Let them make me a Sanctuary that I may dwell amongst them, according to all that I shew thee, after the pattern of the Tabernacle, and the pattern of the instruments thereof, even so shall ye make it: And (b) look that thou make them after the pattern which was shewed thee in the Mount, [e] *Exod. c. 14.* to 21. c. 31. 18. c. 12. 15, 16. Deut. c. 4. &c. 5. c. 9, 10. Heb. 9. 19.

were given only to *Moses*, the Chief Temporal Magistrate, (Not to *Aaron* nor the Priests or Levites,) who alone directed all things to be made accordingly. And when all the work of the Tabernacle with the Curtains and the Priests Garments were finished by the Workmen, (c) *Moses*, not *Aaron*, surveyed and looked upon all the work, and behold they had done it as the Lord commanded, even so had they done it, and *Moses* (not *Aaron*) blessed them. [a] *Exod. 35. 2.* 40. Numb. 8. 4. Hebr. 8. 5. Acts 7. 44. [b] *Exod. 31.* to cap. 40. [c] *Exod. 39.* 42, 43.

6ly. After all the work was thus finished, (d) *Moses*, not *Aaron*, was particularly commanded to rear up the Tabernacle, with all its furniture, and to anoint and consecrate them unto God. [d] *Exod. 40.* 1. to 36.

7ly. Which is most observable, *Aaron* and his Sonnes did not anoint *Moses* to be the Supream Civil Magistrate, but on the contrary, God by *Moses* not only prescribed all the spiritual Offices, duties, qualifications, vestments, *wives, marriages, maintenance, and appurtenances belonging to *Aaron* and his sons, but also specially designed and commanded *Moses*, to anoint and consecrate them to their Priesthood, recorded in these words, *Exod. 40. 12.* to 17. And the Lord spake unto *Moses*, saying, THOU shalt bring *Aaron* and his sonnes to the door of the Tabernacle of the Congregation, and wash them with water; and THOU shalt put upon *Aaron* the holy Garments, and anoint him, and sanctifie him, that he may Minister unto me in the Priests Office: And Thou shalt bring his Sonnes and cloath them with coats, and Thou shalt anoint them, as Thou didst their Father, that they may Minister unto me in the Priests Office: For their anointing shall surely be an everlasting Priesthood throughout their generations: Thus did *Moses* according to all that the Lord commanded him, so did he. So *Moses* finished the Work, without *Aarons*, or his Sonnes assistance. Never did *Aaron* nor his Sons consecrate or anoint any part of the Tabernacle, Ark, or utensils thereof, their own garments, ointment, nor any one High Priest or Levite of their Tribe, but * *Moses* the Supream Temporal Magistrate only, by Gods own special command, whose consecration alone for ever sanctified all their Successors to the High Priests and Priests respective offices: which I desire all Popes, and Romish Prelates, (who now appropriate all consecrations whatsoever of persons

* *Levit. 21. 7.* &c.

* See Num. 20: 25. to 29.

Aventinus An-
nal: Boian: 1.6:
p.506: *Athenus*
Pelagius De
Planctu Eccles:
1. 1: art: 13:
[e] Exod. 32.
throughout, Pf.
106. 19, 20.
1 Cor. 10. 7.
Acts 7. 40.
[f] Num. 15.
32; to 37.

[g] See the
whole Booke of
Deut. especially
c. 4, & 5. &
cap. 31. to 34
Joshua 1. 17.
c. 8. 31. 33.
[h] Deut. 17.
15, 17, 18, 19,
20.

persons or things, to themselves alone by a pretended Divine right, excluding the Civil Magistrate) seriously to consider, and from thence ** argue a superiority over Kings, Emperors as well as Priests, and exact Canonical obedience from them.*

Sly. When (e) Aaron the High Priest during Moses his absence in the Mount, *had at the peoples request, made, erected a golden calf, who committed idolatry with it; Moses calls him to a strict account for it, to whom he made an excuse, with this memorable preface, Let not the anger of MY LORD wax hot; which stile he likewise gave him Nu. 12 11. Yea Moses, not he, Pronounced the Judgment and punishment upon the people for this Sin of Idolatry, as likewise (f) on him that gathered sticks on the Sabbath day, the manner of whose punishment he inquired (not Aaron) and received from God.*

gly. When the Tables of stone formerly broken were renewed, redelivered by God to the people, it was *alwayes done (even after Aarons consecration) by the hand, mouth, ministry of (g) Moses, who with his own mouth alwayes spake and delivered Gods Laws, Messages to all the Congregation, Elders, people, during all his Government, and gave them a special charge of things future, and a blessing at his death.*

10thly. God made choice of *Moses (a Lay-man and Civil Magistrate) to be the first proman and Register of all his sacred Laws, and first Five Books of holy Scripture, not Aaron, or any other Priest; And to shew that Kings and Temporal Magistrates were the principal keepers of both Tables, God particularly enjoined when the Israelites came into the Land of Canaan, and had set a King over them, (h) that the King when he sate upon the Throne of his Kingdom, shall write him a Copy of this Law in a Book out of that which is before the Priests the Levites; that it may be well with him; and he shall read therein all the dayes of his life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of this Law, and these Statutes to do them. That his heart be not lifted up above his brethren; and that he turn not aside from the Commandement, to the right hand or to the left, to the end that he may prolong his dayes in his kingdom, he and his children in the midst of Israel.*

All which particulars laid together, relating to and acted by the very first Supream Civil Magistrate that God himself set up over his own peculiar people, Church, when he first instituted, modelled both their Magistrates and Priests, with their distinct Offices and powers, will infallibly clear the Superiour Jurisdiction of the Supream Civil Magistrate in and over all Ecclesiastical persons and causes, by Gods own institution, and that the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction is united to the Temporal.

The reason why God reserved the Supream Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction to *Moses, the Chief Civil Magistrate, and afterwards to Kings, when he transferred the Priesthood to Aaron and his Sons, and severed it from the Kingship, was, because it would be inconsistent with Monarchie, and the Peace, Unitie of the Republike, Kingdom, Church, to erect two distinct Supream Powers independent on, unsubordinate to each other in one and the same Body Politick, Nation, Kingdom united under one Supream Civil Head, and a Cause of perpetual Wars, Schismes, Contentions between these different powers, by reason of mens Natural ambition, and desire to enlarge their Jurisdictions to the prejudice of each other. This we find experimentally verified in the Israelites themselves immediatly upon their division into two independent kings, kingdoms, of equal power unsubordinate to each other, which produced not only perpetual Warres between them all their dayes in their Realms, as sacred Story (a) oft records, but a more sad division in their Religion, Worship, Church; (b) Jeroboam erecting two Calves and a new idolatrous worship, with suitable Priests, to promote it, and a new place of worship contrary to that prescribed by God himself, to keep his Subjects from Gods true worlship at Jerusalem, and r. turning to their allegiance and obedience to their rightfull Kings of the seed of David; which all his Successors persevered in till their final captivity and utter desolation for their idolatry. And it is infallibly evidenced by the manifold sad Divisions, Schismes, Wars, Rebellions in most Christian Empires, kingdoms, ever since the ambitious Popes of Rome and other Prelates, have claimed by a pretended divine independent right, and usurped to themselves the Supream Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over all Persons, Causes, inseparably united by God himself to the Crowns of Christian Emperors and Kings. As God therefore out of his infinit Wisdom, at the very Creation, constituted but one natural head over every natural body of Men, Beasts, Fowls, Fishes, and creeping living creatures, though they consisted of two different substances, Soul and Body, not two distinct heads, the one corporal, the other spiritual, to govern each body; because two Supream heads would*

[a] 1 Kings 14.
30. c. 15. 9, 7.
16. 31.
[b] 1 Kings 12.
26. to the end.
c. 13. 33, 34.
c. 15. 3. 2 Kings
10. 31. cap. 17.
2. to 25.

would have destroyed the unity, harmony, operations of these Creatures in their respective orbes; and made * a Schisme in their bodies; So he at first united the Supream Spiritual and Temporal Jurisdiction over Men at the Creation in one person, Adam, the first sole Monarch of the World; And afterwards, when his Church and people multiplyed into such a vast dispersed multitude, that one person could not possibly execute or discharge the Kingly and Priestly Offices (as at first he conveniently might, did whiles all united in one Tribe and Family) so that there was an absolute necessity to divide them into several Hands, Tribes; God did even then reserve the Supream Ecclesiastical Government and Jurisdiction, as absolutely necessary for, inseparable from the Supream Civil Head and Governor of his people, to prevent Schismes, Confusions, and preserve Unity, Tranquillity both in Church and State; not transferr it from Moses to Aaron; the Church with all its Officers, Members, being included in & branches of the Kingdom, Republike, not divided from it as a distinct independent spiritual corporation: Therefore still to remain under the sole Government and protection of the Supream Politick Head. (c) This is most clearly and significantly expressed by *Ezechiels* uniting the two divided sticks into one rod in one hand, typifying the uniting of the two divided Kingdoms of Israel and Judah, into one Kingdom, Church, PEOPLE, under one King and Shepherd Jesus Christ, and making them all but ONE, in their Government and true Worship of God according to his Statutes.

Hence it is most apparent, that the Civil and Ecclesiastical Powers, Authorities or Jurisdictions are not thus denominated, because they are vested in different persons hands, or flow from various fountains, or distinct in their natures, (as the (d) Pontificians and others generally assert, and mistake) but meerly because they are exercised upon or about different things or objects; the persons wherein they originally and supremely reside and from whence they flow, and the very Powers, Authorities, Jurisdictions themselves in their nature, being but one and the same, only the objects, matters, in, upon, or about which they are exercised, various and distinct, from whence they have these different Epithites. To evidence this truth past all contradiction, being the surest Oracle to resolve all future Controversies concerning these Jurisdictions, yea keenest axe to cut off that ambitious usurping Antichristian Power of Roman Pontiffs, which (e) opposeth, exalteth it self above all that is called God, and trampleth under feet both the Crowns, Scepters of all Christian Kings, I shall first clear and confirm it by Gods own distribution of various Gifts and powers to the Members of his mystical body the Church, and members, faculties of the bodies, souls of men by one & the self-same spirit, thus emphatically expressed, 1 Cor. 12 4, to 12. Now there are diversities of Gifts, but the same Spirit; and there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord; and there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all: For to one is given by the Spirit the word of Wisdom; to another the word of Knowledge by the same Spirit; to another Faith by the same Spirit; to another the Gifts of Healing by the same Spirit; to another the working of Miracles; to another Prophecy; to another Discerning of spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues; **But all these worketh that one & the self-same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will.** Compared with v. 18. 25. God hath set the members every one of them in the body (natural) * AS IT PLEASETH HIM, that there should be no Schism in the body, appointing them all their distinct Offices, places under one head the seat of the soul, which rules and directs all the other Members in the discharge of all natural, civil, moral and divine actions, diversified, denominated only by & from their various objects so stiled, not the person, power, head or facultie, by which they are all performed, being but one and the same. As God (a) the great King over all the earth, (b) whose is the Kingdom and the power, (c) from whom all Kings and Potentates of the Earth derive their Jurisdiction, as their Ordainer and Orderer, always Sovereignly (d) ruleth in the Kingdoms of men, and giveth them to whomsoever he will; he removeth Kings and setteth up Kings at his pleasure, by his indivisible Supream authority; And as by one and the self-same power, spirit, he also distributes varieties of Gifts, Graces, Offices, to the Members of his Spiritual body the Church, & distinct faculties to one and the same reasonable Soul in man in which they are united (as vegetation, sense, reason, memory, will, judgment, affections, &c.) with distinct offices places to every member in the body natural: without erecting any plurality of Supream Powers, parts, principles, heads, souls, in himself or them, from which these diversities of Gifts,

* 1 Cor. 12, 13. to 26.

[c] Ezech. 37, 26. to 28.

[d] Gratian Distinct. 96. & 94. 63.

[e] 2 Thes. 2. 4.

* See 1 Cor. 15, 37, 38.

(a) Psal. 97. 2.
Psal. 9. 59.
Psal. 10. 16.
(b) 2 224.
Mar. 6. 13.
(c) Num. 1, 2.
Col. 1. 16.
Prov. 8. 15, 16.
(d) Dan. 4. 17.
(e) Dan. 2. 11.
Job. 12. 18.

Gifts and their operations issue : So Kings and Sovereign Powers, (Gods Vicars and Ministers upon earth) by that one and the same Supream Authority vested in them by God for Government of all sorts of Subjects, and all sacred or civil Corporations under them, whether Pagans or Christians; may and do exercise all sorts of civil and Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions under them in person, or by their Delegates and Substitutes; without any real division in their Sovereign power, continuing still one the same, or erecting two distinct specifical Powers, the one Civil, the other Ecclesiastical in themselves or others. For, as their Sovereign Royal Power when exercised about Martial affairs, is stiled a Military power, and the Courts wherein it is judicially executed are stiled *Martial Courts*, because the matters, persons in and about which it is exercised are such. And when employed in matters, Courts of Law and Justice is called a Civil or Legal Power, and their Courts, Courts of Common or Civil Law, because the businesses are such; And when versed in Maritime affairs or causes, is called A Maritime or Admiralty Power, and Admiralty Court : and when in Civil matters of Equity only, it is then phrased a Chancery or Equitable Power, and the Court wherein it is acted, a Court of Chancery : So by the self-same reason when it is employed in or about divine, sacred, Ecclesiastical things or persons, it is then stiled *An Ecclesiastical power*, the Laws concerning them, and Courts wherein these Laws, powers are exercised, the *Kings Ecclesiastical Laws, Courts*; without making any fraction, division, or distinction in the Supream power, which remains still but one and the same, residing intirely in the King himself alone, though the execution of it be distributed to sundry subordinate Courts, persons, who are but the Kings meer Ministers, and act (or ought to act) all in his Name, Right; without claiming any share at all in the Sovereign Regal power as vested in themselves by this distribution: being thus distinguished, denominated only by and from the diversity of the respective objects, which make no more multiplications of nor divisions in the power it self, then diversities of colours, species in the eyes, or varieties of sounds, tastes in the ears or palate; make so many distinct faculties in the Eyes, Ears, Pallate; or as many different eyes, ears, pallats, as there are species, sounds, tastes discerned by them. All which doth evidently appear in this Original President of Supream Jurisdiction in *Moses*, the first Sovereign Governour over Gods people, when originally made both a Kingdom, & Church by Gods own institution; wherein the High Priest *Aaron* and his Sonnes had no share at all in the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, though the *Priesthood* was settled on them, but *Moses* enjoyed, exercised it intirely, without any Partition made by God between him and *Aaron*, to divide these powers equally between them as Co-heirs.

37 H: 8. c. 17
E. 6. c. 2.
Cook & Rep: f.
1. to 41.

* Therefore they
in their Courts,
Processe, Proceed-
ings, should
bear only his I-
mages, Armes,
Superscriptions,
as well as his
Current Money,
& all Common
Law Courts,
E. 6: c. 2. that
all may know
to owe them to
be the Kings a-
lone, not bishops:

(1) Summa.
(2) De Planctu
Ecclesie: l. 1: art:
23: 37: 40: 41:
42
(3) De jure
Status: l. 5: c: 10
Sect: Johannes
(4) Part: 1: c:
18: n: 25: c: 19
n: 5, & 14:
De: Creatione
of the Popes
Temporal Mo-
narchy, p: 7:

[5] Gul. Du-
rant. Rationale
Divinorum, l. 3.
[6] Bellarmine
de Roman: Pon-
t: l. 4. Amicus
Bellarmine E-
nervatus, Tom.
1. p. 140.
De Prideaux,
Orat: 2

(1) *Hosienus*, and out of him (2) *Alvarus Pelagius*, (3) *Thomas Bozius*, and (4) *Maria* resolve, *That as it is Heretical to hold duo principia, Two Principles or Authors of the World: So it is Heretical to hold, that there are Two Vicars of God or Christ upon Earth, the one in Spirituals, the other in Temporals; Therefore it is of necessity, that Supream Temporal and Spiritual Jurisdiction should be intirely vested in the Pope, not in the Emperor or Kings, who derive all their power from him; and it is of necessity to believe, that every creature should be subject to the Pope as well in Temporal as Spiritual things, to avoid the Heresie of duo principia, Dantes the Florentine who held the contrary, being condemned by the Pope for an Heretic after his death.* Indeed their position, That there is but one Supream Head and Fountain of all Spiritual and Regal power on Earth in every distinct Kingdom and Church, is an undubitable truth, as these Pontificians and Popes themselves assert. But that it was ever vested in the High Priest under the Law, or Popes under the Gospel, but in *Moses*, Kings, and other Supream Magistrates; and that they derive all their Temporal Authority from Priests, Popes, not they from Kings and Supream Civil Governors, is a notorious untruth, as this Original president of *Moses* and *Aaron*, with others following will irrefragably evince.

This I the rather mention, and have more largely insisted on, because some *Usurping Popes* not only ground their (5) *Pontifical Crowns*, Priestly garments, with their power of consecration, on *Aarons* and his Sons, but likewise their (6) *Popal Monarchy*, Jurisdiction over other Bishops, Ministers, and Kings too, on *Aarons high Priesthood*, and imaginary Universal Supremacy, which quite subverts their pretences; *Aaron the High Priest being inferior to Moses, and he greater then Aaron, in admini-*

stration

stration, and in instruction and correction of the people, though not in consecration, (wher-
in they were both equal) as (a) Bartholomew Buxiensis, Joannes Thierry, and other Ca-
nonists in their approved Glosses on Gratian resolve. Whereupon to prop up the
Popes tottering Supremacy as founded upon Aarons Priesthood, Pope Anacletus, with
others of his Successors, have bottomed the Popes Sovereign Jurisdiction in Spiritual
and Temporal affairs too, upon Moses and Aaron jointly, affirming Moses to be a
Chief Priest as well as Aaron, from Psal. 99. 6. Moses and Aaron among HIS
PRIESTS; Whence they infer; That as Moses and Aaron were the chief among the
Priests in the Old Testament: So Peter was ordained head of the Apostles, and Ori-
ginal of the Apostleship in the New, and the Pope as his Successor: And as Moses was con-
stituted a God unto Pharaoh, and judged the people of Israel: So the Pope is the
God of the Emperoz, the first Priest, the Vicar of Christ the high
Priest, and the Cardinals assisting him, are Priests of the Levitical kinde, by whose
assistance he judgeth all Criminal causes, not only Ecclesiastical, but likewise Civil
and mixt; Moses as a Priest being only a Type of the Pope, as were Melchisedec
and all those that were Kings as well as Priests before the Law given; as (c) Alvarus Pella-
gins and other Pontificians conclude, with very great confidence.

To which I answer, 1. That Moses neither before his flight out of Egypt,
nor during his absence before his return thither, nor while he abode there to deli-
ver the Israelites from their bondage, nor after their deliverance, was ever made or
constituted a Priest, much less an high Priest, by God, (for ought we read) but only
(d) Aaron, with his sonnes and Levites. 2ly. Had Moses been an high Priest as well
as Aaron, as these assert, there had then been two high Priests at once, and so two
Supream heads of the Church, not one: and so the high Priest could not be a proper
Type of Christ, the (e) sole high Priest and head of his Church, nor of St. Peter, or
the Pope, his pretended Vicar General by divine Right. 3ly. The Scripture is ex-
presse, that Aaron only was the chief Priest, not Moses, and that there (f) neither was
nor ought to be any more high Priests but one at a time; Therefore Moses could be no
high Priest. 4ly. Moses in the 99 Psalm, and all other Texts where he and Aaron
are mentioned, is put and named in the first place before Aaron, and asserted by
(g) Bartholomew Buxiensis, Thierry, and other Glossers, to be greater then Aaron
in two respects, in the very Priesthood it self; Therefore he, not Aaron, was the
chief high Priest: and so all Popes pretences for their Supremacy drawn from Aarons
high Priesthood, must vanish into smoak; The rather, because we frequently read
in Scripture, that Moses not only COMMANDED AARON, but likewise stripped
him of his garments, and girt them on Eleazer his Sonne and successor a little before
his death. 5ly. Psalm 99. doth not evince Moses to be a chief Priest as well as Aa-
ron, no more then the rest of the people; as is evident by the coherence with verse
5, 6. Exalts yet the Lord our God and worship at his foot-stool, for he is holy; Moses and
Aaron among his Priests, and Samuel among them that call upon his Name; these cal-
led upon the Name of the Lord and he heard them: this passage relates to Numb. 25. 6.
when Moses and Aaron and all the Congregation were all weeping and worshipping
God together promiscuously intermixed with Phinehas and the other Priests, as also in
Joel 2. 16, 17. So as the sole argument hence is this; Moses and Aaron worshipped
and called upon the name of the Lord at the door of the Tabernacle mixed promiscu-
ously with the other Priests, as Samuel did with the people when they called on Gods
name; Ergo, Moses (and by consequence all the people too) were high Priests as
well as Aaron: So that the Popes absolute Sovereign Monarchy as well in Temporal
as Civil things being thus grounded on Moses his mistaken Priesthood, must needs
fall to the ground, and be for ever exploded upon the premised considerations; and
because his Successor (no high Priest nor Priest at all) enjoyed, exercised the Sove-
raign Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction as well as Temporal in the Israelites Church, and
State.

2ly. I shall demonstrate this Propositions truth, by Joshua, who succeeded Moses
in the Supream Civil Authority, to whom the Israelites not only (a) promised the self
same obedience in all Spiritual as well as civil things, which they yielded to Moses,
but he likewise exercised the same Sovereign Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction as Moses had
done, as these Ten instances irrefragably prove.

1. He (b) commanded the people to sanctify themselves to morrow, and commanded, dire-
cted

(a) Distinct: 22
&c. cap. Sacro-
sancta. & Di-
stinct: 96, 98

(b) Anacletus,
apud Gratian
Distinct: 22

(c) De Planctu
Ecclesie l. 1.
Art. 13. Glossa
in Gratian Di-
stinct: 22. 66
De Penitentia.
Distinct: 3.

(d) Exod: 27.
21. cap: 28.
throughout.
c. 29. l. c. 40. 12
to 17. Levit. 9
& 10

(e) Heb. 2. 17.
c. 3. l. c. 4. 8, 4.
15. c. 3. 10. c. 6.
20. c. 7. 16. c.
8. 1. 3. c. 3. 11.
c. 9. 22.

(f) Exod. 18. 1,
&c. c. 40, to 17

(g) Levit. 21.
10. Num: 15.

25, 28. Josh: 20.
1. 2 Kings 23.

2. 8. Neh. 3. 1.
20. Isa: 4. 1. 12,
14. c. 2. 2, 4.
Zech: 7. 1, 8.
Mat: 26. 51, 57.

Acts 4. 1.
Hebr. 9. 7, 25.

(b) Exod: 4. 28,
29. c. 5. l. 4. 20
& above 100.

(i) Glossa in
Gratian dist. 22

(k) Numb. 20.
25. to 29.

[a] Josh. 1. 16
c. 4. 14.

[b] Josh 3. 6.
to 17. c. 4. 5.
&c. 15, to 24.

sted the Priests when to take up, and how to carry and dispose of the Ark of the Covenant and declared the words to the people which God himself immediately spake unto him.

[c] Josh. 5. 5.
to 15.

2. He (c) circumcised all the uncircumcised Israelites with sharp knives, and kept the Passover, formerly omitted, by special directions given to him from God, not to the Priests.

[d] Josh. 6. 1.
to 17.

3. By Gods special direction He commanded the (d) Priests to compass Jericho bearing the Ark round about it, seven dayes one after another, which they obeyed, executed without dispute, marching seven times round about it the last day.

[e] Josh. 7.
[f] Gratian
Caus. 17. qu. 4.
Summa Angelica,
& Rosella,
& Hostien. is.
tit. Sacrilegium.

4. He (not the Priests) Ordained (e) a publike fast, sanctified the people when he discovered Gods wrath against them for Achans taking of the accursed thing against his command; and examined, punished with stoning to death, even that, which Popes and Canonists stile (f) Sacrilege, appropriated by them to their Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Tribunals.

[g] Josh. 8. 30,
to the end.

5ly. He (g) built an Altar unto the Lord God of Israel in Mount Ebal according to the Law of Moses, and he (not the Priests) there writ upon stones a Copy of the Law of Moses; and read all the words of the Law of Moses, the Blessings and the Curses, before all the congregation of Israel, with their women, little ones, and strangers conversant among them; there was not a word of all that Moses commanded which he read not unto them, and that in presence of the Priests and Levites, who there stood on both sides of the Ark, and bore it.

[h] Josh. ch. 9.

6ly. He (h) and the Princes (not Priests) decided a case of conscience touching the Oath and Covenant made with the Gibeonites by fraud and circumvention, to spare their lives, against Gods positive precept, and gave sentence against them to be Hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Altar of the Lord.

[i] Josh. 10. 12.
13, 14.

7ly. The (i) Sunne stood still and the Moon stayed till the people had avenged themselves of their enemies, at his (not the Priests) prayer to the Lord.

[k] Josh. 18. 1.

8ly. He (not the Priests) [k] assembled all the Congregation of Israel to Shiloh, and there set up the Tabernacle of the Congregation.

[l] Josh. c. 20.
& c. 21.

9ly. He by Gods special command, with advice [l] of the Heads of the Tribes of the children of Israel, appointed and set out the Cities of refuge, and the 48 Cities with their Suburbs given to the Priests and Levites out of all the other Tribes Lots.

[m] Joshua 24
1. to 29.

10thly. Joshua a little before his death (not the Priests) [m] assembled all the Tribes of Israel to Sechem, and there calling all their Elders, Heads, Judges, Officers, who presenting themselves before God, he repeated the Histories of Gods great mercies to them from Terah his time till then, and commanded them to serve the Lord in sincerity and truth, and to put away all the gods which their Fathers had served, renewed the Covenant between God and them, set them a Statute and an Ordinance in Sechem, and wrote all the words therof in the Book of the Law of God, and set up a stone for a witness unto them, lest they should deny their God. And penned the History stiled Joshua

During all this time of Moses and Joshua's Governments, we find not one syllable of any Ecclesiastical Supream Authority, exercised or claimed by the High Priest, Priests or Levites, severally or joyntly, but only by Moses and Joshua themselves, in all the forecited particulars; Which Popes and Popish Prelates would repute most strange and uncouth, should Christian Emperors, Kings, Princes now exercise the like Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and confine them only to Preaching, Administration of the Sacraments, reading Masse or Common-Prayers, and those other essential Ministerial duties, which they delegate for the most part to poor Curates; as they do their pretended Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Judicatories to their Vicars Generals, Chancellors, Officials, Commissaries, and other such petty Officers, the more to fleece the people, and ease themselves from Trouble or Clamors.

3dly. After the death of Joshua, though the High Priest, Priests and Levites were all settled in their possessions and offices in his life, yet we read of none of them in all the Book of Judges, when the people of Israel were very idolatrous, wicked and most needed Ecclesiastical censures to reform them, that did ever use the least Ecclesiastical Authority over them: Therefore doubtlesse they had none vested in them, or else were intollerbly negligent, and blame-worthy. And to put it past Dispute, it is

(a) Judg. 17. 4
5, 6.
Judges 18. 1,
24, to 21. 30.
31.

c. 18. 1. c. 19. 1. c. 21. 25. IN THOSE DAYS THERE WAS NO KING IN ISRAEL Every man did what seemed good in his own eyes. First, as the chief cause of (a) Micah, his making a graven and molten image, and setting them up in the house

house of God, and making an Ephod, Teraphim, and consecrating one of his sons, who became a Priest to his Idols, and after that in [a] consecrating a Levite to be his Idols Priest. 2ly. [b] As the occasion of the Danites plundering and taking away Micahs Idol god, and setting up his graven Image in the Tribe of Dan, and making Priests unto it all the time that the house of God was in Shiloh. 3ly. [c] Of a Levites taking to him a Concubine, (instead of a lawful Wife) and the Gibeonites ravishing her to death. 4ly. [d] Of the Benjamites forceable taking away of the Virgins, who came up to the feast of the Lord at Shiloh, and making them their wives against their will, and that by the Israelites advice and concurrence, contrary to the curse and oath they had made. All properly spiritual and ecclesiastical Crimes, belonging rather to Papal and Pontifical, then regal Jurisdiction and Coertion as they are now reputed; yet all and every of these are recorded to be perpetrated, but not corrected in the least, because in those days there was no King in Israel; Therefore questionless, all the supreme, Civil, Ecclesiastical power to restrain & punish these offences, was wholly vested in the King; not in the high Priest, Priests, or Levites, of which they had then store in Israel. And had this supreme spiritual Authority been in them, these Texts had been very impertinently inserted, and should rather have run in this Dialect; In those days there was no high Priest or Priests in Israel, (nor any Ecclesiastical Court or Judge, therefore) every one did that which was right in his own eyes.

If any object, that Ely the high Priest judged Israel forty years, Judg. 4. 18. and that Samuel, next high Priest after him, judged Israel all his days, till he was old, built an Altar unto the Lord at Ramah; and when he grew old, made his two sons Judges over the people, Judg. 7. 15, 16, 17. c. 8. 1. to 8. Therefore the high Priests had then the sovereign Jurisdiction as Priests.

I answer; The Argument is most absurd; for by the like Consequence they may argue, [e] Deborah a woman, the wife of Lapidoth judged Israel; and the Children of Israel came up to her for Judgement, and she delivered them out of Sisera his hands, who sorely oppressed them with his Chariots and Army: Ergo, Debora as a woman had then Sovereign Jurisdiction over them. 2ly. They judged them not as Priests, but supreme Magistrates. 3ly. It seems the chief Ecclesiastical power was not in Ely, when he judged Israel, but in the Elders of Israel, by *their sending for, and fetching the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord out of Shiloh unto them in the Camp, to save them from the enemies, against Ely his Will; 4ly. He was very remiss and indulgent so, inflicting no civil nor ecclesiastical punishment upon his sons, though sons of (f) Belial, whose wickedness was great before the Lord, both in lying with the women that assembled at the door of the Tabernacle of the Congregation; and forceably taking away from those that sacrificed to the Lord, the flesh of the Sacrifices of those that came to offer, how much & when they pleased, without burning the fat presently, so that they made men abhor the offerings of the Lord; His Sons presumed thus impudently to abuse the people, because their father judged Israel, who only gave them a mild Reprehension, when he heard of their evil reports from all the people: Which miscarriages of his sons in their Priest-hood, and himself in his Judicature, (g) sharply reprov'd by a man of God, were most severely punished of God (h) by their slaughter and untimely deaths, the ruine of their families, and loss of the Priest-hood, the taking of the Ark of God by the Philistines, and slaughter of thirty thousand footmen in one day. This was the Judgement beset the first Priest and his house, who took upon him the supreme civil power and magistracy. 4ly. Though Samuel himself was a [k] just Judge, yet his sons were wicked, (n) turning aside after Lucre, perverting Judgement, in so much that all the Elders of Israel came to Samuel, complaining against them, and peremptorily desired him, (o) TO MAKE THEM A KING OVER THEM to judge them like all the Nations: not a Priest, being so weary of Priests supreme Government, that they would never permit him nor his sons to judge and govern them any longer, and were never satisfied till they had a King, which he made them by Gods direction and Election much against his own will. 5ly. All the Priestly Offices and Jurisdiction he used towards them and Saul, was but to (l) pray without ceasing for them, giving them good instructions, and reprehending them for their sins, telling them, But if ye shall still do wickedly, ye shall be consumed both you and your King, his declaring Saul King by Gods election and the peoples doubled peremptory demand of a King, and approbation of Saul, when presented to them; and his anointing David when a privat person with oyl King after Sauls

Object.

Answer.

(e) Judg. c. 4. v. 5.

* 2 Sam. 4. 32 & 5. 13.

(f) 1 Sam. 2. 12. to 36.

[g] 1 Sam. 2. 27, &c.

[h] 1 Sam. 4. 11, to the end.

[i] 1 Sam. 11.

3. 4. 1 Sam. 7.

c. 8. 1. to 13.

(k) 1 Sam. 8.

& c. 9. & 10.

[l] 1 Sam. c. 12.

& 15. 16.

rejection by God, they were only Acts of Ministry; not of Supream Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in the High Priest above the King; as I shall prove in its due place more largely in the cloze of this Chapter.

4ly. When God settled the Kingdom of Israel upon (l) David and his posterity, in performance of his (m) promises to Abraham, Sarah and Jacob, that **KINGS** should come out of their loynes, he translated the Supream Ecclesiastical as well as Civil Jurisdiction to them, which they enjoyed, exercised by Gods approbation, not the high Priest, Priests, or Levites: as the Scripture Annals attest.

1. David (n) a man after Gods own heart, which fulfilled all his will) not long after he was anointed King over Israel and Judah, (o) assembled all the whole Congregation, Priests, Levites of Israel, and went and removed the Ark of God from Gibeah, with great triumph, joy and shouting, to the House of Obed-Edom, and afterwards into the place, tabernacle in the City of David which David had there chosen & pitched for it, and offered there burnt-offerings & peace-offerings before the Lord, and he blessed the people in the name of the Lord. 2ly. At the second removal of the Ark (a) he assembled not only the Elders, but the chief Priest and Levites; informing them of their error in carrying the Ark in a cart at its first removal, contrary to Moses command, for which God made a breach upon them; and that (b) None ought to carry the Ark of the Lord, but the Levites, for them had the Lord chosen to carry the Ark of God, and to minister unto him for ever. For violating which precept, Uzza was smitten to death before the Lord; Hereupon David commanded the Priests and Levites to sanctify themselves to bring up the Ark of the Lord God of Israel upon their shoulders, as Moses commanded; and to appoint Singers with instruments of musick and lifting up their voices, to sing before it, when they removed it to the City of David; which command they punctually obeyed. 3ly. He appointed & ordained certain of the Priests and Levites to minister by turns before the Ark of the Lord, and to thank and praise the Lord God of Israel continually, prescribing them what instruments of musick they should use, what Psalms and Praises they should sing, (moit, or all of them compiled by himself) what burnt-offerings they should offer upon the altar of the Lord morning and evening continually, according to the Law of the Lord, and to minister before the Ark continually, as every dayes work required: And appointed others of the Priests and Levites to minister continually in like manner before the Tabernacle of the Lord that was in the high place at Gibeon. 4ly. He purposed, contrived, propounded to Nathan, and ordained the building of a standing House and Temple, instead of a moving Tabernacle and Tent, for the Ark and worship of God, and intended himself to build it, had not God inhibited him, because he was a man of Warre and had shed much blood, and appointed Solomon his Son and successor to build it; he provided all sorts of materials for the building, and exhorted all the Princes and Elders of the people to a liberal contribution towards it. 5ly. The Angel of the Lord commanded David, to go and set up an Altar to the Lord in the threshing-floor of Ornan, who accordingly went up at the saying of the Lord, and built there an Altar, and offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, and called upon the Lord, who answered him from heaven by fire upon the altar of burnt-offering. 6ly. When he was old, and had made Solomon King, he gathered together all the Princes, Priests and Levites, and when he had numbred the Priests and Levites, he appointed them their several Courses, Services, Offices, Duties they should perform before the Lord from time to time, as well before as after the Temple was built, all which he set down in writing. 7ly. He, as Moses, assembled all the Princes of Israel, and before all the Congregation, in the audience of God, gave Solomon & them charge to serve and fear God, and build the Temple. Which done, he gave to Solomon the pattern of the Temple and of the Houses thereof, and of the Treasures thereof, and of the upper chambers thereof, and of the inner parlours thereof, and of the Mercy-seat, and the pattern of all that he had BY THE SPIRIT, of the courts of the House of the Lord, and of all the chambers round about, of the Treasures of the house of God, and of the dedicated things; AND FOR THE COURSES OF THE PRIESTS AND LEVITES, and for all the work of the Service of the House of the Lord, and for all the vessels of service in the house of the Lord. And David said unto Solomon, Be strong and of a good courage, and do it; fear not, nor be dismayed, for the Lord God, even my God will be with thee, he will not fail thee nor forsake thee, untill thou hast finished all the work for the service of the House of the Lord: And BEHOLD THE COURSES OF THE PRIESTS AND THE LEVITES FOR ALL THE SERVICE OF THE HOUSE OF GOD; and there shall be with thee for all manner of workmanship every willing

(l) 2 Sam. 7. 8.
to the end. Pf.
89. 3. 9. 29.
1 Chron. 17.
(m) Gen. 17. 6.
16. c. 35. 11.
(n) Acts 13. 22.
(o) 2 Sam. 6. 1.
to 20. 1 Chron.
c. 13. & 15. &
16. 1. 2

[a] 1 Chron.
15. 1. 2. to 29.

[9] Numb. 4.
2. 15. Exod. 25.
14.

[c] 1 Chron.
16. 4. to the
end. c. 21. 29.
30.

[d] 2 Sam. 8.
1 Chron. 17.
c. 18. 11. cap.
27. to c. 29.
1 Chron. 21.
18. to 30. Psal.
24. 10. to 20.

[f] 1 Chron.
28. 1. to 14.
20. 21.

willing skilfull man for any manner of service, and ALL THE PEOPLE WILL BE WHOLLY AT THY COMMAND. 7ly. (1) David (as King) not the Priests, compiled all or most of the Psalms and Prayers afterwards sung or used in the Temple, recorded in the Books of Samuel, the Chronicles, and compiled together in the Book of Psalms, continually read, sung, used not only in the Temple and elsewhere by the Jewish, but in all Christian Churches generally; and more frequently read, sung, commented upon, then any other Book of Canonical Scripture. By all which memorable particulars, and *command to the Priests to anoint Solomon King, it is most evident, that the whole Supream Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over persons, causes things, relating to Gods Worship remained intirely in David as King, and no part of it in the Priests.

8ly. King Solomon his Sonne succeeding David, by his Supream Ecclesiastical power, First, (*) built and finished the Temple according to King Davids modell, and then commanded all the Elders and Princes of Israel, with the Priests and Levites, to carry the Ark and place it in the Temple. 2ly. The (a) King (not the Priests or Levites though all present) dedicated and consecrated the Temple with a most Divine heavenly form of Prayer, answered and approved by God, in sending down fire from heaven which consumed the burnt-offerings and sacrifices, and filled the House with his glory, so that the Priests could not enter into the house of the Lord, because the glory of the Lord had filled the Lords House. 3ly. He (b) also hallowed the middle of the outward Court by offering burnt-offerings and peace-offerings there. 4ly. He (c) appointed all burnt-offerings to the Lord after a certain rate every day, (according to the commandment of Moses) on the Sabbath, and on the New Moons, and on the solemn Feasts of unleavened bread, of Weeks and of Tabernacles. 5ly. He (d) assembled all the Priests and Levites to Jerusalem at the Temples Dedication, not in their courses: But that solemnity ended, He (as King) (e) appointed (according to the order of David his Father) THE COURSES OF THE PRIESTS TO THEIR SERVICE, AND THE LEVITES TO THEIR CHARGES, to praise and minister before the Lord as the duty of every day required; Porters also by their courses for every gate, FOR SO HAD DAVID the man of God COMMANDED: And THEY DEPARTED NOT FROM THE COMMANDEMENT OF THE KING VNTO THE PRIESTS AND LEVITES CONCERNING ANY MATTER, or concerning the Treasures. Here is Supream Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction vested in, and exercised by this King in and over all Ecclesiastical persons, matters, and exact canonical obedience yielded to King Davids, and King Solomons Canons; not to the High Priests, Priests or Levites, who had then no power to make or impose such Canons or Injunctions, as Popes and Popish Prelates now doe, without any Scripture president for their warrant. 6ly. This King was the inspired penman of three whole Books of Canonical Scripture, the Proverbs, Solomons Song, and Ecclesiastes; but no Priest or Levite we read of either in his or his Father Davids reign. 7ly. He (as King) (f) thrust out Abiathar FROM BEING PRIEST TO THE LORD, banished him from Jerusalem, and might have put him to death for his Treason in crowning Adonijah King, but saved his life for this reason, because he had born the Ark of the Lord God before David his Father, and been afflicted with him in all his afflictions, and put Zadoc the Priest in his room. Here is Regal Supream Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction exercised over the High Priests themselves.

8ly. (g) King Asa (as King) First, took away the Altars of the strange Gods, and the High-places, and brake down the Images, and cut down the groves through all the Cities of Judah, and commanded Judah to serve the Lord God of their Fathers, and to do the Law and the Commandements; and afterward did the like in Benjamin, and the cities he had taken from Mount Ephraim. 2ly. (h) He renewed the Altar of the Lord which was before the porch; and gathered all Judah, Ephraim, Benjamin, and others to Jerusalem to offer sacrifices of the spoils they had taken, unto God; which done, He (as King) made them enter into a Covenant, to seek the Lord God of their Fathers with all their heart and with all their soul; that whosoever would not seek the Lord God of Israel should be put to death, whether small or great, whether man or woman; and they sware unto the Lord with a loud voice, and with shoutings, with trumpets, and with cornets, and all Judah rejoiced at the Oath for they had sworn with all their heart. 3ly. (i) He removed Maachah his mother from being Queen, because she had made an Idol in a Grove, and burned her Idol at the brook Kidron. 4ly. (k) He brought into the house of the Lord all the things, gold, silver, vessels, himself and his Father had dedicated. All evidences, acts of his Sovereign Spiritual Jurisdiction.

[1] 1 Chron. 16, 7, to 38: 2 Sam: 23. 1, 3, &c: Luke 20: 42: Acts 1 16: c. 2. 25. c. 4. 25. Rom: 4: 6: c: 11: 3: Heb: 4. 7. *1 Kings 1 34, 38. [2] Pf. 95: 2: Pf. 105, 2: Eph. 5: 19: Col: 3: 16: Jam: 5: 13: [*] 2 Chron: 1. 10: c: 5: 2 Kings 6. to c. 9. [4] 1 Kings 8, 2 Chron. c. 6, & 7.

[b] 2 Chron. 7 [c] 2 Chron: 8 12, 13.

[d] 2 Chron. 5 11, 12. [e] 2 Chron. 7. 6, &c.

[f] 1 Kings 2. 26, 27, 35.

[g] 1 Chron. 14. 3, 4, 5. &c. 1 Kings 15. 8, &c.

[h] 1 Chron. 15. 10, to 16.

[i] 2 Chron. 15 16. 1 Kings 15 13. [k] 2 Chron. 15 18. 1 Kings 15 16.

[j] 2 Chron. 17.
7, 8, 9.

[l] 2 Chron.
19. 4.

[m] 2 Chron.
29. 5, to the
end. See Deut.
17. 8. to 14.

[n] 2 Chron.
20. 3, &c.

[o] 1 Kings 12.
5. to 17.

[p] 2 Chron.
29. 31, to 36.

[q] 2 Chron.
6. 29, & 30.

[r] 1 Chron.
30. throughout

[s] 1 Chron.
31. throughout.

[t] 1 Chron. 31
12, 15, 16, 17.

[u] 2 Chron.
33. 3, &c.

4ly. King Jehoshaphat his Sonne, 1. (k) commanded the Levites, accompanied with some Princes, to oversee, encourage, assist them to go and teach Gods Law to all the people throughout all the Cities of Judah, and to carry the Book of the Law with them, which they did accordingly. 2ly. He (l) went out again the second time through the people, from Beersheba to Mount Ephraim, and brought them back to the Lord God of their Fathers. 3ly. He appointed not only (m) Temporal Judges, City by City, through all Judah, but likewise Judges Delegates at Jerusalem in cases of appeals between blood and blood, Law and Commandement, Statute and Judgements, wherein he joyned some of the Levites, Priests and chief Fathers of Israel, and Amaziah the chief Priest, in all matters of and judgements for the Lord (as his subordinate Judges, receiving their Commissions from him) and gave them an Excellent admonition how to judge, & proceed uprightly. 4ly. (n) He proclaimed a solemn Fast throughout all Judah to come to Jerusalem to seek the Lord for help against a great host of invading Enemies; where he (not the Priests) stood in the Congregation of Judah and Jerusalem in the House of the Lord before the Court; and made a most pertinent effectual Prayer to God, which God answered with a miraculous victory, causing his enemies to destroy one another, without fighting them; and giving his Army all the spoil: For which victory he commanded them to return to Jerusalem to give publike thanks to God.

5ly. (o) King Jehoash commanded the Priests to repair all the breaches of the Lords House with the moneys, and the dedicated things brought into it; and called for and reprehended Jehoiada the High Priest and the other Priests for their negligence in not repairing them as he commanded; whereupon they received no more money, and repaired the House.

6ly. King Hezekiah by his Regal power, 1. (p) Opened the doors of the House of the Lord, (which had been shut up by his idolatrous Predecessors) and repaired them; gathered the Priests and Levites together, brought them into the Lords house; commanded them to sanctify themselves and then the house, by carrying all the filth out of the holy place, and cleansing the holy vessels: Then made a second exhortation to them, and strictly commanded them diligently to discharge their respective duties without ceasing. All which they executed according to the Command of the King in the Businesse of the Lord. 2ly. (q) He (afterwards) commanded the Priests to offer burnt sacrifices, and the Levites to praise God in the Temple, according to the Commandement of David. And He set all the services of the House of God in Order.

Moreover the KING, and the Princes, commanded the Levites to sing praises to the Lord with the words of David, and they sang praises with gladnesse. 3ly. This King (taking counsel with his Princes and the Congregation at Jerusalem) (r) made a Decree & sent forth a solemn Proclamation, inviting & commanding all Judah and Israel to keep a solemn Paschever at Jerusalem on the second Moneth; whereupon a great multitude then and there assembling, they took away the Idols, altars, and cast them into the brook Kidron, and killed the Paschever; Whereupon the Priests and Levites being ashamed of their backwardness in this service, sanctified themselves, brought the burnt offerings into the house of the Lord, stood in their places after their manner, according to the Law of Moses, and sprinkled the blood. 4ly. Hezekiah (not the Priests) publickly (s) prayed to God, to pardon those who prepared their hearts to seek God, though they were not sanctified and prepared according to the purification of the Sanctuary; and spake comfortably to the Levites that taught the good Law of the Lord. 5ly. This King

(t) Appointed the Courses of the Priests & Levites after their Courses, every man according to his Service; appointed the Kings portion for all morning and evening sacrifices for every day, Sabbath, Feast, as it is written in the Law of the Lord; and commanded the people that dwelt in Jerusalem to give the portion of the Priests and Levites that they might be encouraged in the Law of the Lord; whereupon all the people brought in the First-fruits and Tithes of all things abundantly; which Hezekiah commanded to be put in store-houses built by his command, over which he appointed Rulers, to distribute to every Priest and Levite his portion. All undoubted Badges of his Supream Ecclesiastical Authority.

7ly. King Josiah by his Regal Jurisdiction: 1. (v) Purged Judah and Jerusalem from their high places, groves, carved Images and molten Images, brake down the Altars of Baal, and cut down the Images that were above them, and brake in pieces the carved and molten Images, and stamped them to powder; and strowed it upon the graves of them that

had

had sacrificed to them, and burnt the bones of their Priests upon their Altars : and so did he in the Cities of Manasseh, Ephraim, and Simeon, even unto Naphtali. 2ly. (a) He assembled all the Elders of Judah, inhabitants of Jerusalem, Priests, Levites, and all the people great and small into the Temple, and HE READ in their ears all the Book of the Covenant that was found in the House of the Lord : Then the King stood in his place, and made a Covenant before the Lord, to walk after the Lord, and to keep his Commandments, Testimonies and Statutes with all his heart, and with all his soul ; and caused all there present to stand to the Covenant and Oath. 3ly. (b) He took away all the abominable things out of all the Countries that pertained to the children of Israel, and made all that were found in Israel (Priests and people) to serve the Lord their God : And all his dayes they departed not from serving the Lord God of their Fathers. 4ly. (c) He assembled the Princes, and he kept a most solemn Passeeover to the Lord in Jerusalem the 14. day of the first moneth : And he set the Priests in their Charges ; and encouraged them in the service of the house of the Lord ; and commanded the Levites that taught all Israel, to prepare themselves by the Houses of their Fathers after their courses according to the writing of David King of Israel, & according to the writing of Solomon his Son ; & said to them, stand in the holy place according to the divisions of the families of the fathers of your brethren the people, and after the division of the families of the Levites ; So kill the Passeeover, and sanctifie your selves, and prepare your Brethren that they may do according to the word of the Lord by the hand of Moses ; Whereupon they all prepared, performed their respective offices and duties in celebrating the Passeeover, as this pious King prescribed. Lo here no lesse then 7. most renowned pious Kings recorded in Sacred story by divine approbation, exercising Supream Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over High Priests, Priests, and Levites themselves, ordering all sacred affairs, offerings, sacrifices, Psalms, prayers courses of Priests appertaining to Gods worship, building, consecrating, repairing, cleansing the Temple, destroying Idolatry, with other particulars.

5ly. From Moses, Joshuahs and their presidents I shall observe, 1. That they are all specially recorded in sacred Writ for their eternal honors, reputations, and the (d) example of all other pious Kings under the Gospel. 2ly. That not one of them was ever taxed by God or the high Priests, for invading or usurping their Jurisdictions or Offices, for any of their forecited actions, injunctions, commands over them, or exercising these high points of Monarchical and Regal Jurisdiction in and over all Ecclesiastical affairs, or the essential, ceremonial parts of Gods publike worship : Which Popes and Popish Prelates would repute the highest, most sacrilegious Encroachment upon their Ecclesiastical Rights, and Jurisdictions, if now acted by Christian Kings, Magistrates, Rulers, and excommunicate them for it by Bell, Book and Candle. 3ly. That we find no one part of Ecclesiastical power and Jurisdiction in these or any other particulars, either exercised or claimed by the high Priest, Priests Levites, either joyntly or severally, all their reigns. 4ly. There are only Two Kings (but no other Magistrate) in sacred History reprehended by the high Priest, and punished by God for invading the Priests Office and Function, and that only in one particular Ministerial, not Jurisdictional sacred action, peculiar unto Priests by Gods own restriction. The first is of (e) King Saul, who sending for Samuel to Gilgal to offer Sacrifices and enquire of the Lord for help against the Philistims, and he staying seven dayes for him, and the people scattering themselves from him ; thereupon he calling for a burnt offering and peace offering, offered the burnt offering to the Lord himself. Which he had no sooner done, but Samuel came : and Saul telling him how he had in this extremity forced himself, and offered a burnt offering to the Lord. Samuel thereupon said to Saul, Thou hast done very foolishly, thou hast not kept the commandment of the Lord thy God which he commanded thee, for the Lord had now established the kingdom of Israel upon thee for ever : but now thy kingdom shall not continue. The second is (f) King Vzziah, who being lifted up with pride and prosperity to his destruction, transgressed against the Lord his God, and went into the Temple of the Lord to burn incense upon the Altar of incense ; whereupon Azariah the Priest went in after him with fourscore more Priests of the Lord that were valiant men, and withstood the King, and said unto him, It pertaineth not to thee Vzziah to burn incense unto the Lord, but to the (g) Priests the Sons of Aaron, that are consecrated to burn incense ; Go out of the Sanctuary, for thou hast trespassed, neither shall it be for thy honour from the Lord God. Then Vzziah

[a] 2 Chron. c. 34. throughout.

[b] 2 Chron. 34. 33.

[c] 2 Chron. 35. 1. to 20.

d 1 Cor. 10. 11. Jam. 5. 10. Jude 7.

e 1 Sam. 13, to 15.

f 2 Chron. 16. 16. to 22.

g Numb. 16. 17. Exod. 30. 7. Luk. 1. 8. 9.

ziah was wroth with the Priests, and took a censer in his hand to burn incense; whereupon the Leprosie rose up in his Forehead before the Priests in the House of the Lord, from beside the incense Altar, which Azariah the chief Priest, & all the Priests looking upon, drave, & thrust him out from thence; yea, himself also hastened to go out, because the Lord had smitten him: And he continued a Leper until the day of his death, and dwelt in a several house being a Leper, for he was cut off from the house of the Lord, and Jotham his Sonne was over the Kings house, judging the people of the Land. Had the exercise of Supream Ecclesiastical power in all the premised particulars been any usurpation of the Priests Office in Moses, Joshua, David, Solomon, Asa, Jehoash, Hezekiah, or Josiah, no doubt God would have punished them as exemplarily for it, as he punished King Saul, and King Uzziah for offering a burnt offering, and burning incense upon the Altar of incense; Or as he did a (c) Corah, Dathan and Abiram before them; for rebelling and usurping the Priests Office in burning incense with their censers, as Uzziah intended to do; Or as he punished and slew (b) the men of Bethshemesh, for looking irreverently into the Ark; and (c) Vzza for stretching out his hand to hold the Ark steady when it shook in the Cart; when as (d) none but Levites were by Gods special precept to come near, bear, or touch it; whose office all these directly invaded, for which they were thus signally punished by God himself; But since neither of all these Kings, Rulers, received any check, punishment at all from God, or the high Priests, but on the contrary, praise, honour, blessings from God, and chearfull obedience from all the high Priests, Priests, Levites themselves, for these their sacred Ecclesiastical transactions; they were doubtlesse no parts of the high Priests, Priests or Levites Offices, but of their own proper, inherent Supream Magistratical and Regal Authority, vested in them for these ends by God himself.

6ly. When the (e) Kings, kingdoms of Judah and Israel were destroyed for their Idolatry, and both Kings, Princes, people carried away Captives into foreign Nations, so that they had (f) no King nor Magistrate of their own to govern them, the sacred story records, that even Heathen Kings exercised Supream Authority over them in all Religious and Ecclesiastical matters, as these presidents demonstrate.

1. The (g) King of Assyria sent one of the Priests they had carried away captive, to the Nations he had placed in and about Samaria, instead of the Israelites, to teach them the manner of the God of the Land, and to fear the Lord.

2. (h) God stirred up the spirit of Cyrus King of Persia, to make a publike Proclamation through all his kingdom in writing, for every man that would to go up to Jerusalem, and build the house of the Lord God of Israel (who had charged him to build it) and that all should assist them with silver, gold, beasts, besides the free-will offering for the House of the Lord; Whereupon God stirring up the spirits of the chief of the Fathers of Judah, Ephraim, Priests, Levites, and others to undertake the work, King Cyrus brought forth the vessels of the House of the Lord which Nebuchadnezzar had taken from thence, and put in the house of his Gods, and delivered them to them by number, all which they carried to Jerusalem for the use of the Temple when re-built; and all they that were about them (in obedience to Cyrus royal Proclamation) strengthened their hands with vessels of gold, goods, beasts and precious things, besides all willingly offered. Whence God said of (i) Cyrus, He is my Shepherd, and shall fulfill all my pleasure, saying to Jerusalem thou shalt be built, and to the Temple thy foundations shall be layd; and titled him, HIS ANOINTED. Upon which Proclamation and Grant of Cyrus, the Jewes set up the Altar, offered Sacrifices, and laid the foundation of the Temple, as King Cyrus, King of Persia had commanded them.

3ly. King (i) Darius confirmed and enlarged this Decree of Cyrus, commanding his Officers not to hinder the building, to furnish them with moneys out of the Kings tribute for the work, and with young Bullocks, Lambs, Rams for burnt offerings of the God of Heaven, wheat, salt, wine, oyl, according to the appointment of the Priests at Jerusalem, to be given them day by day without fail; that they may offer Sacrifices of rest to the God of Heaven, and pray for the life of the King and of his Sonnes; clozing his Decree thus; Al o I have made a Decree, That whosoever shall alter this word, let timber be pulled down from his house, and being set up, let him be hanged thereon, and let his house be made a Dughill for this; And the God that hath caused his name to dwell there, destroy all Kings and people, that shall put to their hand to alter or destroy this House of God which is at Jerusalem: I Darius have made a Decree, let it be done with speed; whereupon the Jewes built and finished the House, offered Sacrifices,

and

(a) Numb. 16.
1, to 20.

(b) 1 Sam. 6.
10, 20.

(c) 1 Chron.
13, 9, 10.

2 Sam. 8, 6, 7.

(d) Numb. 4.
15, 1 Chron.

15, 2.

(e) 2 Kings 17
& 25, 2 Chron

36.

(f) Hosea 3, 4.
c. 10, 3. Ezech.

17.

(g) 2 Kings 17
25, to 20.

(h) 2 Chron.
36, 22, to 30.

Ezr. 1, throughout,
c. 3, 1, & c.

Isa. 44, 25, c.
45, 1, 13.

(i) May 44 28.
c. 45, 1.

(k) Ezra 5, 13
to 17 c. 6.

throughout.

set up Gods worship in it, according to the commandment of the God of Israel, and according to the Commandment of Cyrus, Darius and Artaxerxes King of Persia.

4ly. This (a) King Artaxerxes sent Ezra the Priest up to Jerusalem, and gave him fundry Vessels for the Lords house, with a large Commission to like effect with that of Darius, recorded Ezra 7. superadding, *Whatsoever is commanded by the God of Heaven, let it be done diligently for the house of the Lord of heaven, for why should wrath come upon the King and his sons. And thou Ezra (as my Commissioner) after the wisdom of thy God, let Magistrates and Judges, which may judge all the people that are beyond the River, all such as know the Law of thy God, & teach ye them that know it not. And whosoever will not do the Law of thy God, and the Law of the King, let judgement be executed speedily upon him, whether unto death, or unto banishment, or to confiscation of goods, or to imprisonment;* (all Temporal and Ecclesiastical Censures to be executed by Civil Magistrates, not Ezra the Priest) Upon receipt of which Commission, Ezra used this Thanksgiving: *Blessed be the Lord God of our Fathers, which hath put such a thing as this into the Kings heart to beautifie the House of the Lord, &c.* Which Commis. on he punctually pursued, and delivered it to the Kings Lieutenants and Governors, who thereupon furthered the people and the House of God. This King likewise (b) granted his Royal Letters to Nehemiah, commanding the Governours there to give him Timber and stone for the building of the Temple; who as the Kings Lieutenant over the Jewes there, exercised Supream Ecclesiastical Authority in building the Temple directing and ordering the Priests and Levites, setting up the publike worship of God, observing the Sabbath and solemn Festivals, constituting publike Fasts, and putting the Priests from their Priesthood, and the Levites who could not prove their pedigrees; causing all of them that had married strange wives to enter into a Covenant, to walk in Gods Laws, given by Moses, not to marry with strangers, pay all their tithes, offerings, first-fruits for the maintenance of Gods worship, Priests and Levites, whom he set in their courses and respective offices; as is recorded at large in Neh. cap. 5. to the end of the Book penned by himself as is conceived, though a Layman, and no Priest.

5ly. (c) Mordecai the Jew, who was next to King Ahasuerus, and Esther the Queen, by this Kings consent, instituted and by their own Decrees confirmed, the dayes and feast of Purim, wherein God gave them rest and deliverance from their Enemies, to be dayes of feasting and gladnesse, and of sending portions to one another, and gifts to the poor, and that the e dayes should be remembred and kept through every generation, every family, every province and every City; and that these dayes of Purim should not fail from among the Jewes, nor the memorial of them from their seed. And many conceive Mordecai was the penman of this Canonical History, though no Priest.

6ly. (d) King Nebuchadnezzar, as he exercised the Supream Ecclesiastical Authority within his Empire, in Erecting a golden image, and commanding all his Subjects of what condition or Nation soever, to fall down and worship it, under pain of being cast into the fiery furnace; which Decree all but Shadrac, Mesac and Abednago obeyed; he commanding them to be cast into this furnace for disobeying his Decree: So after their miraculous preservation in, and deliverance out of this furnace without any touch or smell of fire; he made this memorable pious Decree; *That every people, Nation and Language, that shake any thing amisse against the God of Shadrac, Mesac and Abednago, shall be cut in pieces, and their houses shall be made a Dunghill, because there is no other God that can deliver after this sort.*

7ly. The (e) King of Nineveh, when he heard tydings of Jonah his Messlage from God which he cryed in the streets thereof by Gods command, *Yet forty dayes and Nineveh shall be overthrown;* to prevent this denounced Judgement, caused it to be proclaimed and published throughout Nineveh, (BY THE DECREE OF THE KING AND HIS NOBLES, not Priests) saying, *Let neither man nor beast, herd nor flock, taste anything, let them not feed, nor drink waer, but let man and beast be covered with sackcloth, and cry mightily unto God; yea let them turn every one from his evil way, and from the violence that is in their hand; who can tell if God will turn and repent from his fierce anger, that we perish not; whereupon they fasted, and put on sackcloth, from the greatest unto the least, and the King himself was covered with sackcloth and ashes, and they turned from their evil way, and God repented of the evil he said he would do unto them, and did it not.*

By all these presidents recorded by the Spirit of God in Canonical Scripture, it is infallibly evident; That from *Moses*, till the last *Kings of Judah and Israel*, and during their Captivity; yea from the very first chapter in *Genesis*, till the last of *Malachi*, the Supream Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in and over all persons, things, causes in and over the Church and people of God, resided totally in, and was executed by the Supream Temporal Magistrates, Kings, Governours, (and so in Pagan kingdoms too) and was never so much as once seated in, claimed, usurped, or managed by any one * High Priest, Priest, Levite, or other Ecclesiastical person whatsoever, not not in divine and sacred affairs; much lesse is there the least shadow of any such transcendent Jurisdiction in them, over Kings and Civil Magistrates, or their Subjects, as all Popes, (and most Popish Prelates, Priests too of inferiour rank) now claim, usurp, exercise, by a pretended Divine Right, not to be found out or really grounded in the least on any place or president in the Old Testament, from *Adam* till our Saviours incarnation.

7ly. After the Jewes return from the *Babylonish* Captivity, though the High Priests during their unsettled estate, frequent wars with, and captivity to the *Romans*, and others, usurped, exercised some kind of Ecclesiastical and Civil Jurisdiction too, which God never transferred to them by divine Authority, nor any of their predecessors exercised under their Judges or Kings; yet the Supream Civil and Ecclesiastical Authority (which they frequently annexed to the Civil) remained alwayes in their Chief Temporal Princes, Kings, whom they made their High Priests too, or they made themselves both Princes, Kings and High Priests by usurpation, fraud and bloodshed. After the extinction of the whole lineage of *Aaron*, (a) the Kings of *Syria* translated the high Priesthood to *Simon* and his family of the *Asmoneans*, in which there were 20. high Priests, (as (a) *Paul Eber* and others observe) whereof 5. were likewise Princes and Chief Temporal Governours; to wit, *Matthias*, *Judas Maccabeus* his Son, *Jonathan* his Brother, *Simon*, and *Hyrcaus*; six usurped the Crown, styling themselves both Kings, and High Priests, as *Aristobolus* the 1. and 2. *Alexander* 1. & 2. *Hyrcaus* and *Antigonus*. After their Conquest by the *Romans*, the Roman Emperours and their *Deputies*, had the Sovereign power even in Ecclesiastical things and causes, though the high Priests, Princes, Elders and Rulers of the people assembled in a Council (in imitation of their Sanhedrim) usurped to themselves both a Civil and Ecclesiastical power in religious matters, having a (b) Captain of the Temple, Officers and Souldiers under them, whom they sent forcibly to apprehend our Saviour *Jesus Christ* and bring him before them Prisoner in their Council, where they examined and accused him first of blasphemy, and then delivered him to *Pontius Pilate* the Roman Governour, where he was accused by them in the Judgement hall before *Pilate* and at last condemned to be crucified, as the Evangelists record at large. By which it is evident that *Pilate* had the Sovereign power; they (c) having no power to put any man to death, but only to put men out of the Synagogue, scourge, beat, imprison them at their discretion. After Christs death, this Conventicle of Chief Priests, Elders, Priests, Pharises and Scribes, (d) twice apprehended, examined the Apostles for preaching in the Temple, commanding them to preach no more in the name of the Lord *Jesus*; which they refused to do: whereupon they only threatned and let them go at first; but when brought before them the second time for preaching openly in the Temple, and filling *Jerusalem* with their doctrine, notwithstanding their threats and inhibitions, they then beat and let them go; charging them, not to speak any more in the name of *Jesus*. Yet they were so farr from obeying their commands as Legal, or them as the Supream Ecclesiastical power to which they were bound in conscience to submit, that on the contrary, (e) they daily in the Temple and in every house ceased not to teach and preach *Jesus Christ*. Soon after (f) *Stephen* was brought before this Council, and there accused of blasphemy, and in the midst of his Apology stoned to death by the rude multitude. Yea (g) *Paul*, by Letters and Authority from the High Priest, made havock of the Church, and apprehended those that professed *Christ*, whether men or women, and haled them to prison, persecuting them even to strange Cities, and left them in bonds: Yet when he was converted, and preached *Christ*, himself (h) was apprehended and brought before the Council, and *Ananias* the High Priest, who commanded him to be smitten on the face when he began to speak, and he was 5. times beaten with rods, receiving 40. stripes save one, as a penal punishment; Yet neither the high Priest nor the Council were the Supream Judges in Causes Ecclesiastical, but the Roman Governours, Rulers, and *Cesar*; Hence the high

* Ex ea parte qua illud Sacerdotium in Veteri Testamento carnale erat et terrenum erat terrenae potestati, scilicet: Regali subjectum, *Alanus Pelagius De Planctu Eccles.* l. 1. Art. 59.

[a] L'estat de la Religion & Republique de peuple Judaique l. 11. *Genebrardi Chronicon.* *Jerom.* *Comment.* in *Dan.* l. 1. c. 6. *Josephus Ant. Judaeorum*, lib. 11, to 18. *Skickardus*, & *Sigonius* de *Republica Judaeorum*.

[b] *John* 7. 30, 32, 45, 46. c. 11. 47, 48, &c. 57. c. 19. 3. to 40. c. 19. to 38. *Mat.* 26. 4, &c. c. 27. throughout. *Mat.* 14. 43, &c. c. 15. 1, to the end. *Luke* 22. 47, c. 12. 1. to 45.

[c] *John* 18. 31. *Mat.* 10. 17 c. 23. 34. *Acts* 5. 40. c. 9. 2. *John* 9. 22. c. 16. 2. c. 12. 42. *Acts* 22. 19. c. 26. 11. *Lu.* 21. 12.

[d] *Acts* c. 4. 5, to 25. c. 5. 17. to the end.

[e] *Acts* 5. 42.

[f] *Acts* 6. 12. to 15. c. 7. 1, 2, &c.

[g] *Acts* 7. 1. 3. c. 9. 1, 2. c. 22. 4, 5. c. 26. 10. c. 28. 5.

[h] *Acts* 23. 1, 2, 4, 5. 2 *Cor.* 6. 6. c. 11. 23, 24.

high Priest, with the Elders and Council, by *Tertullus* their Orator, accused Paul, first before *Leili* the Governor for (a) being a stirrer up of sedition among all the Jews in the world, and ringleader of the sect of the Nazarens; before whom Paul made his defence; Afterwards he was accused by them before *Portius Festus* the succeeding Governour, who demanded of him, *Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem, and THERE BE JUDGED BEFORE ME*, (not the High Priest or Council) of those things whereof he was accused? Whereupon Paul doubting his justice, made this Appeal to *Cæsar* himself, (as Supreme Judge in all Ecclesiastical causes) I STAND AT CÆSARS JUDGEMENT SEAT WHERE I OUGHT TO BE JUDGED, &c. No man may deliver me to the Jews, I APPEAL UNTO CÆSAR: Then Festus when he had consulted with the Council, answered; Hast thou appealed unto Cæsar, UNTO CÆSAR SHALT THOU GO. Festus soon after informing King *Agrippa* that Paul had referred himself to the hearing and Judgement of Augustus, heard him again the second time before King *Agrippa*; who resolved, This man might have been set at liberty, had he not appealed (c) unto Cæsar, to whose Tribunal he was thereupon sent a prisoner to Rome to Cæsar himself, as the Sovereign Judge as well in Religious as Civil causes, persons, though a Pagan. Moreover Saint Paul having cast a Spirit of divination out of a Damsel at Philippi, the chief City of that part of Macedonia, it is specially recorded, (d) When her Masters saw that the hope of their Gains was gon, they caught Paul and Silas, and drew them into the market-place unto the Rulers, and brought them to the Magistrates, saying, These men being Jews do exceedingly trouble our City, and teach customes which are not lawfull for us to receive, neither to observe, being Romans: And the multitude rose up together against them, and the Magistrates rent off their cloathes, and commanded to beat them; And when they had laid many stripes upon them, they cast them into prison, charging the Jailor to keep them safely: who having received such a charge, thrust them into the inner prison, and made their feet fast in the stocks; But the next morning upon Pauls message, the Magistrates released and brought them out of prison themselves. In fine, our Saviour foretold his Apostles (e) They shall lay their hands on you, and persecute you, delivering you up to the Synagogues, and into Prisons, being brought before KINGS & RULERS for my name sake, for a testimony against them: compared with Christs prohibition to his Disciples, (f) The Kings of the Gentiles exercise Lordship over them, and they that exercise Authority upon them are called Benefactors; But ye shall not be so: and with the forecited Texts, are a most clear convincing Evidence, that although the Jewish high Priests and Priests usurped rather a Temporal then Ecclesiastical power to fetch the Apostles before and scourge them in their Synagogues to apprehend them by their (g) Officers, Souldiers, drag and cast men and women into prison for preaching and professing Christ, and that not severally by themselves, but in a mixt Council of Elders, Scribes and Pharises, (who were no Priests) sitting, advising, and voting with them; Yet the Supream power in matters of Doctrine and Religion even amongst the Jews during our Saviours abode with them, and after his Ascension, continued in the Roman Deputies, Kings, Emperors, and chief Civil Magistrates alone, as they did by divine institution in *Moses*, *Joshua*, *David*, *Solomon*, and other their own forementioned Kings and Supream Temporal Governours.

As for the Jewish Supream Court, generally stiled their (h) *Sanhedrim*, consisting of 71. persons of the Elders, Heads and Princes of *Israel*, as the Jewish Rabbins and those who write of the Jewish Courts collect from *Numb. 11. 16.* where (they hold) it was first erected; and conceive it was like our Parliaments, having consufance of all highest affairs. I confesse I could never yet be satisfied by any Text of Scripture, or solid Antiquity, 1. That this Court of 71. or *Sanhedrim*, was a settled standing Court sitting usually at *Jerusalem*, and that during the Judges, Kings, and inter-regnums too, till *Herod* put it down. 2ly. That the high Priests or any Levites were antiently Members of it, which *Godwin* and others utterly deny. 3ly. That they intermedled with any Ecclesiastical causes as Supream Judges of them, as some alleadge they did in the case of the i Prophet *Jeremiah*, where when the malicious Priests, Prophets, and all the people pronounced him (I conceive only by way of accusation, as in the case of *Christ* before *Pilate*, when they cryed out, Let him be crucified; not vote or Judgement) to be worthy of death; the Princes of *Judah* who heard tydings thereof, came up from the Kings house and sate down in the Porch of the house of the

a Acts 25. 1, to 27.

b Acts 26. 9, 10, 11, 12, &c.

c Acts c. 26. 27, & 28.

d Acts 16. 10 to the end.

e Luke 21. 12. Mat. 10. 17, 18. Mar. 13. 9.

f Lu. 22. 25.

g Mat. 26. 3. c. 21. 23. Mar. 15. 1. Lu. 23. 5. 66. Acts 10. Godwins *Moses* & *Aaron*, b. 5. c. 4. b Most Expositors and Commentators on *Numb. 11. 16.* *Lyra*, *Antiquarib* & the Rabbins on this Text, *Stieckardus*, *Sigonius*, & *Petrus Cunæus* de *Repub. Hebræorum*. *Godwins Moses* & *Aaron*, b. 1. c. 15. &c. Dr. Field of the Church, b. 5. ch. 18. *Sigonius* de *Repub. Judæorum*, l. 6. c. 7. Mat. 27. 22. i Jer. 26. 6. to

Lord, and when they had heard *Jeremiah* his Apology and their clamours, adjudged, voted the contrary, *that he was not worthy to die, and saved his life*, which proves the Princes only, not the Priests or Prophets, to be Judges paramount, even in Ecclesiastical causes, persons; not the Priests, in their imaginary Consistory, Church, Council, &c. It is granted by (a) *Sigonius*, (b) *Dr. Field*, most Jewish Rabbies, Antiquaries, that the *Princes of Judah and Israel* before the Babilonish captivity, sat *Chief Presidents in this high Court*, as they do in our Parliaments, and that nothing was there passed but by their assents thereto, till the high Priest after that restitution by usurpation, not right, sat *Chief therein*. Therefore if we admit any such Sovereign standing Court erected and continuing so long, (as (c) some pretend, to erect such a Presbytery in themselves) having consuance of Ecclesiastical persons or causes as well as Temporal, or a kind of Ecclesiastical Consistory styled a *Council*, which some would difference from it, (though I hold them both one and the same, erected, devised by their Elders, Princes, Priests after their return from the Babilonish captivity) it will no wayes enervate, but ratifie my second Proposition, That the Sovereign Ecclesiastical Authority in the Israelitish Church of God under the Law, remained alwayes settled by Divine and Natural Right in their Kings and chief Civil Magistrates, Princes, Councils, not in their High Priest, Priests or Levites separated or conjoynd; and that the Civil and Ecclesiastical power are but one and the same in nature, distinguished only by the Civil or Ecclesiastical objects, about which they are exercised, not in their original, subject, or power it self.

Before I proceed to the next Proposition, it will be necessary to answer 4. principal Arguments, Presidents, out of the Old Testament, before and under the Law, produced by Popes and their Parasites, to evidence their pretended Universal Spiritual and Temporal Jurisdiction too, over the Persons, Crowns, Kingdoms of all Kings, Princes, and the Emperor himself, to dispose of them at their absolute Wills, as derived only from, and held under them; which my Chronological Method confines me here to propound and answer in their order.

Obiect. 1.
d Mat. Paris
& Mat. Westm.
Anno 1208,
1209, 1213.
Holinshed,
Speed, Grafton,
Daniel, Fox,
Baker in King
John. Antiqu.
Ecclesi. Britan.
& Godwin in
the Life of
Stephen Lang-
ton.
e Innocentii 3.
Opera. Tom. 2.
p. 644. et cap.
Solita. Ex-
travagant. de
Major et obe-
dientia.

f Glossa, in
cap. Solita.
g Com. in Io-
han. de Sacro-
bosco. p. 189.
Dr. Coten-
thorp of the
Popes Tempo-
ral Monarchy,
p. 10.

The first is that alleged by *Pope Innocent* the 3d. the first Pope who (d) *interdicted the Realm of England, Excommunicated King John, and by force and frauds induced him to resign his Kingdoms of England and Ireland to, and resume them from him under an Annual rent, and to do Homage to him for them as his Vassal*: This Pope in an Epistle to the *Emperour of Constantinople*, useth this Argument, before *Adams* creation, to maintain his Temporal Monarchy: (e) *Moreover, you ought to know, that God hath made two great Lights in the firmament of heaven; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: both of them great, but the other greater*; Ad firmamentum igitur Cœli, hoc est Universalis Ecclesiæ, fecit Deus duo magna luminaria, &c. *Therefore God hath made two great lights to rule the firmament of heaven, to wit, of the Universal Church; that is, he hath instituted TWO DIGNITIES, quæ sunt Pontificalis autoritas, & Regalis potestas, which are The Pontifical Authority, and the Regal Power. But that which ruleth in the day, that is, in Spiritual things, major est, is the Greater, but that which in carnal things minor, is the Lesser, ut quanta est inter Solem & Lunam, tanta inter Pontifices & Reges differentia cognoscatur, (mark it) that it might be known there is as great a difference between Popes and Kings, as there is between the Sunne and Moon.* How great this difference is, this Pope defines not; But some illiterate Canonists and (f) Glossers on this Text (not well versed in Astronomy) resolve the *Sunne* to be 47. times greater then the *Moon*; whereas (g) *Johannes Clavius* and other Astronomers determine it to be no lesse then 6579. degrees greater then it: and by consequence the Pope to be so many degrees greater then the Emperor, by this Popes Resolution in his over-erring chaire. He subjoyns, *If his Imperial Highnesse would prudently consider these things, he would not make or permit the Patriarch of Constantinople, a great and honourable Member of the Church, to sit on the left side near his Footstool; when as other Kings and Princes (sicut debent) AS THEY OUGHT, reverently rise up to, and assign them a venerable Chair next them (on their right hand:)* Nos autem, etsi non increpando scripserimus, potuissimus tamen rationabiliter increpare.

(a) *Mauritius*

(a) *Mauritius de Azedo*, a Spanish Doctor of the Canon Law, in his highly approved and applauded Book, *De Præcellentia Episcopalis dignitatis*, concludes from the Popes Text; *That there is as vast a difference between the Episcopal and Regal dignity (not Papal only) as there is between the Sun and Moon*; quoting many Canonists, Divines, Politicians, and Cardinal Bellarmine himself, in his *Apologia pro Responsione ad JACOBUM REGEM ANGLIAE*, averring it; Yet (b) *Pope Sixtus* the 5. was so angry with Bellarmine, for not asserting the direct, but oblique, dominion of Popes over Kings in all Temporal things in this Apology, that he purposed to have burnt and totally abolished this his Book AS HERETICAL; And that upon reading of *Alex: Caverius* his Book (purposely written against Bellarmine) *Adversus Impios Politicos & Hereticos hujus Temporis*; branding all for impious Hereticks who denyed the Popes direct Universal Dominion in Temporal things, though they acknowledged it obliquely in order to, and absolutely in all Spiritual things: In this applauded Book, (c) *Caverius* asserts, *There is that proportion between the Pope and the Emperor, as is between the Sun and Moon, not only in Magnitude, but Splendor too. For, as the Sun is far more excellent and eminent then the Moon, seeing she borrows her splendor and light of the Sun; SO IS THE POPE THEN THE EMPEROUR; seeing his Authority depends on the Pope, and is derived from him*: Our own (d) *Thomas Waldensis* alluding thereunto, professedly asserts against *Wickliffe* defence of our Kings Supream Jurisdiction over Priests and Prelates, *That Priests (as well as Bishops) ARE TO BE PREFERRED BEFORE ALL OTHER EARTHLY PRINCES WHATSOEVER, and the Priesthood before the Kingship, as far as the Flesh before the Spirit, Gold before Lead, the Soul before the body, and Heaven BEFORE EARTH*; in proof whereof he spends two whole Chapters, and * *Alvarus Pelagius* above forty Articles.

To all which I answer: 1. (e) That God created the *Sunne to Govern the day*, and the *Moon the night*, by a direct divine inviolable and irrevocable Institution, observed from the Creation till now: when *Pope Innocent* and his flatterers can produce any such divine Law and constitution, made either by God at the creation, or by *Moses* for the Jews High Priests Supremacy, or by Kings, Princes, or Christ himself under the Gospel, to convince any rational Christian, that Popes and Prelates are the sole Universal Governours in the Church, but Kings and Emperours only in the World; That Popes or Bishops were ever typified by the *Sunne and Moon*; the Church and Earthly kingdoms by *Day and Night*; That there is as vast a difference between the Amplitude of Jurisdiction, and Splendor of Popes, Bishops, Kings and Emperours, as is between the Grandeur and Brightness of the Sunne and Moon; That Kings and Emperours derive all their Regal Authority, Crowns, Kingdoms; Splendor, Excellency in the world from *Popes Mistery*, or *Bishops Crostiers*; not God himself; (as the * Old and New Testament, *Paul* and *Peter* (the first pretended Bishop of *Rome* it self) dogmatically resolve) as the Moon borrows her light and splendor from the Sunne, (as some assert, but others rationally deny, being both made at once * by God on the fourth day, two days before *Adam* the first man was created, and some thousands of years before *Popes, Prelates, the Grecian or Roman Emperours* were extant in the world (and so could not typifie either of them, as these *Pontificians* dream.) Or when they can evidence, that God hath constituted *Popes* to rule, govern, and give light to the whole World by day only; and to the Emperour alone (not *Pope*) by night; as the Sunne and Moon govern, *alternis vicibus*, without encroaching on one the others turns; when as *Popes, Prelates* usurp the Temporal Rights of all Emperours, Kings, as well as Ecclesiastical all the year long; I shall then subscribe these *Popes* and Doctors conclusions as *Catholick verities*; whereas yet I cannot but conclude them (f) *strong Antichristian delusions, lyes*, which few sober men will credit. In the mean time, since Kings, Emperours were long before *Popes, Bishops*, who derive all their Lordly power, Splendor, Temporalities, Jurisdictions, Bishopricks, precedency above other Ministers only from their donations, not they their Crowns, Kingdoms or Regal Authority from *Popes* or *Bishops*, as all *Histories* attest, against their Papal pretences to the contrary: Since the *Moon* doth frequently eclipse the *Sunne* by the interposition of her body between it and the earth; as the Papal and Pontifical power hath frequently eclipsed more or lesse the power, splendor of our own and other Kings and the Roman Emperours) but these *Suns* ver eclipseth the *Moons*, but only the interposition of the earths Ball betwixt them, in their Divine jurisdiction, being very little, granted to them out of meer

a Lugduni 1630. cap. 8. sect. 49, 50, 51 95, 96,

b Guil. Barcl. de Potestate Papæ, c. 13. & Dr. Craqueloup of the Popes Temporal Monarchy, p. 7, 8.

c Lib. 2. c. 5. nu. 12. De Rom. Pontifice.

d Doctrinalis Fidei, Tom. 1. Venetiis 1571.

b. 2. Artic. 3. cap. 74, 75. p. 177, &c.

* De Planctu Eccles. l. 1. art. 10, to 66.

Answer.

e Gen. 1. 14, to 19. Pf 137. 7, 8, 9. Jer. 31. 33, 34, 35. c. 33. 20. Deut. 4. 19.

* 2 Chron. 9. 8 Prov. 8. 15, 16. Rom. 13. 1, 2, 3. Col. 1. 16. 1 Pet. 2. 13, 14, 15.

* Gen. 1. 16, 17. 26, 27.

f 2 Thes. 2. 10, 11.

* bound

* 37 H.S. c. 17
1 E 6. c. 2.

a Mat. 6. 22,
23.

* De Confid.
ad Eugenian.

b Onus Eccle-
siaz, Str. Bui-
gietæ Revela-
tiones, Nicho-
laus de Cle-
mentis De
Corrupto Ec-
clesiæ statu,
Espencæus in
Tit. & de Con-
tinentia.

c See Morry his *Mysterium Iniquitatis*, Abbot, Powel, Squire, Dr. Beard, and others De Antichristo ; Catalogus
Tollum Veritatis.

2.

a 1 Sam. 10. 1.
c. 15. 17. c. 16.

13. 2 Sam. 12.
7. 1 Kings 1.

35, 45. 1 Kings
11, 12. 2 Chr.

22. 7.

b Aventinus
Annal. Boio-
rum, l. 6. p. 506.

c In x. Distinct.
cap. Queniam.

d Summa.

e De Planctu
Ecclesiæ, lib. 1.

Art. 13. 37. 53.

f Part 1. c. 15.

g See Dr. Cra-
ven'shop of the

Popes Temporal
Monarchy,

p. 6. to 22.

Gratian Dist.

10. 25. 26.

and the Glosses
thereon. Mar-
tinius Patavinus

Defensoris Pa-
cis, l. 2. c. 29.

h 1 Sam. 10. 1.
c. 16. 1. to 14.

i 1 Sam. 15. 17.

k 1 Sam. 12. 19

5. c. 24. 6. 10.

c. 26. 9. 11. 16.

23. 2 Sam. 1.

14. 16.

l 2 Sam. 19. 21

c. 22. 51. Psal.

18. 51.

m 2 Sam. 12. 7.

2 Kings 3. 6.

12.

n Psal. 20. 6.

Psal. 28. 8.

Psal. 132. 17.

o Psal. 89. 22.

p 2 Chron. 23

Kings 11.

* *bounty*, not *duty*, as I shall prove in due place ; Since the Jurisdictions, Con-
stitutions, Decrees, Ceremonies, Franchises of Popes, Prelates, are still various
and subject to change, like the Moon; the Light both of their Doctrine and Life,
(since Pope Gregory the seventh, Innocent the third, Adrian the fourth, Boniface 8.)
hath been rather *Moon-light*, yea (a) *darkness* it self, then *Sun-shine*, and the
Popes, Bishops, Priests, Monks of the Church of Rome it self more carnal, earthly,
ambitious, vitious, and dark, then the *Kings, Princes, Civil Magistrates*, and
Lay-people, as * St. Bernard, and many of their own (b) *Authors*, (as well as (c) *Prote-*
stants, assert) that the *Papacy* opposing and exalting it self (ever since these Popes)
above all *Christian Kings and Emperours*, is that *Man of sin*, which Christ himself
shall destroy with **THE BRIGHTNESSE OF HIS COMMING, & LIGHT**
of the Gospel ; I shall rather conclude, that the *Pope*, with his *Prelates, Priests*, are the
Moon, and their *Church the Night* ; the Emperour and Christian Kings the *Sunne*,
and their *kingdoms the Day* signified in *Genesis 1.* then Popes and Prelates of the
Church of Rome, if rightly parallel'd.

The 2d. Text alleged for the Popes Supremacy over Kings and Emperours, as
well in Temporals as Spirituals, is, *The (a) High Priest and Priests anointed, crowned*
Saul, David, Solomon, Jehu, Joash, Kings of Judah and Israel, as Popes and Bish-
ops do Kings now : *Ergo*, they were paramount their Kings, as well in Temporals as
Spirituals, because they were anointed by, and received their Crowns and Kingdoms
from their hands alone ; who might dispose of them at their pleasures. Thus
Pope Adrian the 4th. argued from Popes coronations of the Roman Emperour
deduced from the Jewish high Priest ; (b) *Whence hath he (King Frederick) the Empire,*
but FROM US ? By election of the Princes he hath the Name of King, by OUR CON-
SECRATION he hath the name of Emperour ; Imperator quod habet totum habet
a nobis. **Whatever the Emperour hath, he hath the whole from Us,**
It is in our Power to give the Empire to whomsoever we will. Hence
(c) *Laurentius, (d) Osiensis, (e) Alvarus Pelagius, (f) Marta*, with (g) sundry
other *Pontificians*, thus second Pope Adrian, *Since Kings are made Kings by their*
unction ; (which can be had from none **BUT A PRIEST**, as Saul and David by
Samuel :) It is apparent *they are above Kings*, and **That all Kings receive**
both the Confirmation and Administration of their Kingdoms from the Spirit-
ual Judge ; The Emperor receives his Temporal power from the Pope and Church
of Rome, who **Confirms, Anoints, Crowns him ; therefore approves,**
rejects, and deposeeth him at his Pleasure.

To which I reply, 1. That *Samuel anointed Saul and David to be Kings*, not at,
(b) *but before* their Coronations, and that by Gods *special command*, as his Minister
only, not their Superiour : whence Samuel told Saul, (i) *The Lord anointed thee*
King over Israel : and David alwayes stiled him, (k) **THE LORDS ANOINTED**,
not *Samuels* ; refusing to offer the least violence to his person, upon this account :
So David is stiled (l) *Gods anointed*, who tells him, (m) *I anointed thee KING over Isra-*
el ; and called him, (n) *Mine anointed* ; adding, (o) *With my Holy oyle have I* (not
Samuel) *anointed him*. 2. Neither Samuel, nor any other of the High Priests who
anointed Saul, David, or any King of Judah or Israel, did ever from thence either
claime or exercise the least Jurisdiction or Superiority over their Persons, Crowns,
Kingdoms, in Spiritualties or Temporalties, as Popes and Prelates claime, exer-
cise over Christian Kings and Emperours, Crowned by them : Nor yet *Jehojeda* the
High Priest, who not only *Anointed and Crowned Joash King*, but was the principal
Instrument in preserving and restoring him to his Crown, when Usurped by *Athaliah* ;
But they all dutifully submitted to, and obeyed their Royal commands, ordinances,
in all Ecclesiastick and Divine, as well as civil things, as the premises evidence. 3ly.
Not only the High Priests, but p *Elders and People anointed (q) David and (r) Jehoahaz*
Kings, without any Priest or High Priest that we read of : Yet none of them claim-
ed, exercised any Supremacy over these Kings upon this account. 4ly. (f) *Zadoc the*

q 2 Sam. 2. 4. c. 5. 3. 1 Chron. 11. r 2 Kings 23. 30. 2 Chron. 20. 1. s 1 Kings 1. 43, 44, 45.

Priest

Priest, and *Nathan* anointed *Solomon* King, by King *David*s special command, not their own Authority, who put (a) *Abiathar* the chief Priest from being Priest unto the Lord, because he sided with *Adonijah*, and crowned him King, and made *Zadock* Priest in his place. Here the very King deposeth the chief Priest, and tells him he deserved also to dye for anointing *Adonijah*: not the high Priest the King, for being crowned and anointed by *Zadock*. 4ly. One of the (b) sons of the Prophets a young man by the Prophet *Elisha* his command from God (not the high Priest) anointed *Jehu* King, saying, *Thus saith the Lord, I HAVE ANOINTED THEE KING OVER ISRAEL*; which having executed, he opened the door and fled. If this young Prophets meer anointing *Jehu* King, gave him an absolute Jurisdiction over him, in spiritual and temporal things, (as these Pontificians argue) then this *Minor Prophet* likewise gained the supream Jurisdiction over the high Priests themselves, and *Zadock* and *Nathan* over *Abiathar* the chief Priest, by anointing *Solomon* King, as well as over *Jehu* and *Solomon*, which they dare not averre. 5ly. *Popes themselves* (who pretend to this absolute Sovereign power over Emperors, Kings, by reason they crown and anoint them) are both elected, crowned and anointed *Popes* by Bishops and Cardinals only, not *Popes*, as all their (c) *Historians, Pontificale & Ceremoniale Romanum* attest: Will *Popes* then infer, *Ergo* they are higher, greater in Power, Jurisdiction than *Popes*, and may dispose of the Papacy, *Popes*, and depose them at their wills? Besides in the (d) *Church of Rome*, all other Episcopal Churches, and our English Church, meer Presbyters at first, and of latter ages inferiour Bishops and Clergymen both elected, anointed, consecrated and installed all their Patriarchs, Metropolitans, and Archbishops: Will it therefore follow, that they are superiour to Patriarchs, Metropolitans, Archbishops in Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and may remove them at their wills? If not, then this grand Argument of *Popes*, *Popelins*, for the *Popes*, Prelates supremacy over Emperors, Kings, Churches, kingdoms in Temporals and Spirituals, because they anointed, crown them, is a meer ridiculous *Non-sequitur*. 6ly. The (d) *Kings of England, France, Spain, Hungary, Poland, Denmark, Sweden, Bohemia, Scotland, Cyprus*, and others have been usually anointed, crowned by their own Bishops, the *Kings of England* most frequently by the Archbishops of *Canterbury*, yet some times by the Archbishop of *York*, or Bishop of *London*, or *Winchester*: Are therefore these Bishops that crown, anoint them Kings, thereby intituled to be their Sovereign Lords in all Temporal and Spiritual things, and advanced above all other Archbishops and Bishops in their Realms not present at their Coronation, Consecration, and may dispose of their Bishopricks, Crowns, kingdoms at their pleasures? If not, I hope the Roman Pontif will from henceforth disclaim this grand Argument for their Supremacy, as most false and absurd. The rather because none of the Jewish high Priests, Priests ever pretended to, much lesse exercised such a power over any of their most impious, idolatrous Kings, as *Popes* both claimed and exercised over pious Christian Kings, Emperours, to their eternal infamy: And because Kings are actual Kings by descent or election, before their Coronations.

The 3d. and principal warrant from the Old Testament which *Popes* and their Parasites insist on for their Supream Authority over all Christian, Pagan Kings and Emperors Persons, Crowns, Kingdoms, to dispose, depose, root out, destroy them at their wills; is that Text of *Jeremy* 1. 10. *The Lord said unto Jeremiah; See, I have this day set thee over the Nations, and over kingdomes, to root out and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant.* Whence they thus argue. *Jeremiah* the Priest, to whom this power under the Law was given, was but a Type of the *Popes*, *Christ*s Vicar General his absolute Dominion, power under the Gospel, of whom this Text was principally meant; Therefore *Popes* may pull down, root out, destroy and throw down all Kings, Emperors, Kingdoms at their pleasures, and dispose of them at their wills. Thus (e) *Pope Gregory* the 7th. in his Confirmation of his Execration of *Henry* the Emperor, (f) *Pope Innocent* the 3d. (g) *Pope John* the 22d. (h) *Ostiensis*, (i) *Alvarus Pelagius*, (k) *Augustinus Triumphans*, (l) *Caspar Scoppins*, (m) *Caverius*, (n) *Radulfus Cuperus*, (o) *Lelius Zecchus*, (p) *Bozius*, (q) *Marta*, (r) *Belarmine*, and other Romanists conclude, with very great Confidence from this Text.

in Ecclesiast. c. 36, 38. m De Rom. Pontif. l. 2. c. 9. 13. n Comment. ad cap. Oportet. Distinct. 79. qu. 48. o De Rom. Pontif. p De Tempore Eccles. Monarchia Praefat. lib. 1. c. 8. l. 5. 18. q Part. 1. c. 15, &c. r De Romano Pontif. l. 5. c. 1.

a 1 Kings 1. 7. 19, 42, c. 2. 16, 27, 35.

b 2 Kings 9. 1, to 13.

c Platina, Onuphrius, Anastasius, Augustinus Cherubinus, Beyerlinck & others, in their Lives; Baronius, Spondanus, Genebrardi Annales et Chronica.

d Ceremoniale et Pontificale My Unbishopsing of Timothy and Titus, p. 84, 85, &c.

e See Seldens Titles of Honour, Pontificale Romanum, the severall Histories of these kingdoms & Archbishops of Canterbury Lives. The 2d Part of My Signal Loyalty of Gods true Saints, &c. to their Sovereigns, p. 148, to 321.

Object. 3. e Platina in Gregorio 7. f Extrav. De Major. & Obsequia, cap. Solita. g Gratian Distinct. 22. 96. Cauf. 15. qu. 8. h Summa. i De Planctu Eccles. l. 1. Art. 13. 37, to 66. k De Pontifice Romano, l. 5. c. 10. &c. l Alexipharmacum Regium &

But

Answer.

Jer. 1. 1, 2.

Jer. 1. 1, 2,
3-4* See Jerom,
Theodoret, Ri-
chard de Sancto
Victore, Lyra,
Tostatus, Dio-
nysius Carthu-
sianus, Calvin,
& others in
this place.c 1 Sam: 12
24, 25.
d 1 Sam. 15.
23, 26. c. 13,
14, 15.

But to dismount these aspiring *Roman Bishops and Rooks*, I shall desire them to demonstrate, first, how *Jeremiah*, only one of the (a) private Priests of *Anathoth*, not the high Priest of the Jews, was in this and this alone, a Type of the Pope, or *Peter*? If not, then their pretences, argument are false: If yea; then let them produce some Scripture warrant for it. 2ly. How *Jeremiah* and the high Priest too, from whom they claim their power, can be both Types at once of the Pope and his Papal pretended prerogatives? 3ly. Whether the High Priest had any such Supremacy vested in him, as *Jeremiah* here received. If not, then *Jeremiah* was paramount him in Jurisdiction, and might remove, extirpate him at his pleasure, as well as whole Nations, Kingdoms, being a Member of the Israelitish Nation and Realm, and so the High Priest not Supream, as they formerly argued? If yea; What need of any such special Commission from God to *Jeremiah*, alone; without the high Priests privity or delegation, to the prejudice of his inherent high priesthood? 4ly. Whether this transcendent power was given only to *Jeremiah* as an extraordinary Prophet of God sanctified in, and called from the womb? or, as he was an ordinary Priest? If as an extraordinary Prophet only, as the Text expressly resolves, then Popes can lay no Title to it, till they can prove themselves such extraordinary, sanctified, called Prophets, as *Jeremiah*, and produce the like special divine Commission to each of them from God himself, as he received. If as to an ordinary Priest alone; then every ordinary Priest among the Jews heretofore had, and by like consequence every ordinary Masse-priest in the Church of *Rome* hath as absolute a Sovereign power over all Kings, Emperors, Nations, Kingdoms of the world, as the high Priest or Pope himself pretends to from this Text; and then where is his sole Monarchy over them when equally and intirely divided amongst so many inferior Priests, or any Kings or Kingdoms safety? 5ly. Whether it extends to *Kings*, there being not a word of *Kings*, but only of *Nations & Kingdoms*, in this Text? 6ly. Whether *Jeremiah* by virtue of this Commission, did either challenge or exercise any such Sovereign Authority over (b) *Amon*, *Jchoiakim*, or *Zedekiah* Kings of *Judah*, & their kingdom, under whom he lived; (though very wicked and idolatrous) by deposing them from their thrones, absolving their Subjects from their allegiance, and setting up other Kings in their steads? If not, it is infallible, then this was no Commission, * for such a rooting out, destroying, pulling and throwing down, as these Pontificians dream of, but of far different Nature; to wit, only by denouncing Gods judgements against them, that if they persevered in their sins, God himself would root out, and destroy, pull and throw them down; but if they repented upon his menaces, he would build and plant them. This God himself declared to be his only meaning, even to *Jeremiah* himself and to us, ch. 19. 5. to 11. Then the word of the Lord came to me, saying; O House of Israel, cannot I do with you as this Potter, saith the Lord? Behold as the clay is in the Potters hand, so are ye in my hand, O house of Israel. At what instant I shall speak concerning a Nation, and concerning a Kingdom to pluck up and pull down and to destroy it; If that Nation against whom I have pronounced turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them. And at what instant I shall speak concerning a Nation and concerning a Kingdom, to build and to plant it; If it do evil in my sight, that it obey not my voice, then I will repent of the good wherewith I said I would benefit them: Now therefore go to, speak to the men of Judah, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, saying; Thus saith the Lord; Behold I frame evil against you, and devise a devise against you, return ye now every one from his evil way, and make your wayes and your doings good. This way of working out, pulling down, building up and planting Kings and kingdoms, and no other, he useth throughout his prophecy, especially ch. 25. 17. to 38. where God commands him to take the wine cup of his fury at his hand, and to make all the Kings and kingdoms of the world to drink it, that so they may spue and fall and rise no more, and become a desolation for their sins, if they repented not. This was the rooting up and pulling down which *Samuel* exercised towards *Saul* the first King of *Israel* and his kingdom; when he thus publicly menaced them, (c) But if ye shall still do wickedly, ye shall be destroyed, both you and your King. (d) Because thou [Saul] hast rejected the word of the Lord, he hath also rejected thee from being King; thou hast not kept the commandment of the Lord thy God which he commanded thee, therefore thy kingdom shall not continue, the Lord (not I) hath rent the kingdom of *Israel* from thee; The Lord hath sought him a man after his own heart, and the Lord hath commanded him to be Captain over his people, because thou hast not kept that which the Lord com-

manded

manded. This was that *rooting up, pulling down, rending, removing* of Kings, kingdoms, Nations used by all the (a) Prophets and Prophecies in the Old Testament, and particularly by Gods own denunciation against *Niniveh* by *Jonah*, (b) *Yet forty days, and Niniveh shall be destroyed*; which the Kings and peoples joynt humiliation, and repentance upon his preaching, *in turning from their evil wayes*, prevented. 7ly. S. Bernard, when Pope *Eugenius*, like his Predecessors, insisted on this Text, as giving him and them a transcendent power, Dominion over Kings and kingdoms, returned this answer thereunto; That it gave them no Dominion at all over their Persons, Crowns, possessions, but only to extirpate their Vices (b) *Non est quod blanditur Cellitudo, Sollicitudo major. Quale est hoc de paupere & abjecto levare super Sen- tes et regna? Non ad dominandum, opinor; Nam & Propheta cum similiter levaretur audivit, Ut evellas & destruas, & disperdes, & dissipes, & edifices & plantes: Quid horum factum sonat? Rusticani magis sudoris schemate quodam labor spiritualis expressus est. Et nos igitur ut multum sentiamus de nobis, impositum senserimus Mi- nisterium, non dominium datum. Non sum ego major Propheta, & si forte potestate; sed meritorum non est comparatio. Hac loquere tibi, & doce te ipsum qui alias doces. Puta te velut unum aliquem de Prophetis: An non satis ad te? et numium. Sed gratia Dei es quod es. Quid? Ego quod Propheta, nunquid plus quam pro- pheta? Si sapias eris contentus mensura quam tibi mensus est Deus: nam quod amplius est, a malo est: Disce exemplo Prophetico praesidere, non tam ad imperitandum, quam ad facitandum quod tempus requirit: disce sarculo tibi opus esse, non sce- tro, ut opus facias prophetæ. Et quidem Ille, non regnaturus ascendit, sed ex- tirpaturus. Putas ne et tu invenias aliquid elaborandum in agro Domini tui? Et plu- rimum Non planè totum quivere, emundare Propheta aliquid filijs suis Apostolis, quod agerent reliquerunt, aliquid ipsi Parentes tui tibi. Sed nec tu ad omne sufficiens. Ali- quod profecto tuo relicturus es Successori, & ille alijs, & alij alijs n'que in finem. This was St. Bernards sence of this Text, and severe check to the Pope himself for abusing it, against the true scope and meaning.*

8ly It is Gods incommunicable Prerogative which no meer mortal is authoritatively capable of; (c) *To loose the bond of Kings and gird them with a girdle; to lead Princes away spoiled, overthrow the mighty, and powr contempt upon Princes;* (d) *To strike through Kings in the day of his wrath, and break Kingdoms in pieces like a Potters vessel;* (e) *To bind Kings in chains, and Nobles in fetters of iron, for their crying Rebellions against his Sovereign Majesty* (as he did (f) *Hoshea, Zedekiah, Manasseh, Jehoiahim, others, thus bound and carried away captive to Egypt and Babilon by their invading Kings*) (g) *He removeth Kings and setteth up Kings; The most high King of heaven only ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and those Kings that walk in pride against him, he is able to abate, and translate their kingdoms to others, as he did (h) Nebuchadnezzar, and Belshazzar, who recognised this Sovereign Empire to be peculiar to him alone.* Let Popes therefore beware, how they usurp or intrench upon this Prerogative of the most high, to the prejudice of any anointed Christian Kings (i) *who sit upon his throne as his Viceroyes; and highest affront to the Sovereign Jurisdiction of Christ himself, the King of Kings.*

The Fourth and most colourable pretext, is from the president of *Azariah* the Chief Priest and other Priests withstanding King *Uzziah* to burn incense upon the altar, and thrusting him out of the Temple; (the only example in the Old Testament of any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction exercised by the Jewish high Priest and Priests, on Prince or Subject) Whence *Bellarmin* and others conclude; That it is (k) *Lawful for Popes, Bishops and Priests by their own inherent Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction to excommunicate, de- throne Kings and Emperors too, and absolve their Subjects from their allegiance, for diso- beying their Papal commands and injunctions.*

Spons. ad Jacobum Regem. de Romano Pontif. lib. 5. cap. 4. Ames Bellarminus Encervatus, Tom. 1. p. 275.

I answer 1. That all this president warrants is; That Chief Priests may lawfully disswade ambitious, wilfull Kings from doing any unlawfull actions against the expresse will of God, and perchance resist them too when they attempt to offer sacrifices or act ought belonging peculiarly to their own office in their own Churches. But that they may either excommunicate, resist, or thrust them forth of the

a 2 Kings 11. to 14. See Jere- my, Ezechiel Daniel, Hosea, Nahum, Oba- diah, Amos. b Jonah 3. c De Consid- eratione ad Eu- genium Papam lib. 2.

c Job 12. 16, 17. d Psal. 110. 5. Psal. 2. e Pl. 149. 7, 8. f 2 Kings 5. 23. c. 35. 1. 2 Chr. 33. 11. c. 36. 6. Ezech. 19. 4, 9. g Dan. 2. 21. Hosea. 13. 10, 11. h Dan. 4. 37. 25. 32, to the c. 5. 18. to the end. i 2 Chron. 9. 8.

Object. 4.

k Gratian caus. 11. qu. 1. caus. 23. qu. 1. caus. 15. distinct. 9. Bellarmin: A- pologia pro Re-

Answer.

Temple, for any other Offence, especially for violating or not obeying their own Papal or Pontihcal Orders, Injunctions, Mandares, not expressely grounded on Gods word, this president will no wayes warrant. 2ly. They did not thrust King *Naziah* out of the Temple, where he actually invaded their function against Gods word, till God himself the King of Kings, whose Law he had violated, had first miraculously passed sentence upon, and smitten him *with the plague of Leprosie in the forehead*, which they all visibly beheld: Therefore Popes and Priests may not thrust any King or Prince out of the Church for any Crime, till God himself (a) *the only King and Judge of Kings* hath first given visible sentence against him by some signal Judgement. 3ly. They thus thrust him out of the Temple, not principally because he attempted to *burn incense*, but because *God had thus miraculously smitten him with Leprosie in his forehead*, and so by Gods expresse command he was (b) *to be shut out of the Congregation and Church by the Law, and dwell in a house alone*, that he might not infect others; this the Text renders to be the *sole or main cause of his thrusting out of the Temple, dwelling in a several house*, and of his Sonnes judging the people in his stead; not by the Priests, but his own appointment. 4ly. This *King himself* when God had thus smitten him, as the Text precisely records, *hasted to go out of the Temple of his own accord, voluntarily dwelt in a house alone, and delegated the government of his house and people to his Sonne*; So as there was only a voluntary expulsion of him out of the Temple by the Priests *with his own consent*, not against it; but no sequestring or deposing of him by them from his throne; he continuing King till his death, and making his Sonne his Viceroy to supply his Government and order his house. 5ly. Here was no sentence of Excommunication thundred out against him with Bell, Book and Candle; no absolving of his Subjects from their oaths of Allegiance, no exciting of them to rebell, or take up Arms against him to dethrone him; Wherefore Popes and Popish Prelates can no wayes justify from this president, their excommunicating, deposing Kings, Emperors, or absolving Subjects from their Allegiance, against their wills for the greatest crimes.

Having removed these 4. Grand Romish stumbling-blocks, before, under the Law and Gospel, out of the way of my Chronological Progresse, I now proceed to my third Conclusion.

BOOK II. CHAP. III.

III. My Third Proposition is, *That the Supream Government of the Church after Christs Incarnation, under the Gospel, was and is vested in Jesus Christ himself, God and Man, only as he is the King (not Priest or Prophet) thereof, and as it is His KINGDOM. And that his Priestly and Prophetical Office are united to his Kingly, as the first, highest in dignity, order; not his Regal to his Prophetical or Kingly Office.*

BECAUSE this is of very great Consequence, and may seem strange to *Usurping Pontifs*, and other Prelats, who appropriate the Sovereign Spiritual Jurisdiction Government over Christs kingdom, Church to themselves, as united to his *Priestly and Prophetical*, not *Regal Office*, and so derived wholly and immediately to themselves by Christ, as *Bishops, Priests*; not to Kings, by, from, and under whom they will not claim nor exercise it, as a flower of Christs *Crown*, though delegated to Kings, his sole Vice-royes upon Earth, not Popes or Priests, who are no Kings; I shall fully demonstrate its verity by pregnant Scripture-proofs.

1. It is generally asserted by all Divines Old and New; *Pontificians and Protestants*, That King *David* and *Solomon*, (both of them (a) *anointed by Gods special*

command

command, to sit upon Gods throne, to be Kings for the Lord their God, one of his love to his people Israel, to do Justice and Judgement, to reign over, rule them in the fear of God, and to establish them for ever; as likewise to prepare, build, consecrate a most glorious and holy Temple for him under the Law, were both lively Types of Christ; (c) anointed by God with the oyl of gladnesse above his fellowes, as the son and seed of David, to be the Sovereign King (as God incarnate) over his Church, Saints under the Gospel, which he redeemed, built, sanctified with his own blood, adorned with all saving graces, and in which he should sit, rule as King and Sovereign Lord for ever, to govern, rule, help, protect, save, glory it for eternity.

2ly. That Christs coming in the flesh to rule, reign in and over his People for ever, is alwayes prophesied of, and promised in the Old Testament, under the Title and Office of a King, not Priest or Prophet; and that he shall sit upon the Throne of David his Father to govern them as a King, not Priest; Witnesse Isay 32. 1, 2. ch. 16. 5. & ch. 9. 6, 7, 8. Behold a KING shall raige in righteousness, and Princes shall rule in judgement: and a man shall be as an hiding place from the Wind, and a covert from the tempest: as rivers of waters in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land. And in mercy shall his Throne be established, and he shall sit upon it in truth in the Tabernacle of David, Judging and seeking Judgement, and hastening righteousness: For unto us a Child is born, unto us a Sonne is given, and the Government shall be upon his shoulder, and his name shall be called: Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the everlasting Father, the PRINCE of Peace: Of the increase of his Government and peace there shall be no end, upon the Throne of David, and upon his Kingdom, to order, and to establish it with judgement and with justice from hence forth ever. The zeal of the Lord of Hosts will perform this. Isay 53. 22 For the Lord is our Judge, the Lord is our Lawgiver, the Lord is our King, he will save us. Jer. 23. 5, 6. The dayes come saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous branch, and a King shall reign and prosper, and shall execute Judgement and Justice in the Earth. In his dayes Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely, and this is his name wherewith he shall be called, the Lord our righteousness, &c. Ezek. 27. 22, 24, 25. And they shall be no more two Nations, neither shall they be divided into two Kingdoms any more at all. And David my servant shall be King over them, and they all shall have one Shepherd, and they shall also walk in my judgements, and observe my statutes, and do them. And they shall dwell in the Land which I have given unto Jacob my servant wherein your Fathers have dwelt, and they shall dwell therein even they and their children, and their childrens children for ever, and my servant David shall be their Prince for ever. Hosea 3. 5. & ch. 13. 9, 10. Afterward shall the children of Israel return and seek the Lord their God, and David their King, and shall fear the Lord and his Goodesse in the latter dayes. O Israel thou hast deserted thy self, but in me is thy help; I will be thy King, where is any other that may save thee in all thy Cities? Jer. 33. 15, 16, 17. chap. 8. 19. ch. 9. 10. In those dayes and at that time will I cause the branch of righteousness to grow up unto David, and he shall execute judgement and righteousness in the Land. In those dayes shall Judah be saved, and Jerusalem shall dwell safely, and this is the name wherewith he shall be called, The Lord our righteousness; For thus saith the Lord, David shall never want a man to sit upon the Throne of the house of Israel. Is not the Lord in Zion, is not her King in her? The Lord is the true and living God, and an everlasting King, or King of eternity, Micah 2. 13. Their King shall passe before them, and the Lord on the head of them, cap. 4. 7, 8, 9. I will make her that was cast off a strong nation, and the Lord shall reign over them in mount Sion from hence forth for ever: Also thee shall it come, even the first Dominion, the Kingdom shall come to the daughter of Jerusalem. Now why dost thou cry out aloud, Is there no King in thee? Zach. 9. 9. Rejoyce greatly O daughter of Sion, shout O daughter of Jerusalem, Behold thy King cometh unto thee, he is just, having salvation, lowly, and riding upon an Asse, and upon a Colt, the foale of an Asse. Actually fulfilled at Christs triumphant riding into Jerusalem, and crying Hosanna to the Son of David, blessed is the King of Israel, and blessed be the Kingdom of our Father David, that cometh in the name of the Lord, Hosanna in the highest; as all the four Evangelists record. Zach. 14. 9. 16. And the Lord shall be King over all the earth, and in that day shall there be One Lord, and his name One. And it shall come to passe, that every one that is left of all the Nations that came against Jerusalem, shall even go up from year to year to worship the King, the Lord of Hosts. To which I shall

Psalm 45. 7

2

4 John 12. 12.
Mat. 21. 1, 5
14. Mat. 11. 1
to 12. Lu. 19.
29, 40 47.

subjoyn these prophecies of King David himself concerning the Kingship and kingdom of Christ, Gods Son, of his seed. Psalm 2. 6, 7, 8. *Yet have I set my King upon my holy Hill of Sion. I will declare the Decree; the Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my sonne, this day have I begotten thee: Ask of me and I shall give thee the Heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the Earth for thy possession; Thou shalt break them with a rod (or Scepter) of Iron, &c.* Psalm 10. 16. *The Lord is King for ever and ever, &c.* Psalm 29. 10, 11. *The Lord sitteth King for ever: The Lord will give strength unto his people, the Lord will blesse his people with peace.* Psalm 24. 7, 8, 9, 10. *Lift up your Heads O ye Gates, and be ye lift up ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in; who is this King of Glory? The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battell, The Lord of Hosts he is the King of Glory &c.* Psalm 47. 6, 7, 8. *Sing praises to God, sing praises, sing praises unto our King, sing praises; For God is the King of all the earth, sing ye praises with understanding. God reigneth over the Heathen, God sitteth upon the Throne of his Holinesse.* Psalm 96. 9, 10, &c. & 98. 6, 9. & 99. 1, 2. *O worship the Lord in the beauty of holinesse, fear before him all the earth. Say among the Heathen, that the Lord reigneth, the world also shall be established that it shall not be moved, he shall judge the world uprightly. With trumpets and sound of a Cornet make a joyfull noise before the Lord the King, &c.* For he cometh to judge the earth, with righteousness shall he judge the world, and the people with equity, More especially Psal. 95. 3. & 99. 10. 2. *The Lord is a great God, and a Great King above all Gods. The LORD REIGNETH, let the people tremble: The Lord is great in Sion, and high above all people. The KINGS strength also loveth judgement, thou dost establish equity, thou executest judgement and righteousness in Jacob.* Psal. 149. 2. *Let Israel joyce in him that made him, let the children of Sion be joyfull in THEIR KING: Let them praise his name in the Dance, &c.* Psalm 89. 18. 34, 35, 36, &c. *For the Lord is our defence, and the holy one of Israel is our King, Also I will make him my first-born, higher then the Kings of the earth. My covenant will I not break, nor alter the thing that is gone out of my lips. Once have I sworn by my holinesse that I will not lie unto David, His seed (King Jesus) shall endure for ever, and his Throne as the Sunne before me, It shall be Established for ever as the Moon and as a faithfull witness in heaven.* In all these Texts of sacred Story (to omit others) Christ is full prophced of, and promised to his Church only, under the stile of a **King, Lord or Great King** of the Seed of David, sitting upon his Throne, righteously judging and reigning over his people as a King, and he is sometimes stiled David their King (he being a Type of Christ) his Supream goverment of them being attributed, annexed only to his Kingship, not to his Priesthood or Prophetical office, as it was in King David his Father, and the forecited kings.

3ly. That as the Scripture prophced of, and promifeth Jesus Christ in the flesh under the Title of a King; so it stiles the Church and Saints he should reign over under the Gospel, a **kingdom**, wherein and over which he sits and reigns as a King for ever. This is evident by all the last recited Texts; and those I shall adde unto them. 2 Sam: 7. 13. 29. 1 Chron: 28. 7. *I will establish his kingdom for ever;* 1 Chr. 29. 11. *Thine, O Lord, is the greatnesse, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the praise; for all in the heaven and in the earth is thine, thine is the kingdom, O Lord, & thou art exalted as head, above all, as a King, not Priest or Prophet, both riches & honor come of thee, and thou reignest over all, and in thine hand is Power and Might, to make great a d to give strength to all,* Psal. 103. 19. *The Lord hath prepared his throne in heaven, and his kingdom ruleth over All:* Yea the contemplation and discourse of the Glory and excellency of Christs everlasting kingdom over his Church and Saints, is thus prophced of by David, as one principal part both of their and all other Christians duty and felicity upon earth. Psal. 145. 10, 11, 12, 13. *All thy works shall praise thee, O Lord, and thy Saints shall blesse thee; they shall speak of the Glory of thy kingdom, and talk of thy power, to make known to the Sons of men his mighty acts, and the glorious maiesty of his kingdom: Thy kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and thy dominion endureth through all Generations.* In pursuance of which duty, King David himself penned two special Psalms of praise, Psal. 45. 1. *My heart is inditing a good matter, I speak of the things I have made for the King &c.* Gird thy sword (not Peters or the Popes keyes) upon thy thigh, O most mighty, with thy glory and thy majesty; and in thy majesty ride prosperously because of truth and meeknesse, &c. *Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever, the Scepter of thy kingdom* (not

(not Peters keys) is a **right Scepter**. Thou lovest righteousness, and hatest wickedness: therefore God, thy God hath anointed thee with the oyl of gladness above thy fellows. **Hearken** (O daughter) and consider, &c. So shall the **King** greatly desire thy beauty, for he is thy **Lord**, and worship thou him. The Kings daughter (typifying the Church) is all glorious within, &c. She shall be brought unto the **King**, (Christ Jesus) in rayment of needle-work, they shall enter into the **Kings palace**, &c. To which he addeth many Psalms of like nature, especially two beginning thus: Psalm: 97. 1. **The Lord reigneth**, let the earth rejoyce, let the multitude of the Isles (and ours amongst others) be glad thereof. Psalm: 99. 1. **The Lord reigneth**, let the earth tremble, &c. The Prophet Daniel presents us with this excellent description and prediction of Christs Kingdom, Dan: 2. 41. **And in the dayes of these Kings shall the God of heaven set up a Kingdom which shall never be destroyed, and the Kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these Kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever:** Thus farther illustrated Dan: 4. 3. **How great are his signes? how mighty are his wonders? and his dominion is from Generation to Generation.** Upon which consideration King Nebuchadnezzar himself upon his relevation to his understanding and kingdom, ver. 34, 35. **Blessed the most high, and praised and honoured him who liveth for ever; whose dominion is an everlasting dominion and his Kingdom from Generation to Generation:** And all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing, and he doth according to his will, in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth, and who can say unto him, what doest thou? King Darius thus seconded him, Dan: 6. 26. **He is the living God and stedfast forever, and his Kingdom that which shall not be destroyed, and his dominion that which shall be even unto the end. He delivereth and rescueth, &c.** Dan. 7. 13, 14, 27. **I saw in the night Visions, and behold one like the sonne of man (Christ Jesus) came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the ancient of dayes, and they brought him near before him; and there was given him Dominion, Glorie, and a Kingdom, that all people, nations and languages shall serve him; his Dominion is an everlasting Dominion, and his Kingdom that which shall not be destroyed: And the Kingdom and Dominion and the greatnesse of the Kingdom under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the Saints which are of the most high; whose Kingdom is an everlasting Kingdom, and all Dominions shall serve and obey him.** To which the Prophet Micah superadds this prophecy, ch. 4. 7. **I will make him that was cast farr off a strong Nation; and the Lord shall reign over them in Mount Zion, from henceforth even for ever.**

All these memorable Prophecies and Promises in the Old Testament, were particularly applied to **Christ** and ratified by the Angel **Gabriel** when sent by God to the Virgin **Mary** with the blessed Tydings of our Saviours miraculous conception by the over-shadowing of the Holy Ghost in her womb, thus recorded by St. Luke in the New Testament, Luc. 1. 21, 31, 32, 33. **Behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a Sonne, and shalt call his name JESUS; He shall be great, and shall be called the Sonne of the Highest, and the Lord God shall give unto him, the Throne of his father David, and he shall reign over the House of Israel for ever, and of his Kingdom there shall be no end.** All these recited memorable Prophecies, promises applied to Christ himself, his Reign, Kingdom, Kingly Office in the New Testament, Lu. 1. 32, 33. Hebr. 1. 7. to 14. 1 Cor. 15. 25. 2 Pet. 1. 11. infallibly resolve, That all Spiritual Dominion, Rule, Power, Judicature and Jurisdiction over the Church and members thereof, are actually vested in Christ by God the Father & for ever inseparably annexed only to his **Regal**, not **Priestly** or **Prophetical** Office, and that he exerciseth this Supream Lordship and Dominion over them only as a **King sitting in his Regal throne**, reigning over, giving Lawes to, judging, rewarding, punishing them, as they are his **Kingdom, Subjects**, who serve and obey him as their King: whose Kingdom and Sovereign Dominion over them is an everlasting Kingdom, Government, Dominion, which shall never be altered nor destroyed, nor the rights thereof invaded by his **Priestly** Office, nor any **Apostle**, **Pope**, **Bishop**, **Priest**, or **Usurpers** whatsoever.

4ly. Upon this account, we find these secondary Prophecies recorded in the Old Testament, that not only all Nations, but their very Kings, Princes, Kingdomes should obey, serve, and do him homage with all humility as their Sovereign King and Lord, by, from, and under whom they hold their Crowns, and whose Vice-royes,

Viceroyes, Ministers they are. Hence is that memorable prophecy of King David his Father, on whose throne he is said to sit. Psal. 68. 24, 29. 32. *They have seen thy goings O God, the goings of my God, my King, in the Sanctuary, &c. Kings shall bring presents unto thee; Sing unto God ye Kingdomes of the earth, O sing praises unto the Lord.* Psal. 72. 4, 9, 10, &c. a meer prophecy of Christ and his kingdom under the person of King Solomon his predecessor, and type; *Give the King by Judgement, O God, and thy righteousness unto the Kings Sonne; He shall judge thy people with righteousness, &c. He shall have Dominion also from sea to sea, and from the River unto the ends of the earth; They that dwell in the wilderness shall bow before him, and his Enemies shall lick the dust: The Kings of Tarshish and of the Isles shall bring presents, the Kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer Gifts: Yea all Kings shall fall down before him, (and them by their examples and authority) all Patrons shall serve him.* Psal. 102. 15, 16. *The heathen shall fear the name of the Lord, & the Kings of the earth the glory of the Lord.* Psal. 138. 4, 5. *All the Kings of the Earth shall praise thee, O Lord, when they hear the words of thy mouth; yea, they shall sing in the praises of the Lord, for great is thy glory of the Lord:* Whence King David exhorting all celestial, terrestrial, and then the rational creatures to praise the Lord, Psal. 148. begins thus with Kings: verse 11. *Kings of the earth and all people, Princes & all Judges of the earth, &c. Let them praise the name of the LORD, for his name alone is excellent, his glory is above the earth and heaven.* Isay 41. 1, 2. *Keep silence before me O Islands, &c. who raised up the righteous man from the east, and called him to his foot, gave the Nations before him, and made him Rule over Kings; he gave them as dust to his sword, and as driven stubble to his bow.* Isay 49. 7, 23. *Kings shall see and arise, Princes also shall worship, because of the Lord, that is faithful, and the holy one of Israel. Kings and Queens shall bow down to thee, with their faces towards the earth.* Isay 52. 15. *He (Christ with his blood) shall sprinkle many Nations, THE KINGS shall shut their mouths at, (or rather before) him; for that which hath not been told them shall they see, and that which they had not heard shall they consider.* Isay 60. 3. 10, 11, 16. chap. 62. 3. *The Lord shall arise upon thee, and his glory shall be shewn in thee, The Gentiles shall come to thy light, and KINGS to the brightness of thy rising; THE KINGS of the sons of strangers shall come unto thee; unto thee the riches of the Gentiles, and THEIR KINGS shall be brought; The Gentiles shall see thy righteousness, and ALL KINGS thy glory.*

Hence the Royal Psalmist David upon this consideration, that God in despite of all heathen people, Kings and Rulers of the earth, should set up his Sonne Jesus Christ, his KING upon his holy hill of Zion (which cannot be removed, but standeth fast for ever) to whom he had given the Heathen for an Inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession; concludes with this admonition to them, to subject themselves to his Royal Scepter and Government: (a) *Be wise now therefore O YE KINGS, be instructed ye JUDGES of the earth; Serve the LORD with fear, and rejoyce unto him with trembling; Kisse the Sonne (a Ceremony used by (b) Subjects, feutories to Kings & Sovereign Lords, when they kneeled down before & swore Homage and Fealty to become their Men and Vassals from that day forwards of life, limb, or terrene honour; and to be true, faithful, bear faith and true allegiance to them, continued in England till this day) lest he be angry and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little; Blessed are all they that trust in him.* In all these Prophecies of Christs kingdom and Government under the Gospel in the Old Testament, Christ is alwayes stiled and set forth only as a KING and Sovereign Lord, reigning and ruling in, over his subjects as a King, not as a Priest or Prophet; and his Church stiled described not by the Name of a Church, (never once used throughout the Old Testament) but only of A KINGDOM, or of (c) Mount Zion, or Jerusalem, (d) THE CITY OF GOD, where the House of the Lord (f) was built, his publike worship sealed by David and Solomon, the Metropolis of all Kings of the seed of David, where they were crowned, reigned, and gave Judgement, as Kings, whence it was stiled (g) THE CITY OF DAVID, for there were set THRONES OF JUDGEMENT, even THE THRONES OF THE HOUSE OF DAVID: and the CITY OF THE GREAT KING (in relation to Christ himself) whence the Church under the Gospel is likewise stiled, *The City of the living God*, and described in all her glory, under the Title of A CITY, (Rev. 21. 13. to the end; and ch. 22. 1, to 27.) wherein his Subjects serve and worship him as their LORD, GOD, KING, and shall

a Psal. 2.
b Littleton che
of Homage fealt
59, 88. Rot.
Psal. 18 H. 6.
num. 66.
c Pl. 48. 1. to
5.
d Psal. 12. 5.
throughout.
e Pl. 46. 4. Pl.
48. 1, 8. Pl. 57
3.
f 2 Sam. 6. 10
12. 16. 1 Kings
c. 2. c. 3. 1, &c.
c. 8. &c.
g 2 Sam. 5. 9.
c. 6. 10, 11, 16
1 Kings 2. 10.
c. 3. 1. 8. Sun-
day other Tem-
h Psal. 120. 3.
4, 5, 6.
i Psal. 48. 1, 2,
3.
k Hebr. 12. 22
Rev. 3. 22.
l Rev. 21. 13.
to 7.

shall REIGN WITH HIM FOR EVER AND EVER; All which considered, infallibly demonstrate, the Supreme Rule and Government of the Church on earth under the Law, to be vested only in, and exercised by the Kings, and Sovereign Rulers of Gods people; not in & by the High Priests or Levites; and under the Gospel in & by Christ himself only as KING and Supreme Lord thereof, as it is his *kingdom*, not as a Priest or Prophet: and that his reign, Dominion, Jurisdiction in and over it is for ever appropriated to his Regal, not Pontifical or Prophetical office.

5ly. As the *Angel* told *Mary* a little before *Christs Conception*, the *Grandeur, stability & perpetuity* of his *kingdom*: So the *Wise men* which came to *Jerusalem* to worship him, being the first-fruits of his *Kingdom* and Church under the Gospel, inquired after him only as a King: saying, *Where is he that IS BORN KING OF THE JEWS? for we have seen his Star in the East, and are come to worship him*; Whereupon he *Chief Priests* and *Scribes* being assembled by *King Herod* to inform him where Christ should be born; answered, *At Bethlehem of Judea, for thus it is written by the Prophet: And thou Bethlehem art not the least among the PRINCES of Judah, &c. for out of thee shall come A GOVERNOR, WHO SHALL RULE MY PEOPLE ISRAEL*: where these *Wise men* finding him with *Mary* his mother, they fell down and worshipped (not his mother *Mary* with an *Impera filio, Monstra te esse matrem; Fube benedicere, &c.* as *Popes* and their disciples daily pray unto her even now in their *Offices, Primers, Mass-books* set forth by *Papal authority*) but the (a) *Babe*, & when they had brought forth their gifts, they offered unto him *Gold, Frankincense, and Myrrhe*; On which place (b) *Saint Cyprian* first, and others after him, have this observation; *In auro REGEM, in thure Sacerdotem, in myrrha Incorrumpibilem; quamvis passibilum demonstrat. In loco humili & supellestili vili REX Regum, & DOMINUS Dominorum invenitur, recognoscitur, & ab aliis adoratur.* And although Christ never claimed nor exercised any temporal Authority over the Kingdom of *David* (to which he was born heir, as *Herod* feared) but only over his *Spiritual kingdom*, which he affirmed, (c) *Not to be of this world*; yet he owned himself to be A KING; and (d) *Pilate* himself positively professed it, (though the Jews would not) by demanding of them (when they cried out, to have him crucified) *shall I crucify your KING?* and fixing this written Title on his *Crosse* (which he would not alter at the high Priests importunity) in *Hebrew, Greek and Latin*; — JESUS OF NAZARETH THE KING OF THE JEWS; to evidence his *Kingship* (over his *Kingdom* the Church) which none of the (e) *Princes of this world* (then) knew, for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord (or king) of glory; as the *Apostle*, and *Psalmist* stile him: yea the very multitude of people proclaimed him a King, when he rode into *Jerusalem* in regal Triumph, (f) by strowing their garments and boughs of trees in the way, singing with a loud voice; *Hosanna, Blessed be the king, and kingdom of our father David that cometh in the name of the Lord, Hosanna in the highest.* After which he went into the Temple, and threw out them that bought and sold therein, overthrew the Tables of the money-changers, and them that sold Doves; by virtue of his Regal, not Sacerdotal power.

6ly. It is very observable, that *Jesus Christ* while on earth, was most usually stiled both by (i) *Mary* his Mother, (k) all his *Disciples*, (especially by (l) *Saint Peter*) and by all sorts of persons who addressed themselves unto him by petition or otherwise, *Lord, the Lord, my Lord, our Lord*, and his other Titles of *Jesus, Saviour, Christ, &c.* are very seldom mentioned throughout the New Testament, by *Angels, Saints, Evangelists, Apostles*, or any others, but with this addition: (m) *Christ the Lord, Jesus our Lord, the Lord Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour, Lord God, &c.* every tongue of (n) *Angels, Saints*, yea of (o) *Devils and damned spirits*, confessing, that *Jesus Christ is Lord, Lord of all, Lord and Christ, Lord both of quick and dead*: which Title many (p) *Hypocrites*, and the foolish *Virgins* reiterated, saying, *Lord, Lord open, &c.* Which Appellation Christ himself resolved to be true; (q) *you call me Lord & Master, so I am*, his Father having put all things in subjection under his feet, especially his redeemed ones, who profess this as an Article of their faith; (r) *But unto us there is but one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him*: Now this Title *Lord*, (attributed to Christ in its eminence

1 Pet. 2. 13. 1 Pet. 2. 1. 3. Luke 2. 11. and infinite other Texts. m Luke 2. 11. Phil. 2. 9, 10. n Luke 12. 17. Mat. 3. 21. Mat. 5. 10, 11, 12. o Mat. 7. 21. 22. c. 25. 11. Lu. 6. 46. c. 23. 25. p John 13. 13. q 1 Cor. 8. 6.

rest sence) denotes only his *Regal Dominion, Lordship, and Sovereignty* over them in and under the Gospel as their *KING*, as the penitent Theefs speech to him on the Croffe, (a) *LORD remember me when thou comest into THY KINGDOM*; the Apostles question to him, (b) *LORD wilt thou at this time restore the KINGDOM to Israel?* Saint Pauls conclusion, (c) *THE LORD will preserve me to his HEAVENLY KINGDOM*, with St Peters, (d) *For so an entrance shall be ministred unto you abundantly into THE EVERLASTING KINGDOM OF OUR LORD and Saviour Jesus Christ*, and our Saviours own asseverations, (e) *Not every one that saith LORD, LORD, shall enter into the KINGDOM OF HEAVEN, but he that doth the will of my father which is in heaven*, necessarily evince:

7ly. After our Saviours resurrection and ascension; when God his Father highly exalted him, and gave him (f) *all power both in heaven and earth*, his Sovereign Regality and Dominion in and over his Church and Kingdom, are frequently set forth in these transcendent expressions decyphering only his Regal, not Priestly or Prophetick Offices and Administrations; (g) *Our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the only Potentate, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, the Prince of the Kings of the earth*; whom Goa the father of glory hath set at his own right hand in heavenly places, far above all principalities and powers, and might and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but in the world to come, and hath (h) put all things under his feet, and gave him to be head over all things to his Church, which is his body: (i) *The fullnesse of him that filleth all in all*; Goa hath (by the extraordinary greatnesse of his mighty and glorious power delivered us from the power of darkness and translated us into the kingdom of his dear Sonne, who is the first-born of every creature; For by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers, all things were created by him and for him. And he is the head of the body the Church, who is the beginning, the first-born from the dead, that in (or amongst) all things he might have the preeminence: For it pleased the Father that in him all fullnesse should dwell: Compared with his other Gospel titles, *Thou (k) King of Saints*, and the united praises, (l) prostrations, acclamations, of the Angels, with the four beasts, and the 24. Elders, and all the Saints and Redeemed ones before Christ who sitteth on the throne, before whom they all fall, worship, and cast down their Crowns, saying, *Worship and honour, and thanks and glory, and power be unto him that sitteth upon the throne for ever and ever*; worthy art thou O LORD to receive glory and honour; for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they were and are created: All these recited Texts resolve, that Christ is Supream head of his Kingdom the Church, not in his Priestly, Prophetick capacity or office; but only in his Regal, and reigns in it as a *King, Lord*, not as Priest or Prophet.

8ly. As in the Old so in the New Testament, the *Church Militant* as well as the *Triumphant*, is usually stiled (m) *the Kingdom of God*, the (n) *Kingdom of heaven*, *Christ's Kingdom*, (o) *my Kingdom*, his Kingdom, the (p) *everlasting Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*; (q) *a Kingdom which cannot be removed*, &c. The very Gospel it self, (r) *the Gospel word, and mysteries of the Kingdom*; yea (s) *the Kingdom of God, and heaven it self*; (t) *The mighty power of God to salvation, & scepter of his Kingdom*. His Saints (u) *shall eat, drink, sit, reign with him in his Kingdom*. He sits and reigns for ever in his Church as a *King on a Royal throne*, clothed with royal Majesty and glory; His rewards are all Regal; *A crown of righteousness, of glory, thrones, Inheritances in his kingdom, reigning with him as Kings, royal Robes, Honour, Glory*. His punishments Regal; *Exclusion from his kingdom, everlasting death, infernal chaines, destruction from the presence of the LORD, and from the Glory of his POWER*. His judging of quick and dead at his appearance and coming; Yea all his administrations Regal, in prescribing Lawes to his Church, rescuing them from the power of Satan, Hell, and all other Enemies, protecting them from all evils; treading Satan under their feet; Guarding them by his Mighty power unto salvation in his heavenly kingdom: compared with this fulfilling of the pro-

f Mat: 13. 44, 47. Mar: 10. 15. Luc. 4. 43. c. 9. 2, 11, 60, 61. c. 10. 9. c. 11. 20. c. 16. 16. c. 18. 17. Acts 20. 25. c. 18. 31. 1 Kings 4. 20. t Mat: 25. 34. c. 5. 3. 10. Jam: 2. 5. Lu: 23. 19. u Lu: 22. 30. 2 Kings 2. 11. Rev: 22. 5. Rom: 9. 11. Mat: 19. 28. c. 15. Rev: 3. 11. Rev: 4. 2. to 10. c. 5. 7, 13. c. 6. 16. c. 7. 15, 17. c. 22. 3. x Mat: 13. 38. 1 Tim: 4. 8. Jam: 1. 12. 1 Pet: 5. 4. Rev: 2. 10. y Rom: 3. 20. 4. Mat: 19. 28. z Luke 12. 32. Mat: 15. 34. * 1 Cor: 6. 9, 10. c. 15. 50. Gal. 5. 21. Eph: 5. 5. Mat: 25. 41, to 46. 1 Pet: 3. 19. 2 Pet: 2. 4. 2 Thess: 1. 9. Lu: 19. 27

phacies

cies of Christs kingdom in the Old Testament, thus recorded (as accomplished) in the New ; Rev: 11. 15. *There were great voyces in heaven, saying, The Kingdomes of this world are become the Kingdom (not Church) of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.* Rev: 12. 10. *And I heard a loud voice saying in heaven, Now is come the Kingdom of our God, and the Power of his Christ.* 1 Cor: 15. 24, 25. *Then cometh the end, when Christ shall have delivered up the Kingdom to God the Father, when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority and power ; for he must reign till he shall put down all enemies under his feet.* All and every of these Texts and considerations joyntly and severally demonstrate more clearly then the Morning Sunne ; That Christs Government of his Kingdom the Church under the Gospel, is only *Kingly* and *Monarchical*, (as even (a) *Bel-larmin* himself, and most Pontificians professe, argue ; grounding the Popes Universal Monarchy upon it) not Pontifical or Prophetical ; and that the Supreme Government thereof is for ever intirely annexed to his Regal, not Priestly or Prophetical Office ; and these Offices of his united to his Regal Office as Supream, not his Regal to his Sacerdotal or Prophetical, as subordinate to them.

This being an unfallible Gospel-truth, not hitherto so fully cleared, and insisted on by the Oppugners or Asserters of Popes Universal Monarchy, as was necessary, which induced me to expatiate in its probation. The second and sole Question will be ; Whether Christ himself did ever delegate by any Commission recorded in Sacred History all his Regal Power and Jurisdiction, or any branch thereof, to Saint Peter, or any other Apostles, Bishops, Presbyters, Evangelists, or Ministers of the Gospel ? Or whether they or any of them ever justly claimed, enjoyed, exercised this his Royal Dominion, Office, Government in or over his Church on earth ? If yea ; as most Popes and their Parasites confidently affirm, (without the least shadow of Scripture or Verity ;) let them produce the Commission or Texts, to evidence it to every man : * *conscience in the sight of God*, and to all Kings, Kingdoms, Nations in the world : If not (as shall be evidenced in the ensuing Chapters past all contradiction,) I and they may then safely cry out mightily with a strong voyce, as the Angel prophetically doth ; (b) *Babylon the great (Rome) is fallen, is fallen, and is become the habitation of Devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful Bird: Come out of her my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues : with violence shall she (and her triple-crown'd Pontif) be thrown down (from the pinnacle of her usurped, super-transcendent power) and shall be found no more at all.*

Before I take leave of this Proposition, to avoid mistakes, and clear up the Truth, it will be necessary to distinguish : 1. The several sorts of Christs kingdomes. 2ly. What kind of Kingdom his Church is. 3ly. How and in what manner he reigns and governs in it, as King and Sovereign Lord over it ?

For the 1. It is (a) generally agreed by *Fathers, Pontificians* and *Protestants*, that Jesus Christ hath a three-fold kingdom, set forth in the premised Scriptures, if strictly pryed into. The first is, a *Kingdom of power*, and absolute Dominion, which extends it self not only to all Men and Angels, but (b) likewise to all other unreasonable and inanimate Creatures whatsoever in heaven, earth, and under the earth, yea to the very Devils themselves ; This Kingdom belongs unto Christ principally as he is God, and the Creator of all things, which comes not within the Verge of our present Discourse ; however Popes seem to usurp it. The 2. is a *Kingdom of (c) meer purchase, or Grace*, confined properly not to Angels or Mankind in general ; but to such as are truly elected, called, justified, sanctified, redeemed, saved by Christs precious blood ; yet in the largest sense extended to the good Angels, and all visible Members of the Church Militant professing the name and gospel of Christ, as his Subjects ; though not actually regenerated, justified, sanctified, saved : Of this Kingdom there are two distinct parts : the one Triumphant in Heaven : over which no Pope or Mortals on earth can pretend the least Kingship or Dominion ; the other Militant upon Earth ; the latter in its largest extension comprehending all who bear the name of Christians, whether good or bad, regenerate or unregenerate : This is the Kingdom of Christ of which the Pope as Christs *Vicar General*, and Peters fictitious Successor pretends himself the *Supream and sole Governor*. The 3d. is the *Kingdom*

a De Romano Pontif. l. 5. c. 1. See Dr: Craken-thorp of the Popes Temporal Monarchy, c. 1. Alvarus Pelagius De Planctu Eccles. l. 1. Art. 13. Gratian Dist. 15, 22, 69, 76.

* 2 Cor. 4. 20

b Rev. 18, 2, 3
A. 21.

a See Augustin De Civit: Dei, l. 20. c. 9. l. 7. c. 7 &c. Homil: in Johan: 1. 15. Bucerus de Regno Christi; Dr Craken-thorp of the Popes Temporal Monarchy c. 2, 3. Bellarmin. de Pontif. Rom. l. 5. c. 4.

b Psal. 103. 19. 21, 22, 23. Pl. 145. 9, 10, 11, 12. Pl. 148. 1. 10 14. Pl. 135. 5, 6, 7. Pl. 9. 4. 3, 4, 5, 6. Phil. 2. 15, 16. Rom. 5. 1, 36. Col. 1. 16, 17, 18. Rev. 4. 10. c. 11, 13. John 1. 1, 2. c Rev: 5. 9, 10. c. 3, 4, to 17. c. 14, to 6. c. 15. 47.

c. 2, 15. Mat: 6: 10. 13. f 1 Cor: 15, 24, &c. Mat: 25. 31, to 46. c. 13. 43. c. 24, 30, 31. Jam. 2. 5.

of *Glory*, not really different from the former, long since begun, and encreasing every day more and more, by new additions of departed Saints thereto, which kingdom shall be fully completed, when all the *Elect* shall be gathered, the Church militant united to the Church triumphant & actually glorified with Christ in the kingdom of heaven.

a Johan. de Par-
tis de Potest.
Papa, c. 8.

b See Dr. Rai-
nolds & others,
on Psal. 110.
Bp. Jewels De-
fence, part 6. p.
711.

c Doctrinalis
Fidei, Tom: 1. l.
2. Art. c: 3. c.
76, 77.

For the 2d. It is asserted by *Fathers*, and most (a) *Romanists* themselves, as well as (b) *Protestants*, that this Kingdom of Christ is merely Spiritual, Not any tempo-
ral kingdom upon earth, as the Jewes, some grosse Millenaries, Popes and their Parasites fancy; over which Christ never actually reigned, or shall reign as a Tem-
poral King and Lord, even in all temporal things; for which we find no warrant in Scripture or Fathers. Hence *Thomas* (c) *Waldensis* himself (though a grand Ad-
vocate for the Popes Supremacy) layes down and proves at large these 4: Conclufi-
ons, 1. *Regnum temporale Judaeorum sub Jeconio excidium accepit, neque amplius Ju-
daeorum aliquis, vel de jure, vel de facto illud obtinuit* 2. *Regnum illud Judaeorum
terrenum, cum figura fuit Regni aeterni, & spiritualis Christi debuit omnino in adven-
tu eius cessare, quemadmodum et sacrificia* 3. *Regnum temporale quod in Pro-
phetarum scriptis, MESSIAE promissum est, non est Regnum Carnale et Ter-
renum, sed Spirituale, quo per fidem in Cordibus suorum Regnat.* 4. *Quod
ex verbis quae Christus dixit coram Pilato (Tu dicis quod Rex sum ego) non potest colligi,
quod ipse fuerit Rex Terrenus de Facto vel de Jure.* And Gen. 49. 10. proves, That the temporal Scepter should depart from Judah, when Christ the true Shiloh came into the world.

d De Planctu
Eccles: l. 1. Art.
10. to 68.

e Lib. 1. Artic:
61.

Alvarius Pelagius (the (d) grand assertor of the Popes Universal Kingship in and over Christs kingdom the Church, and all earthly Kings, Kingdoms too) informs us, That the (e) kingdom of Christ hath various acceptations in Scripture; 1. It is taken for Christ himself. 2ly. For the sacred Scripture, or Gospel of Christ. 3ly. For the Church of Christ, divided into two Parts: Militant on earth, triumphant in heaven: yet there are not two kingdoms in the Church, but one kingdom; because both end in one, and there is but one King of both, and one Spirit reigns in both Churches, but diversly; for in the Church of Travellers it reigns by faith, in the Church of the blessed by open vision. This Church therefore is but One for the unity of its end and beginning, but it is distinguished by reason of the diversity of the state: Yet this kingdom comprehends, not only the *Elect*, but also all the holy Angels, for there is but one City and Kingdom of God constituted out of holy Angels and men; as he proves out of *Augustine*, and *Gratian* Distinct: 10. & 59. That Christ ever challenged or enjoyed any temporal kingdom upon earth, he offers not the least proof out of Scripture or Fathers; in which (f) *Cardinal Bellarmin* himself confesseth, he could never find that Christ had any such kingdom after most diligent search, but only a kingdom in and over his Church, which is not temporal but spiritual.

f De Pontifice
Romano l. 5. c.
4. & Recogni-
tio ejusdem, p.
33, 35.

g Ephes: 3. 16.
17. Gal: 2. 20.
2 Tim: 1. 14.
Rom: 8. 1. c. 5.
17. 21.
1 Cor: 3. 16.
Rev: 19. 6, 7.
Lu: 13. 14, 17.
Col: 3. 15.
Bucerus De Re-
gno Christi.
Dr. Rainolds
on Psal. 110.

For the 3d. All antient, and most modern Divines of all sorts assert, that Christs immediate Government in and over his Spiritual Kingdom the Church, is Spiritual not Temporal; and that principally (g) in and over the souls, spirits, consciences, wills, hearts, affections of his elect Saints, in which he dwells, lives, rules, reigns by his Spirit, and Grace. And this his Spiritual Government is neither communicated, nor transferred by Jesus Christ to any King, High Priest, Priest, Bishop, Pope, or other Mortal whatsoever; but resides in Christ alone the King of Saints; as an incommunicable, un-
separable part and prerogative of his Regal, not Sacerdotal or prophetic office. But more of this in the two next Propositions.

BOOK I. CHAP. IV.

That Jesus Christ as Supream King, Lord, Head of his Kingdom the Church, whiles on Earth never claimed, exercised, enjoyed any Temporal Royal Jurisdiction, or Magistratical Authority over any of his Subjects, much lesse over Emperors, Kings, Kingdoms, Nations, or Soveraign civil Powers, nor ever deprived any of them of their Crowns, nor absolved their Subjects from their Allegiance, nor pulled up, cast down, or rooted up their Kingdomes, nor gave them to whomsoever he pleased: Neither did he either before, at, or after his passion, resurrection or ascension, derive any such superlative Power to Saint Peter, as his sole universal Vicar or Viceroy, nor to any other Apostle, Bishop, Priest, or Pope whatsoever. Nor delegate his Supream Spiritual Jurisdiction over his Kingdom the Church militant in this world, and all the Members of it; but only committed to them the Ministerial part of his Prophetical Office (his^a High Priesthood being personal, untransferrable and incommunicable unto any other) of teaching and preaching the Gospel publicly to all Nations, administering the Sacraments of Baptism & the Lords Supper to them according to his institution and command; feeding them as his Sheep with the sincere milk of his word; teaching them (as his Apostles, Ministers, Servants) to obey what ever he hath commanded them; beseeching, intreating them as his Embassadors, in his stead to be reconciled unto God; and to declare, pronounce them absolved from their sins by God upon their sincere repentance; and to denounce damnation against them in case they repented not, and believed not in Christ.

^a Psal: 110.
Heb: c. 6. 7. 9.
to 7. 19. to 28.
c. 8. 1. to 13. c.
9. c. 9. 17. to
the end, c. 10.
1. to 24. See
Dr. James, Da-
vid Dickson,
Calvin, Mar-
lorat, with all
Old and New
Commentators
on these Texts

I Have here enlarged this Proposition, (abridged in my Prologue) the clearing whereof will prove fatal to St. Peters and the Popes pretended Universal, Regal Supremacy, and Pontifical Jurisdiction over Kings, Emperors, Kingdoms, Nations, as well in temporals as spirituals, and over Christs Kingdom, (the Church Militant on Earth) as Christs sole Viceroy, or Vicar General, to whom all his Regal and Sacerdotal power in heaven and earth, is assigned by Christ himself, if we believe their own Papal or their Parasites claims; which I shall here preface in their own words, that so their Antichristian Usurpations, Blasphemies, Impostures may more visibly appear to all Christian Kings, and the whole world, who cannot but abominate and be jealous of them, though never so much devoted to the Papacy.

(b) Pope Nicholas the 2d. writes thus to those of Millain (who refused to obey the See of Rome, and acknowledge the Popes Universal Supremacy) *Christ alone hath founded, built the Roman Church upon the rock of the faith newly born, and hath committed to Saint Peter, the Key-bearer of eternal life, TERRENI SIMUL & IMPERII CAELESTIS JURA: the Rights both of the earthly and heavenly Empire: Therefore not any terrene Sentence; but that word by which heaven and earth were built, by which faculty all the Elements were made, hath founded the Roman Church: Certainly she enjoyeth her privileges from him by whom she is supported. Therefore IT IS NOT TO BE DOUBTED, that he who endeavoureth to take away from the Church of Rome,*

Anno 1050.
^b Gratian Di-
stinct: 22. cap.
Omne
p. 33.

the Priviledge granted her by the very chief head of all Churches, *HIC PROCULDUBIO IN HÆRESIN LABITUR; HIC EST DICENDUS HÆRETICVS*; He without doubt falls into Heresie; he is to be called an heretick, because he violates the faith, who acts against her who is the mother of faith, and is found contumacious to him, who is known to have advanced her above all Churches. On which Text Bartholomæus Buxiensis, and Ioannes Thierry, make this Glosse; *Papa habet utrumque gladium, scilicet, Spiritualem & Temporalem, & transtulit Imperium.*

Pope Leo the 9. in one of his (a) Epistles writes thus: *This ought to satisfy you, That both the Earthly and Heavenly Empire, yea the Royal Priesthood is given to the Apostolick See, Divinitus; by God himself and not by men.*

Pope Boniface the 8. in his (b) Letters to Philip the French King, told him, *That the Pope is Lord through the whole world; both in Temporal and Spiritual Matters; And that he judged it HERETICAL for any to think the contrary.* This (c) Pope boasting that he had the power of both swords, declared it by his actions, riding Anno 1300. on the first day of the Great Jubilee in triumph in his Pontificalibus as Pope, and the next day in his IMPERIAL ROBES, adorned with THE IMPERIAL CROWN, having a naked sword carried before him, and one proclaiming *ECCE HIC DUO GLADIJ; behold here the Spiritual and Temporal Swords given to me, (d) quantum ad jurisdictionem*, at least, though *non per executionem generaliter*, as some of their soberest Canonists distinguish.

The like Sovereign power is claimed by all their Successors, and inserted into their (e) Book of Sacred ceremonies ratified by Sixtus Quartus, and other Pontifs, which records, *That when the Pope gives or sends a consecrated sword to the Emperor, or any King, (usually hallowed on the night of Christs Nativity) he is prescribed to say, This Pontifical sword doth betoken SUMMAM TEMPORALEM POTESTATEM (as well as Spiritual) A CHRISTO PONTIFICI COLLATAM; according to that saying, (f) All power is given to me both in heaven and in earth, and according to that also, (g) He shall rule from Sea to Sea, and from the flood unto the worlds end; (h) Pope Innocent the 3. and Adrian the 4th their forecited passages are to the like effect, with sundry other Popes forged or real Decrees to the same purpose recorded in (i) Gratian, and the Extravagants.*

The Pope (as k Augustinus Triumphans asserts) is greater then any King or Emperor, as well in Temporal as in Spiritual Matters; and as God is the Lord of all by Universal Jurisdiction, so is the Pope, his Vicar, greater then any King or Emperor both in spiritual and temporal things. The power of Jurisdiction in temporal and in spiritual matters is immediate in the Pope alone. Yea, the Son of God hath declared the altitude of Ecclesiastical power (in the Pope) to be above all principalities and powers, that unto it every knee should bow both in heaven, in earth, and under the earth.

(l) Franciscus Bozius affirms; *The Supreme temporal Jurisdiction throughout the whole world belongs to Peters successor; so that he is both Hierarch and Monarch of all things*, and that by the divine Law expressed in the Scriptures; *That Peter and the Pope succeed to Christ, as well in his Kingdom, as in his Priesthood, and that Peter and the Pope is both King and Priest; according to the order of Melchisedech; which (m) Cardinal Baronius, and (n) Aquinas, with others likewise assert.*

(o) Stephanus Patracensis Archiepiscopus in his Oration 4 Maii 1515. before Pope Leo the 10th. in the Council of Constance, averred, *In the Pope the Supreme Hierarch in the Church, there is omnis potestas, super omnes Potestates tam Cæli quam Terræ; Tibi data est omnis potestas, in qua qui totum dicit Nihil excludit.*

(p) Raimundus Cupers impudently proclaims, *God hath committed to the Pope the rights both of the terrene and heavenly kingdoms. The direct dominion of the Emperor belongs unto God, and by consequence to the Pope his Vicar, who is deservedly accounted the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, The Lord hath so magnified the Church (which he expounds to be the Pope) that he hath preferred it not only to Kings and Cæsars, sed omnibus sub cælo & supra cælum existentibus; but to all that are either under Heaven or above Heaven.*

a Epist. 1. c. 13.
Dr. Crakenthrop
of the Popes
Temporal Mo-
narchy, p. 2.
b Martinus Po-
lones Chron.
Anno 1301.
Alexander Ca-
rierius, l. 2. c. 3.
num. 14.
c Abbas Ufper-
gensis An. 1298
p. 343. Johan-
nes Lydius, &
Centr. Magd.
13. col. 1516
* Gratian Dist.
10. 63. Alvarus
Pelagius, lib. 1.
Artic. 37 to 67
e l. 1. sect. 7. f.
84, 85. Dr.
Crakenthrop of
the Popes Tem-
poral Monarchy
p. 2. Alvarus
Pelagius De
Planctu Ecclef.
l. 1. Artic. 34.
f Mat. 28. 18.
g Psal. 72. 8.
h Herep. 20. 22.
i Distinctio 22.
63. 96
k De Potestate
Ecclesie lib. 3.
art. 3. quæst. 1. in
Principio Sum-
mæ de Potestate
Pape.
l De Temporal
Ecclesie Mo-
narchia, l. 1. c.
3. p. 52. l. 5. c.
18. p. 807. &
Præfat. ad
Clement VII:
Papam.
m Annal. Anno
57. n. 18.
n 2 Sent. dist.
4. quæst. 9. art. 2.
o Concil. Late-
ran: Sessio 10.
p. 624. Surlus
Concil. Tom: 4
658, 659.
p Comment. ad
Cap. Oportebit
Distinct. 79. p. 253: num. 13. p. 257. n. 64. p. 44. n. 39. p. 3. n. 7.

(1) Cardinal Hostiensis asserts, *Papa & Christus faciunt unum consistorium*, ita quod excepto peccato potest Papa quasi omnia facere quæ Deus potest; Whence some (2) Canonists stile him, *Dominus Deus noster Papa*; and yoaik God and him together, as equals; *Quis audeat dicere Deo et Papæ?* the plenitude of his Papal power being such (as Abbot Panormitan resolves) that (3) *Superat omnem legem positivam*; & sufficit quod in Papa sit pro ratione voluntas, in dethroning Kings and Emperors.

Distinct: 3. Quamvis. [3] Extrav. De Constit. cap. 6. Bishop Jewels Defence of the Apology, part 1. c. 6. divis. 8.

The like Antichristian blasphemous assertions are professedly maintained in solemn discourses, as you may read at leisure in their (a) Azorius, (b) Antoninus, (c) Alexander Caverius, (d) Francis Bozius, (e) Lelius Zecchus, (f) Martia, (g) Rodericus Sancius, (h) Gasser Scoppius, with (i) other Pontifician Parasites. And Cardinal (k) Bellarmine himself informs us, *That the Pope, Jure divino, hath power over the whole world as well in temporal as in Ecclesiastical matters, is also taught by Augustinus Triumphans, Alvarus Pelagius, Hostiensis, Panormitan, Silvester, and divers others; Yea Hostiensis teacheth; That Christ by his coming translated all the Dominion, even that of Infidel Princes, unto the Church, and that this Dominion so resides now in the Pope Christs Vicar, That he may give by his own Right the Kingdoms of Infidels (as well as Christians) to whomsoever he will.*

diffolut. princ: pars 1. b In Ecclesiastic. c. 36. & Alexipharma. i See Dr. Crakenthorp of the Popes Temporal Monarchy, c. 1. & De Pontifice Romano l. 5. c. 1.

Alvarus Pelagius seconds all these with most Hyperbolical passages and blasphemies, which I cannot pretermit: *Christ* (1) writes he) had all power given unto him both in Heaven and Earth, & being ascended in his humanity to his Father; lest he should leave his flock without a Shepherd, he left the care thereof to Peter and his Successors, as his Vicar General: Now the Father is Almighty, the Son Almighty, even in Earth: Therefore every Pope his Vicar upon Earth, hath all power in Earth which Christ had, not as very God, but as very Man. To this purpose is that which Zacharias saith of Christ, Zech. 8. His power shall be from Sea to Sea; And Ps. 72. 8. He shall have dominion from Sea to Sea, & from the River unto the ends of the Earth: Whence Ecclesiasticus speaking of the power of the Pope saith, Ecclef. 17. God hath given him power of those who are upon the Earth: For in this the Pope is Successor to Adam, the first man, for God the Son hath automatically and typically formed the Pope (his Vicar) after his own image and likeness, Gen. 1. For the Pope truly represents Christ on Earth, so that he who sees the Pope with a contemplative and faithfull eye, may see even Christ himself: Whence even for this cause he said to Peter, Mat. 18. Thou art Peter, taken a Rock from me: Distinct: 21. & 1. Hunc enim in consortium individue Trinitate assumptum, id quod ipse erat, &c. For Peter being assumed into the Fellowship of the individual Trinity, is become that which (Christ) himself was: that is from that which he was, namely a Rock; the Lord would have him to be called and named Peter: Whence according to this, Papa non est homo simpliciter, sed Deus, id est, Dei Vicarius: Whence according to this, the Pope is not simply a Man, but a God: that is, the Vicar of God. Item, Christ as a man was a King, Zach: 9. Mat: 21, & 27. Lu: 24. John 19. Psal: 72. Rom. 2. & 7. God shall raise up a Kingdom, &c. But of this universal Kingdom the Emperor is not Christs Vicar, because there are not two Vicars, as is plainly proved; Therefore the Pope is his Vicar, because there is no other Vicar, and the Kingdom of the world, is not without the Vicar of God. He thence infers and asserts in another Article, (m) Although in this life the Pope should do injury or injustice to any man, or some men, (as he confesseth he may) he hath no Iudge over him; neither is he obliged to chuse Iudges or arbitrators, to whose Sentence he may subject himself, neither can he directly or indirectly be condemned; for it is impossible that the Pope himself should constitute another Superiour Prince, or Iudge, or another Archpope above or equal to himself, sicut nec Deus Trinitas possit super se alium Deum constituere vel æqualem; as neither God the Trinity can constitute another God

(1) Extravag. de Rem: Prælati, c. Quanto Hostiens.

(2) Extravag. Johannis 21. Parisiis 1555. De Pœnitentia

a Instit: Moral. pars 2. l. 4. c. 19

b Summa pars 3. n. 22. c. 5.

c De Potestate Summa Pontificis, l. 1. & 2.

d Tract: Theolog: p. 81.

e Lib: de Jure Status, c. 12.

f Part 1. cap. 18. 22.

g De Orig. & Temporal Monarch-

l De Planctu Ecclesiæ l. 1. art. 19.

m Ibid. l. 1. artic. 34.

a Lib: 1. Artic:
57.

God above or equal to himself: He thus proceeds in another Article; (a) *The Church (or Pope) are not from the Empire, but the Empire from the Church; and the Pope is before the Emperor, which he endeavours to prove by 25. Arguments: I shall only touch upon some of them. As the Moon receives her dignity and her Light from the Sunne: so doth the Moon, the Emperor, the dignity of his altitude from the Sunne the Pope. As much as the spiritual life is worthier then the earthly; the spirit then the body, gold more precious then silver: so much doth the spiritual power exceed the temporal or secular power, in dignity, honor, worth, splendor, and the order of Priests is so much higher then the Regal power, to which all Emperors and Kings ought to submit themselves, every of them being subject suo simplici Sacerdoti qui ipsum solvit, ligat & judicat. All power in earth, both spiritual and temporal is given to the Pope Christs Vicar, as it was to Christ himself, Mat: 28. for in him resides the fulnesse of the Regal or Imperial Dignity, that is, to take from one and conferr unto another the right of chusing the Emperor; to examine, annoynt, consecrate and crown him when elected, and by consequence to approve and reject him; all which of right belong to the Pope. That the Pope out of the plenitude of the power and keyes given to him by Christ, with this Commission, Feed my Sheep, hath a power and jurisdiction over all men upon earth de jure, although not de facto; which he may exercise when ever he is able, or willing; by which power he may lawfully punish all Pagan, Heathenish Kings, Nations, and Idolaters in the world, as well as Christians for breach of the Law of Nature only, and command all Infidels who are subject to his Jurisdiction in earthly things, to admit the preachers of the Gospel, and punish them if they do not obey him; yea, the Pope alone and none other of right, can contend with, and denounce war, and invoke the secular power against them. Christ was a true temporal King, and by consequence the Pope his Vicar. He that in this point will exclude from himself the darknesse of understanding, must consider the Pope, non hominem, sed Deum quodammodo qui non puri hominis, sed Veri Dei vicem gerit in terris. As Christ is God and Man, most perfectly participating both Natures, and God and Man are both one Christ, perfect God and perfect Man: So his Vicar General and Singular, the POPE: (participat cum Christo quodammodo naturam Divinitatis quoad Spiritualia; & humanitatis quoad temporalia,) participates with Christ after a sort the Nature of the Divinity as to Spiritualities; and of the Humanity as to Temporalities. As by force of the Orthodox faith it is heretical to lay down two Beginnings, 24. Quæst: So it seems to be heretical, to make two several Vicars equals to each other in earth in point of right. As therefore no believer doubts Jesus Christ was both King and Priest, and King of heaven and earth, because all things were made by him (one person in two Natures) So no Catholick ought to doubt but his Chief Vicar General on Earth hath likewise both Powers; yea it would not be farre from Heresy pertinaciously to affirm the contrary; because this would be as it were to deny the Son of God to be the Maker of the Earth and a King, and so to make Duo principia, That therefore thou mayst not seem an Arch Heretick, let this be thy Catholick Faith, that as there is but one God incommutable: so there is but one his Vicar General upon Earth: Cui omnes Angeli, i. homines, debent esse subjecti, & in omnibus obedire; to whom all Angels; that is, Men, ought to be subject, and to obey in all things; whose Ship is stable and immutable: For thus the inferiour Hierarchy accords with the superiour when all men serve and obey his Vicar in earth, as all Angels serve and obey God in heaven: but when they grow proud and resist, the inferior is disturbed, and the superiour Hierarchy is offended. Gratian caus. x. qu. 3. All things are put under the Popes feet, except God alone, who hath put all things under him, 1 Cor. 15. In another (b) Article he asserts, That the Pope is King of Kings, of the Emperors and Spiritual Kings, and every Member of the Church Militant, who ought Jure Divino to be subject to him: That he hath a plenitude of all Temporal and Spiritual power in him in several respects. 1. Because it is a universal power; No person in the Militant Church (nor Infidel in some sense) being exempted from, but subject to it. 2ly. Because all temporal and spiritual power whatsoever ordained by God for the government of christians or men, is comprehended in his power. 3ly. Because all power in the Church is derived from his, and ordained for it: and he is the beginning and end of a-*

b Lib: 1. Artic:
76, 78.

ny power whatsoever; Therefore every human power is DE JURE subject to him. 4ly. Because it is not exceeded, nor overcome by any other human power, but overcomes and exceeds all other powers. 5ly. Because it is limited, or ordained, or judged by no other power; but it limiteth, ordaineth, judgeth all other powers. 6ly. Because it is not restrained, nor bound by any Lawes made by the Pope himself; for it may act mediately by other powers, or immediately by it self whatsoever it shall think fit. It may likewise act both according to the Lawes it sets down, and besides them when it shall judge convenient. And for this cause his Power is said to be, *Sine Numero, Pondere et Mensura*. Without number, because it extends to innumerable persons even all men in the world, whether Believers or Infidels. Without weight, because it is not confined to one place, but extends it self to all Churches throughout the world. And without measure, as to the act and manner of acting; because it is after a sort Immense both in acting, and in the manner of acting; For, as the Spirit was given to Christ man without measure, John 3. and to others it is given only according to the measure of the gift of Christ, 1 Cor: 12. Eph. 4. Rom: 12. So to Christs Vicar, the Pope, is given a Power without measure, to wit, in a certain Immensity, Extrav: de Major, & Obedientia Solita, c. Nos autem. But to others is given a power according to their measure of participation of this Immense Power: And although this Power of Christs Vicar is without Number, Weight or Measure, yet notwithstanding it determinates to other powers, Number, Weight and Measure, Causa xv. qu. 1. pervenit. 13. qu. 1. c. 1. Therefore this power is deservedly called FULL, proper quod multum veneranda & metuenda est, wherefore it is much to be Reverenced and Feared. And indeed all Kings, Princes, Kingdoms, Churches of the World had need to fear, yea to keep watch and ward against it, and for ever to abandon it, as our and other Kings, Kingdoms, Churches have both justly and prudently done, and more are now about to do: For, *hac plenitudo potestatis, est plenitudo tempestatis*.

I omit this (a) other Passages to the same effect in above 30. Articles more. Upon these pretences of the Popes transcendent plenitude of power, (b) Pope Gregory the 7. (that impious Hildebrand and pest of the world in his generation) in his ratification of the Emperor Henry the seconds Excommunication, presumed to make this most impious Antichristian appeal to Peter and Paul themselves: Goto now, O ye blessed Apostles, do you confirm what I have done, that all men may know, that if you being in heaven can bind and loose, that I also here on Earth can give and take away Empires, Kingdomes, Principalities, & quicquid habere mortales possunt; and what ever Mortals can possess. And two of his late Successors (new-named Paul when crowned Popes) with their Parasites are of the same judgment with their predecessors; point-blank against Saint Pauls doctrine, evidencing them to be the very Antichrist, & man of Sin decyphered by him 2 Thess. 2. which they demonstrated by their two late Portraitsures cut, and printed in Brasse-pieces, prefixed to two Books dedicated to them, printed in Italy it self Permissu Superiorum; to wit, *Benedicti à Benedictis*, Jacula Ecclesiae Catholicae, Bononia 1608. & *Caraffe Theses*, Neapoli 1609. in one of which (as the Noble Lord (c) Morney observes) Pope Paul the 3d, is Pourtrayed with this blasphemous Inscription: *Paulo 3. Opt. Mar. in terris Deo: And in the other Pope Paul the V. with this Motto, Paulo V. Uiccedeo, Christianae Republicae Monarchae Indivictissimo, et Pontificiae Omnipotentiae Conservatori acerrimo*; In both which Pourtraitsures under their respective Papal feet, the Scepters, Crowns of Kings and Emperors are prostrated, and Princes, Kings, Emperors themselves stand pourtrayed by them bare-headed, excommunicated, astonished, and adoring these Pontifs; One of them having this inscription over his head, *Aultu Imperium portendit*: Besides these sacred Texts are engraven round about them, Jer: 27. (intended only of King Nebuchadnezzar, the great subverter, persecuter of Gods Church, Kings, Kingdoms, whom the Pope it seems will now succeed as his Vicar General, rather then Christs) *That Nation and Kingdom which will not serve him, will I punish, saith the Lord, with the sword, and with the pestilence, untill I have consumed them by his hand*, Dan: 7. 14. *The Lord hath given to him Power and a kingdom, and all people shall serve him; his power is an everlasting power which shall not be taken away, and his Kingdom that which shall not be destroyed*. May 49. 23. *Kings and Queens shall bow down to thee with their faces towards the earth, and lick up the dust of thy*

* Baldus. Ep. Jewels Defence of the Apology, part 5. c. 6. div. 6. p. 585.

a Lib: 1. Artic. 10. to Artic. 67
b Platina in Gregorio 7. p. 178.

c Morney
Inq: 1. 1. Ad
Ecclesiae Ro-
manae Catro-
ro: Pax et o.

thy feet. The two last texts pertain to Christ alone, as King of his Church.

You have seen a pretty full View of Popes and their parasites blasphemous claims of an unlimited Universal Supremacy in all causes and over all persons whatsoever throughout the world, yea over the Persons, Crowns, Scepters, Kingdoms, Empires of all Kings, Princes, Emperors, vested in Christs pretended Vicar General, & S. Peters Successors the Pope, enough to awaken, alarum all Monarchs, Realms, Churches throughout the Universe, as well Papal as Pagan, to keep watch and ward against, and for ever to exterminate such Antichristian, Antimonarchical Usurpers out of their Dominions, as all Protestant Kingdoms, Churches have done upon very good grounds, without the least guilt of (a) Schisme, wherewith they maliciously brand them: I shall now proceed to evidence the truth of my forecited Proposition, which will for ever dissipate, and overturn these their presumptuous groundlesse Claims and Titles to their forecited temporal and spiritual Universal Sovereignty.

a Sir Roger Twisden his late learned Historical Vindication of the Church of England in point of Scisme. London 1663.

The first Part thereof; *That Jesus Christ as Supream King, Lord, Head of his kingdom the Church, whiles on earth, never claimed nor exercised any Temporal, Regal Jurisdiction over Kings, or other Civil Magistrates or their Subjects: much lesse deprived them of their Crowns, Kingdoms, Prerogatives; nor ever gave unto St. Peter, or to any other Apostle, the least Dominion over them, (especially such as Popes now claim) but both he and they submitted themselves to, and ratified, asserted, (not invaded) their Supremacy and Regal Power in the highest degree; I shall thus invincibly demonstrate.*

b Mat 2. 13, 23.

1. Jesus Christ himself though (as many assert) he had a temporal right to the temporal Crown and Kingdom of the Jews, as right heir thereto of the seed of King David; and therefore was thus inquired after by the Wise men; (b) *Where is he that is Born King of the Jews?* yet it is observable First, That he never claimed, nor seized on his earthly Kingdom then usurped by King Herod, who sought to murder him, to secure himself against Christs Title, nor ever exercised the least Temporal, Royal Jurisdiction therein. 2ly. That (on the contrary) (c) *when he perceived the people would come and take and make him KING by force, he departed from them into a Mountain alone, to prevent their designs.* 3ly. That *When he was arraigned before Pilate, and accused as (d) an Enemy to Caesar, because he made himself A KING; He twice openly professed in one breath; My Kingdom is not of this World, If my Kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered unto the Jews; But now is my kingdom not from hence.* And in his prayer to his Father for his Disciples, (a little before his passion) he said, (e) *They are not of the world, even as I am not of the world:* Therefore doubtlesse since, he neither challenged nor exercised any Temporal dominion as a King in his own proper Kingdom of Judea: much lesse took he away the Diadems, Crowns, Realms, Sovereignty of any other Kings, Princes, nor exercised any Regal Jurisdiction in them. This the

c John 6. 15.

d Joan 18. 16. c. 19.

e John 17. 16.

f Hymno Acrostico de Vita Christi, Bellarmin: l. 5. i De Romano Pontifice, c. 3. Breviarum Romanum.

antient Christian Poet (f) Prudentius professed in his Hymn of Christs, sung in the very Church of Rome till this day, where he thus expostulates with Herod for searing Christ would deprive him of his crown, and murdering the innocent children upon that very account:

Herodes hostis impiè,

NON ERIPIT MORTALIA,

Christum venire quid times?

QUI REGNA DAT COELESTIA.

Why wicked Herod dost thou fear,

The Mortal he takes not away,

And at Christs coming frown?

That gives the Heavenly crown.

g Collect. 1. 2. in Mat. Bp. Usher of the Religion professed by the Antient Irish, p. 130, 131.

Which (g) Claudian an antient Author in his *Collected* upon Matthew thus elegantly seconds; "That KING which is born, doth not come to overcome Kings by fighting, but to subdue them after a wonderfull manner, by dying; neither is he born to the end that he may succeed thee, but that the World may faithfully believe in him: For he is come not that he may fight being alive, but that he may triumph being slain; Nor that he may with Gold get an Army to himself out of other Nations, but that he may shed his precious blood for the saving of the Nations. Vainly didst thou by envying fear him to be thy Successor, whom by believing thou oughtest to seek as thy Saviour; because if thou didst believe in him, thou shouldst reign with him: and as thou hast received a Temporal Kingdom from him, thou shouldst also receive from him an Everlasting. For the King-

dom

"dom of this Child is not of this World, but by him it is that men do reign in this World. He is the Wisdom of God which saith in the Proverbs, *By me Kings reign.*

St. *Augustin* in his 115. *Traſt* upon *Iohn*, brings in *Chriſt* making this publike proclamation; *Audite ergo Judæi & Gentes: audi circumciſio, audi præputium, audite omnia Regna terrena; non impediam Dominationem veſtram in hoc mundo:* Regnum meum non eſt de hoc mundo. *Nolite metueret metu vniſſimo, quo Herodes ille major cum Chriſtus natus nunciaretur; expavit, & (a) tot infantes, ut ad eum mors perveniret occidit; timendo quam irascendo crudelior: Regnum meum (inquit) non eſt de hoc mundo. Quid vultis amplius? Venite ad regnum quod non eſt de hoc mundo, &c.* St. *Ambroſe* in *Luc*: 1. 3. St. *Hilary* in *Pſal*: 2. *Epiphanius* *Hæref*: 29. *Eusebius* lib: 7. *De Demonſtratione Evangelica.* St. *Hierom* in *Jeremiam*, cap: 22. Tom: 5. St. *Chryſoſtom* *Homil*: 82. in *Iohann.* *Cyrillus Alexandrinus* lib: 12. in *Iohan*: c. 10. *Fulgentius* in *Sermone de Epiphania*; *Beda* in cap. 11 *Lucæ*, *Bernard* *Homil*: 4. *Super miſſus eſt, Luc*. 1. with all other Fathers of the Church, poſitively affirm, *That Chriſt neither claimed, enjoyed nor exerciſed any temporal Kingdom or Dominion upon earth.* Which our (b) *Thomas Waldenſis* (though a great aſſerter of the Popes and Biſhops Supremacy above and over Kings in ſpiritu- al things) aſſerts at large; and thence infers and largely proves theſe concluſions, pointblank againſt the forecited Papal pretenſions, 1. *Regia Potestas prima ſua ori- gine a Deo eſt, & non a Sacerdote.* 2. *Quamquam miniſterio Episcoporum Regibus im- ponantur Corona & inſignia conferantur, non eſt propterea dicendum Regiam illam dignita- tem ortum habere à Sacerdote.* 3. *Reges fuerunt ante Sacerdotes ad regnum eveſti,* 4. *Dicentes, quod radix poteſtatis terrena in tantum dependet a Papa, ut ex commiſſione ejus executio deriveretur in Principem, & errante Principe poteſt Summus Sacerdos negotia illud temporale administrare, decipiuntur.* 5. *Regia Potestas cedit Sacerdotali ubi de re- bus divinis agitur, Sacerdotalis verò cedit Regia, in negotiis terrenis.* In fine, *Cardi- nal Bellarmin* himſelf is enforced to profeſſe, (c) *That Chriſt as man while he lived upon earth, had neither Temporal Dominion, neither did nor would he exerciſe any ſuch temporal power; I have read (ſaith he) the Books of the Fathers with what diligence I could, and I have often read them to deny Chriſt, to have a Temporal or Earthly king- dom; but I have nowhere read them to affirm, that he had ſuch a Kingdom.* 1. *That Chriſt had a Universal Kingdom of power, as he was God;* 2. *A Spiritual kingdom of Grace; and a third, which is an eternal Kingdom of glory, I do read; but that he had a fourth kingdom, which is properly temporal, ſuch as other Kings here upon earth have, I find not either in the Scriptures or Fathers; yea, I eſteem ſuch a Kingdom to be con- trary to the poverty of Chriſt, mentioned in the Scriptures, and to ſavour of the errors of the Jewes and Hereticks.* (d) *Alvarus Pelagius*, with (e) other Popiſh Paraſites, en- deavour to evade theſe Texts objected againſt the Popes Temporal Monarchy; aſſer- ting, *That Chriſt had a Temporal Kingdom, and that his Universal Kingdom takes a- way all other Kingdoms, who by his death hath evacuated all other Principalities, Powers, Empires and temporal Kingdoms in the world, and bought them to himſelf from the Devil, to whom Adam by his Sin had ſold them, and given the Pope, his Viceroy, the univerſal poſſeſſion of them by little and little ſince his death, (which they ſhew not) though himſelf never actually poſſeſſed them during his abode on earth.* But their answers are ſo falſe, ſo abſurd, I ſhall not ſpend ſime to reſell them; but proceed.

2ly. *Chriſt* and his Apoſtle *Saint Peter*, by (f) *Peters* own hand, paid Tribute to *Cæſar*, for himſelf and *Peter*, working a Miracle to pay it, having no money in his purſe; cauſing, commanding *Peter* to catch juſt ſo much as both their *Polemonies* came to, in a Fiſhes mouth. And he aſſerted (g) the right of *Cæſars* Tribute, commanding all *To give unto Cæſar the things that are Cæſars*, (mention- ed in the firſt place) and unto God the things that are Gods, with the ſame obedience and tye of conſcience: Yea, though he was the natural Sonne of God and King *Da- vid* too, which might have exempted him and his Diſciples from rendring Tribute to *Cæſar*, yet he paid it not only de facto, but ex debito, to fulfill all righteouſneſſe, as *Jerom*; and leaſt He and *Peter* ſhould give an offence unto them; not they take ſcandall at it; as (i) *Cardinal Cajetan, Lucas Burgenſis* and others Note. Now had he been a Temporal King then and there de facto, he ſhould have received Tribute from others, yea thoſe who demanded it from him and *Peter*, not have paid it thus unto them to the prejudice of his Temporal Dominion and Kingſhip. (k) St. *Ambroſe* from this example of *Chriſts* paying Tribute, makes his inference;

G

Tributum

Mat. 2.

b Doctrinale
Fidei, Tom. 2.
lib. 2. Artic. 6.
cap. 76, 77, 78.

c De Romano
Pontifice l. 3.
c. 4. & Recog-
nitione, l. 5. c. 4.
de Rom. Pon-
tifice.

d De Placidia
Eccleſiæ lib: 2.
Artic. 37.

e Gaſpar Sciop-
pius in Eccleſi-
aſtic. c. 36. 41.
46. 55. See

Dr. Craiken-
thorp of the
Popes Tempo-
ral Monarchy,
c. 1.

f Mat. 17. 24;
25, 26, 27.

Gratian, Cauſ.
23. qn. 8.

g Mat. 22. 17
to 12. Mar. 12.
26, 17. Luc. 10.

22. to 26: See
Ambroſius O-
rat'o 5. contra
Auxentium.

Gratian, Cauſ.
11. qu. 1.

i Comment. in
17 Mat.

k Oratio 5. in
Auxentium.

Tributum petit Imperator non negamus Magnum quidem est & speciale [documentum quo Christiani veri & Prælati sublimioribus potestatibus docentur debere esse subjecti; ne quis constitutionem terrenæ Regis putet esse solvendam. Si enim censum Filius Dei solvit, **Quis tu tantus es qui putas esse non solvendum?** which he backs with Rom: 13.1. &c. 1 Pet. 2. 13. This resolution of his is inserted into the body of the Canon Law, *Gratian* caus. 11. qu. 1. cap. Si Tributum, & caus. 23. qu. 8. which is likewise confessed by Pope Gregory the 1. and Pope Urban there cited by *Gratian*, & the Glossers thereon; And not only so, but this very Speech of Christ to Peter; *Give unto them for me and thee*; and the Officers demand unto Peter; *Doth not your Master pay Tribute?* coupled with Christs demand to Peter; *Of whom do the Kings of the Earth receive tribute, or custom? of their own children, or Strangers?* is produced as a strong Argument for Peters Supremacy over all the rest of the Apostles; and his Universal Vicarship, since he alone was coupled with, and made equal to Christ himself in paying the Pollmoney, and much insisted on by (a) *Alvarus Pelagius* and other Pontificians for this purpose; Yet Pope (b) *Boniface* the 7. by his Papal authority decreed Anno 1296 That *That no Ecclesiastical person whatsoever under pain of Excommunication, should by any means whatsoever pay any Aides or Tribute to any Secular Prince*, (though demanded of them upon urgent occasions) upon which all the Convocation, Bishops, Clergy of England in two several Parliaments peremptorily refused to grant or pay any Aid to King Edw. 1. for the necessary defence of the Realm; for which he put them all out of his protection, and confiscated their goods; and other * Popes, Canonists, plead a general Exemption of all Prelates, Clergymen, and Religious persons from Taxes and Tributes to their Princes, contrary to the expresse precepts and preidents of Christ himself, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Ambrose, and those two Popes constitutions, to evade this Argument of Subjection to Kings and Emperors as the Supream powers.

a De Planctu Ecclesiæ, l. 1. 55. f. 40.

b Mat. Westminster, Annis 1296, 1297. Walsingham, Hist. Angliæ, p. 34, 35, 36. & Ypodigma Neustriæ, Annis 1297, 1298. * See Gratian, Caus. 11. quæst. 1. Caus. 23. quæst. 8. Osiensis, Summa Angelica & Rosella, Johannis Langecrucius De Censibus, Talliis, Clericis, & Immunitate Ecclesiæ & Clericorum.

3ly. Christ foretold his Disciples, *that they should be brought before Kings, Governors, and Councils for his sake, for a Testimony against them*, and he promised, *to give them in that hour, what to answer to accusers, by way of submission to their Regal power and jurisdiction*; not to demurr unto it, as *having no power over them*, and totally exempted from their temporal Jurisdiction, (as Popes and Priests claim now.) Yea Christ himself, the very Lord of Glory; (c) *submitted himself without any reluctancy or demurrer to the Jurisdiction of Pontius Pilate the Governor, who adjudged him to be crucified*; Who demanding of him at his trial, (e) *Knowest thou not, that I have POWER to crucifie thee, and I have POWER to release thee?* He answers, *Thou couldest have no Power over me, unless it were given thee from above*: thereby acknowledging, That his temporal power over him was vested in him by God; therefore not to be resisted, but submitted to, as Peter himself at his martyrdom.

c Mat. 10. 18, 19, 20. Mar: 13. 10, 11. Lu. 12. 10, 11. Acts 9. 5. d Mat: 27. Mar: 14. Lu: 23. John 5. 19.

e John 19. 9, 10. f John 12. 47. Lu. 12. 13, 14.

4ly. Christ professed, Luke 12. 47. (f) *I came not to Judge the world, as a temporal King or Judge*: upon which account, (g) *when one of the company said unto him, Master, speak to my brother that he may divide the inheritance with me*: He said unto him, *Man, who made me a judge, or divider over you?* Thereby declaring, that he had no judicial, inherent temporal power over any private persons inheritance from God or Man: much lesse then over Kings and Kingdoms.

e John 19. 9, 10. f John 12. 47. Lu. 12. 13, 14.

5ly. As Christ himself disclaimed all temporal Regal power and jurisdiction: so his Apostile St. Peter, (from whose pretended Primacy all Popes derive their Titles, claims both to Regal and Pontifical Jurisdiction) in his first Catholick Epistle to all Gods elect ones, as well Bishops, Priests, as Laymen in all the earth: After he had acquainted them with the excellency of their Christian state, that they are (h) *a chosen generation, a Royal Priesthood*, (and Popes pretend to no more then what every good christian, by St. Peters verdict, enjoys in common with them) an holy Nation, a peculiar people, now the people of God, though no people before, &c. lest they should pretend an exemption thereby from all Kings and Civil Magistrates, as being as much advanced above their Jurisdiction by (i) *Christs* (the King of Kings) *making them Kings and Priests to God his Father*: (as Popes and Popish Prelates pretend they are) presently subjoins this quite contrary Practise and peremptory precept; (k) *Προτάγνυμι ὑμῖν, Subjecti estote igitur: Be ye therefore Subject*

g 1 Pet: 2. 9.

h Rev: 15. 6. c. 9. 10. c. 20. 6. i 1 Pet: 2. 13, 14, 15, 16.

Subject

Subject to every Ordinance of Man, (or human creature) for the Lord, or Lords sake; *ἐν βασιλείᾳ, ὡς τοῦ Χριστοῦ* whether to the King as Supream, (Regi ut Supereminenti) as the Vulgar, Arias Montanus, and others translate it; (not to my self, as Christs supream Vicar-General, or my successors at Rome) Or unto **Governors**; which he backs with these invincible reasons: 1. Because they are sent by God himself, though ordained by men, as to the execution of their offices, as these next words, **as those who are sent by him**, (to wit, by the LORD, for whose sake you ought thus to submit unto them, as Rom: 13. 1, 2, 4, 6. and the sense resolve, not by me, or my Vicars) and that to be **Supream Governors over you**. 2ly. Because sent by God only, for the punishment of evil doers; as well Christians as Pagans, Popes, Priests, as Lay-christians; if you do ill, as the Gentiles accuse you to be **Evil doers**: v: 12. & c. 3. 16. and so subject to their Jurisdiction only, and not to mine, or your own Pastors, if proved such. 3ly. Because they are also thus sent, for the praise of them that do well; so that they by your honest conversation and good works, which they shall behold, and submission to their power and Government, will not only praise you; but glorify God in the day of their visitation; and become Christians too. 4ly. For so is the will of God, that you should thus submit to them as Supream; and with well doing put to silence the ignorance of foolish men, who falsely accuse you to pretend an exemption from all Secular power; As free, yet not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God. 5ly. He thence infers, **Honour all Men** (that is, all Supream Governours) to whom Honor is due, Rom: 13. 7. **Fear God, Honour the King**, in a more signal manner, as Supream, and Gods Vice-Roy upon Earth; the honoring of whom for the Lords sake, will evidence to the world and your own consciences that you fear God; when your disobedience to, exempting your selves from, and advancing your selves above them, will discover, that you (a) fear him not.

Pope (b) Innocent the 3d. with other Popes and their (c) Parasites, to evade Saint Peters text, assert; 1. That it extends only to those who receive temporal things from the Emperor, who in temporal things is Supream (which yet he and his Successors elsewhere contradict) but not to spiritual things, wherein Pontifex antecellit, which excell temporal things, as much as the soul doth the body. 2ly. That it is not said simpliciter, Subjecti estote; but with this addition, propter Deum; which extenuates and qualifies it. 3ly. Neither is it purely written Regi praecllementi, sed interpositum **Foristan, non sine causa**. 4ly. **Ad vindictam malefactorum** extends only to those, qui utentes gladio ejus sunt Jurisdictioni subjecti: not to Priests, whose Promotion of Priesthood advanceth them above Kings and kingdoms,* totally to root up and to destroy, and to build and plant them.

To which evasions I answer: 1. That St. Peter makes no such distinction of Temporalities and Spiritualities; nor that the King or Emperor is supream in the one, but himself, Popes, Prelates only in the other, as this Pope doth. 2ly. He acknowledgeth the King Supream in both, it being Heresy (as they assert) to hold two Supream heads, and two Principles of power in and over one body. 3ly. Peter writes this Epistle to all the **Eleit Saints**, as (d) Gods peculiar people, heritage, a Royal, holy Priesthood, and an holy Church, Nation unto God; enjoying them upon this consideration only, not as meer worldlings, to submit to Kings and Governours as Supream, without one word of his own, his Successors, or others supremacy over them: therefore it extends to spiritual as well as to temporal Supremacy. 4ly. This Pope acknowledgeth the Emperor to be Supream in Temporal things, which he bestowes on others, who receive them. But Popes (as (e) themselves and flatterers confesse) have received all their temporalities, and St. Peters Patrimony from the Gifts of Emperors, as Constantine, Charles the Great, and others: Therefore they ought to acknowledge him Supream in temporal things at least, notwithstanding all their recited vaunts and passages denying it. 5ly. St. Peter and Bishops had then (f) neither Silver, gold, nor temporal possessions at all, nor yet those Strangers scattered by persecutions through Pontus, Asia, Phrygia, and Pamphilia, to whom he writes, who all sold their possessions, and were stoyled of their goods, when he sent this Epistle to them. Therefore Saint Peter rather intended Kings and Governours to be supream in ecclesiastical matters, in (g) rewarding; praying and encouraging them in good

7, 8. c. 23, 16, 17. Acts 2. 44, 45. c. 4. 34, to the end, c. 5, 10. Hebr. 10. 32, 33, 34. 1 Thess. 2. 14, 15.

a Prov: 24: 27, 22. Ecclef. 8. 12.
b Epist. Imperatori Constantino Opusculum Tom. 2. p. 644.
c Gratian Dist. 10, & 26. Caus. 11. q. 1. Caus. 12. q. 1 and the Glosses thereon.
d 1 Petr. 2. 5. to 14.
e Gratian Dist. 96. Alvarus Pelagius, lib. 1. Artic. 37. Eugenius Securus de Donis Constantini; See Dr. Crakenhorps Defence of Constantine, cap. 7, 8. &c.
f Acts 3. 3. to 19. Bernard de Consideratione ad Eugenium, lib. 2. & 3.
g 1 Petr. 1. 1.

works, and in a Christian, honest, pious conversation, and punishing them for sins contrary to and scandalizing their Christian profession; then for temporal matters. 2ly. His 2d. evasion doth not deny, nor diminish, but fortifie Kings Supremacy: For if he had commanded them to submit to Kings and Governors as supream by the bare Ordinance of men alone, this had been no strong obligation in point of conscience to them; but when he adds *for the Lords sake*: this superadds divine authority to this humane Ordinance, and binds them in point of conscience towards God, and as they are Christians to this submission to them. (a) *Josephus* relates that in his time (not long before this Epistle written) there rose up a crafty arrogant sect of the Pharisees; **et interdum Regibus quoque infestum**; *ut eos etiam aperte oppugnare non verentur; necnon cum tota gens Judeorum fidem suam iurejurando obligasset Regi et Cesari, hi solum non iuraverunt*, being above six thousand men in number, *hæc nomine à Rege n. ulitatis*: and pretending to know secrets by divine Revelations, they openly proclaimed (like some of our late Republicans and Fanaticks, in relation to the King and his Royal family) **Decretum esse a Deo regnum ablatum ab Herode et eius progenie transferre ad Pharonem, uxorem eius & communes liberos**: And they with others held, *That being Abrahams seed, and Gods people they ought not to be in subjection or pay Tribute to the Roman Emperor and Pagan Kings*: Hereupon the Jewish and other Christians were then suspected, accused to be *enemies to Kings, and Cesar*; yea to deny subjection, tribute and an Oath of Allegiance to them as supream chief Governours, as these Pharisees did. To take off this slander, Saint *Peter* (and *Paul* too) did in their Epistles, as well as Sermons, *most earnestly and particularly presse Christians subjection, obedience to Emperors, Kings, Princes, and all Secular powers, even for the Lords and conscience sake*, as ordained and sent by God himself, and a duty enjoined them by the very Will and Gospel of God; as *Chrysostom, Haymo, Soto, Calvin, Gualther, Willer, Pareus, Perrerus*, most other Commentators on the place, and *Bellarmino* himself acknowledge. To which Doctrine, practise, nothing could have been more diametrically contrary, then to set up such a Universal Temporal Monarchy and Ecclesiastical Supremacy in *Peter*, and his pretended Successors in the See of *Rome* it self (then the seat of the Roman Emperors) as they now pretend to, inconsistent with the Emperors Supremacy, and all Kings Government, Regal power, here knocked down and crushed in the shell by St. *Peters* own hand, keyes, and sacred pen. This Pope his 3d evasion is most absurd: For had it been *Submit your selves therefore Regi præcendenti*, as this *Innocent* would have *Peter* vary it, it would have extended only to one King alone, then most eminent, or to Christ; whereas now it relates to all Kings and Governours too, who have Regal, or supream Authority: and the addition after it, *as Supream*, is so far from extenuating the Kings Supremacy, that it more fully, emphatically asserts it: not with a *forstan*, as he mistakes, (which would have made the Supremacy disputable) but with a *quasi*, or *sicut supereminenti*; which puts it out of question, like that of *Rom. 1. 21. Because when they knew God they glorified him not sicut Deus, as God*: which last clause, *as God*, adds lustre, yea Divine Glory to his Deity, which it identically not comparatively sets forth and asserts. His 4th. evasion, that this precept extends only to Lay-christians, as to Kings and Governours civil power, not to Bishops, Priests, especially to Popes, (*exempt from, above all human judicature*) is most false. For this Epistle is general to *all the elect of God*, to whom he directs it; wherof some no doubt were *Elders, and Ministers of the Church*, as himself informs us, c. 5. 1, 2, 3. 2ly. He gives this command in precise terms, (b) *To all who came unto Christ the living and precious stone, and were built up on him* (not *Peter*) (c) *as lively stones, a spiritual house, an Holy and Royal Priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices unto God*. I hope Popes, Popish Prelates and Masse-priests dare not assert, that Lay-Christians only are this *Holy and Royal Priesthood*; since they wholly (d) appropriate it to themselves, as no wayes belonging to the Laity, (though St. *Peter* equally extends it to both, without distinction:) Therefore this precept most belongs to them. 4ly. They of all others have (e) *in all ages most invaded, oppugned the temporal, magistratical Supremacy of Kings and Emperors*: Therefore they were principally intended by Saint *Peter*, who would not presse that submission only on the Laity, from which himself, all Bishops and Clergymen (their guides and presidents

* Antiqu. Judæorum, l. 17. c. 3. & lib. 18. c. 1. 2.

* Tertulliani Apologia & ad Scapulam, lib.

* Gratian Distinctio 31. caus. 11. qu. 2. Here p. 37.

b 1 Pet. 1. 3, 2. c 2 Pet. 2, 4, 5.

d See Bellarmin. & others De Clericis & Sacerdotio.

Gratian Distinctio 22, 96.

e See Philip Morney his Mysterium Iniquitatis; Centuriæ Magd: 5. to 13. and my Antipathy of the Lordly Prelacy to Unity and Monarchy.

of obedience) were totally exempted. 3dly. St. Peter makes no such distinction as Popes now do, between Lay-Christians and Clergy-men, (yea he defines those now stiled the Laity to be *Cleris, the Lords (Clergy or Heritage,* 1 Pet. 5. 3. not the Elders) nor between himself, Popes, Prelates, and other Presbyters, as Popes and others since make: yea, such a distinction would have not only verified, but aggravated the calumnies, accusations of the Pagans against the Christians; For had he informed those to whom he writes, and the Roman Pagan Emperors, Kings, Governors then ruling, that all Lay Christians ought to be subject to them as Supream in all temporal things held of them; but that himself, and all Christian Bishops, Elders, Ministers were totally exempted from their power, and had the sole Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction originally in themselves; by virtue whereof *they could root up and pull down, build up and plant them, their Empires, Kingdoms, Nations,* at their pleasures; and were set over them for that very purpose, as *Jeremiah* was, in this Popes sense, not Gods. This certainly would have incensed all Emperors, Kings, and Governours against them, to their total and final extirpation, as the archest Traytors, Rebels, that ever the world produced. This Popes distinction therefore, was as farr from St. Peters meaning, as he was from his humility. 6ly. St. Peter in this very Epistle, as he stiles himself only, (a) *an Elder;* yea fellow *Elder* (not Christs Vicar, Viceroy, Head of his Church &c. as Popes since have done) so he exhorts the *Elders of the Church* only as his fellows, (not commands them as their Lord) *to feed the flock of Christ which is amongst them; neither as being Lords over Gods heritage,* (as Popes now make themselves) *but being ensamples to the flock.* Therefore those *Kings and Governours* to whom he enjoyned them to submit themselves (not Peter, nor these Elders) as *Supream,* were Supream over them in all temporal and ecclesiastical Causes, as well as over their flocks, to whom they were to be examples herein as well as in other particulars. 7ly. (b) *Bellarmin* affirms Saint Peters first *Universal Epistle* to be written from Rome, from this salutation in the cloze thereof; (c) *The Church which is at Babylon saluteth you;* affirming this *Babylon* to be Rome, to prove Peters being Bishop thereof, and his *Universal Supremacy,* as Christs Vicar, since devolved unto Popes; *Wherein he makes the Church of Rome a true Antichristian Babylon, and mother of confusion,* in perverting this Epistle from Rome, so pregnant for the Temporal and Ecclesiastical Supremacy of Kings and Temporal Magistrates over all their Christian subjects, as well of the Clergy, as Laity, so far, as to give the Pope an absolute Supremacy over Kings and Emperors themselves, which never entred into St. Peters heart, nor was ever claimed or exercised, but abominated by him, and thus Decreed against in his unerring chair. Yet (d) *Alvarus Pelagius* concludes with Pope Innocent from this very Text of Peter, *ex pradiſtis clare patet, Papa est Universalis Monarcha totius populi christiani, & denuo totius mundi: ita quod velit nolit, quicunque vincit Papa de jure subijcitur ut Pralato.*

a 1 Pet. 5. 2, 3, 4.

b De Romano Pontifice l. 2. Amefii Bellarminus Enervatus, Tom. 3. p. 175, 176.

c 1 Pet. 1. 13.

d De Planctu Ecclef. l. 1. artic. 37.

6ly. Saint Peter in his second *Universal Epistle*, chap. 2. gives a most lively character of Popes Apostacy, ambition, covetousnesse, uncleannesse, injustice and presumption; more especially *in despising all Dominion* over them by Emperors, Kings, and Magistrates, *in speaking evil of Dignities,* without fear of God or Man, in defiance of his first Epistle, and bringing many railing accusations against them; (as they do in their Epistles, Decrees, Bulls, Books against their Supremacies) whereas Angels who are greater in power and might, dare not do it. Yet these, as natural brute beasts, made to be taken and destroyed, speak evil of those Dignities they understand not, and shall utterly perish in their own corruption, and receive the reward of unrighteousnesse; as many Popes, Popish Prelates, Rebels, Regicides (f) have done; both in the field, and Courts of Justice, for maintaining the Popes Unchristian Usurpations over the Crowns, kingdoms, persons, lives of their Lawfull Emperors, Kings, and Princes: Therefore Popes must henceforth either for ever renounce their Universal Vicarship, Sovereignty, as neither enjoyed, exercised, owned, but professedly and eternally subverted by St. Peter himself, from whom alone they derive it; or else St. Peter will eternally disclaim them by these General Texts and Universal Epistles, to be either his Successors, or Christs Vicars, but meer Antichristian Impostors.

e 2 Pet. 2. 2, 10, 11.

f See Philip Morney, Hist. Papatus, Aven-tinus Annal. Boiorum l. 4. c. 6. Dr. Beards Theater of Gods Judgements.

7ly. St. Paul (the first real Apostle, and sole Bishop of Rome, (g) to whom he only writ (if any Apostle was so) at least joynit Bishop with Peter (if ever Bishop there)

g In Rom. 15.

a Contra Hæreses, lib. 1.
Her. 27. col. 88, 89.
b Ecclef. Hist. 1.3. c. 31.
c Chrysostom Homil. 23: in Rom. 13. Theodoret, Theodulus, Oecumenius, Sedulius, Theophylact in Rom. 13.

as (a) Epiphanius, (b) Eusebius, and others attest) even in his very Epistle to the Saints and Church of Rome it self, hath put in an eternal Bar against the pretended Supremacy of Popes, as St. Peter did (in his Epistles from it) Rom: 13. 1, to 3. where he gives a universal precept to all present and future Saints and Members of the Roman Church (as well Popes, Prelates, Priests, and other Ecclesiasticks, as Lay-Christians or Pagans, as the (c) Fathers resolve) **Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers** (not to Paul or Peter, who enjoy obedience to them) acknowledged by all to be the Roman Emperors, Senate, though then meer Pagans; not abolished nor translated to Peter, by Christ himself, and that upon these unanswerable reasons: 1. Because **there is no power but of God.** 2ly. **The powers that are** (then in being, and so not abolished by Christ, but ratified) **are ordained and ordered by God.** 3ly. **Whoever therefore resisteth** (much more then who usurp, abolish, as Popes and their Parasites do) **the power, resisteth the Ordinance of God.** 4ly. Those that resist, **shall receive to themselves damnation;** not a Papal canonization. 5ly. **For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to evil.** 6ly. Those that do good, need not fear the Power, yea they shall have praise and rewards, as well as protection from the same. 7ly. **For he is the minister of God to thee for good.** 8ly. **But if thou do that which is evil, He** (not the Pope) **beareth not the sword** (of Justice) **in vain, for he is the Minister of God, a Revenger** (in Gods stead) **to execute wrath upon him that doth evil.** 9ly. (From all these premises he draws this peremptory conclusion,) **Wherefore ye must needs be subject not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake.** 10ly. **For, for this cause pay you tribute also, for they** (not Bishops or Priests) **are Gods** (not Saint Peters, or the Popes) **Ministers, attending continually upon this very thing.** 11ly. From all which he thus concludes, **Render therefore to All** (Higher powers that are) **their Dues,** (by Divine, Evangelical right) **Tribute to whom Tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honor to whom honor,** (in the affirmative:) **Owe nothing to any man** (in power, as well as out) **but to love one another:** obeying them out of love, not fear. What now is become of St. Peters, or his pretended successors Monarchy, Headship over the Church, or Emperor of Rome himself, which St. Pauls sword hath for ever decapitated?

d Alvarus Pelagius de Planctu Ecclef. lib. 1. Art. 37.
e Orat. 5. contra Auxentium, Gratian Caus. 23. qu. 8.
f Epist. 42.

(*) Comment. in cap. 13. ad Romanos.

g Comment. in Rom. 13.
h In cap. 13. ad Romanos.
i In cap. 13. ad Romanos.
k See Dr. Willet, Peter Martyr, Paræus and others in locum l Espenceus, Bishop Hall, Bishop Bilson, Bp. Downham, and others.
m Vnbisheping of Timothy and Titus.
n 1 Tim: 2. 1, 2, 3.

Yet some Popes and their (d) Janizaries are so impudent as to assert, it cannot be argued or inferred from this Text, that the Pope, Church, Clergy are subject to Emperors and Kings, though they pay Tribute to them, as a badge of their *subjection*, even out of their Church-lands, as (e) St. Ambrose, and others confesse they ought to pay by Christs and Peters examples; and that Popes, Clergymen are not within these universall words, **Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers:** Surely St. (f) Bernard was of another Judgement in his memorable Epistle to Henry Archbishop of Sienna. *Omnis anima (inquit) potestatis sublimioribus subdita sit. Si omnis, et vestra. Quis vos excipit a Universitate? Si quis tentat excipere conatur decipere. Nolite eorum acquiescere consiliis, qui cum sint Christiani, Christi tamen vel sequi facta, vel obsequi diutis opprobrio ducunt: Ipsi sunt qui vobis dicere solent, Servate vestra sedis honorem;* Though they violate this expresse command of Christ, and the Apostle. (*) Theodoret Bishop of Cyprus thus expounds this Text, **Let every Soul be subject to the higher powers, whether he be any Priest or any Bishop,** (then certainly any Pope or Popish Prelate) **or any Monk: he must yeeld subjection to those to whom Magistracy is given.** (g) Theodulus Bishop of Calosyria concurs with him upon this reason; *For that the Gospel was not given for the subversion of the publique Civil Government and order.* (h) St. Chrysostom Patriarch of Constantinople (Romes and Popes Corrivalls for precedency) goes one step higher in his Exposition of this Text; *For All, whether thou be a Priest, or a Prophet, or an Apostle* (therefore a Pope, or a Monk, which his next words certainly include) **or whosoever else thou be, every one is commanded to obey these Higher Powers.** The like do (i) Oecumenius, (k) Theophylact, and sundry others conclude against these Papal Impostors, and prævaricators of this unanswerable Text for Regal Supremacy.

8ly. To put this out of doubt, the same St. Paul in his First Epistle to Timothy (whom Popes and all (l) Prelats assert to be the first and sole Bishop of Ephesus) (m) exhorts him, that **First of all supplications, prayers, intercessions and giving of thanks should be made for Kings, and for all that are in Authority, that we** (including himself and Timothy as well as other Christians) **may lead a quiet and peaceable**

able life († **under them** as all expound it) in all **Godlinesse** (relating to Gods Worship, Religion, and Spiritual affairs) and **Honesty**, extending to all temporal matters; *For this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour*: And in his Epistle to **Titus** (whom they repute (a) *Archbishop of Crete*) he gives him this express charge: (b) *Put them in minde to be subject to Principallities and Powers, to obey Magistrates, &c.* For we our selves also were sometimes foolish, disobedient, deceived. In both which Texts he peremptorily enjoynes, not only continual prayers for, but also subjection and real obedience to all Civil Magistrates, Principallities, Powers, Kings, Governours, as the *Higher powers* (to which himself then submitted and obeyed since he was an Apostle of Christ, though formerly disobedient to them, while foolish, and deceived; and to which *Timothy* and *Titus* themselves submitted, as well as their flocks; it being a moral, universal duty, tending to the Churches and all Christians peace, quietnesse, advancement of all (c) *godlinesse, honesty, yea good and acceptable in the sight of God and Christ our Saviour, by and for whom all I thrones, Dominions, principallities, powers both in heaven and earth were created.*

To evade these and other Texts, (d) *Alvarus Pelagius*, (e) *Bartholmeus Buxensis*, *Johannis Thierry*, (f) *Panormitan*, (g) *Angelus de Clavasio*, and other Canonists blasphemously assert; *Quod Papa est major Paulo authorize, & potest dispensare contra Apostolum* (Paulum) *in omni casu, cum teneat locum Petri & sit Vicarius Christi. Quod potest dispensare contra Jus Divinum*; yea, *contra Novum Testamentum*: And if thus be not sufficient, *Papa potest dispensare de omnibus preceptis Veteris & Novi Testamenti*, (in some particular cases) *Aliter* (ut dicit *Ricardus* 4. Distinct. 38) *non videretur Deus fuisse bonus Pater familias, nisi dimisisset Pastorem super Gregem suam qui possit consulere omnibus occurrentibus, & necessario expediendis. Nec etiam posset dici quod Papa est generalis Commissarius Dei assumptus in plenitudine potestatis, cujus contrarium determinatur*, 2 qu. 6. c. *Qui se scit*, & 24. qu. 1. *Quodcumque*. But these Transcendent Blasphemies, and even Atheistical Delusions will satisfie no sober Christians conscience, nor yet evade these and St. *Peters* own forecited Texts, Precepts, which the Pope cannot dispense with, *unlesse he will make the Servants above, greater then his Lord, and the Vicar then the Master.*

oly. (b) Christ himself, together with *Paul* and *Peter*, do from the 5th Commandement most frequently presse and inculcate all (i) *due subjection and obedience by Wives unto their Husbands, Children to their Parents, and Servants to their Masters in all things, and that with fear and trembling, in singlenesse of heart as unto Christ; not with eye-service as men-pleasers, but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart, and with good will doing them service, as to the Lord and not to men, knowing that of the LORD they shall receive the Inheritance; for (herein) they serve the Lord Christ.* Therefore there is the self-same relation, obedience due to Kings and Magistrates, (the politick Husbands, Parents, Masters of the Realm, people,) by all Members of the body politick, as there is by Wives, children, servants, to their Husbands, Parents, Masters.

rothly. It is very observable that Christ himself, with his Apostles *Peter* and *Paul* do in the New Testament more frequently, punctually, energetically inculcate this duty of (k) *subjection, obedience, honor, paying Tribute to Emperors, Kings, and Civil Magistrates* (though then all Pagans, unbelievers) yea for all Wives, Children, Servants to obey, fear, and reverence their Husbands, Parents, Masters in the flesh; on all sorts of Christians, under the Gospel, then ever they were urged or reiterated in the Old Testament before or under the Law; and that for these ends and upon these accounts, as I humbly apprehend, First, to evidence, That all Kings, Supream Civil Magistrates, Parents under the Gospel enjoy the selfsame Sovereign Jurisdiction over all Civil, Ecclesiastical persons, things, and their children under the Gospel, as they did before or under the Law in the Old Testament, and that the Kingship, kingdom of Christ under the Gospel did no wayes diminish nor eclipse (much lesse abolish, or transfer to Apostles, Bishops, Presbyters, or Chapters) any part of their antient Temporal or Spiritual Authority before and under the Law. 2ly. To make the free passage for the preaching and reception of the Gospel among all Nations, Kingdoms, Republics in the world, as consistent with, and no wayes opposing, but advancing, rarifying their respective Civil Governments, by prescribing every soul to yeeld all chearfull obedience, subjection to their Civil Governours, Lawes, for the peace and tranquillity of their Kingdoms. 3ly. To stop the mouthes of Pagans and all Enemies

† See the Col-
lect for the
King.

a See my Vn-
bithoping of
Timothy and
Titus.

b Tit. 3. 1.

c Col. 1. 16.

d De Planctu
Eccles. 1. 1. ar-
tic. 46.

e Glossa in Gra-
tiani Caus.

16. qu. 1. Quod-
cumque caus. 15

qu. 6. Auto-ri-
te Distinct. 34.

Leffor. & Di-
stinct. 82. Pres-
byter.

f Extravag. de
Divortis c.

Gia.

g Sum. Angelica
tit. Papa. sect. 1.

* John 13. 16.

c 15. 20.

b Mat. 15. 4-5,

6. Mar. 7. 10,

11, 12.

i Eph. 5. 22, 23,

24. c. 6. 1, 10

10. Col. 2. 18,

to 25. 1 Tim. 6

1, 2.

k 1 Pet. 2. 13, 14

c 3. 1, 2, 3.

l Rom. 13. 1, 2

10. 1 Tim. 2. 13

2, 3.

a 1 Pet. 2. 12, 10 17. c. 3. 16. Tertull. Apol. Athenagoras apologia pro Christianis. *b* 1 Pet. 2. 16. *c* Rom. 13. 13. to 10. *Enemies of Christian Religion, and Christians, (a) who traduced and accused them as opposites and Enemies to, & rebels against Emperors, Kings, Magistrates, their Government and Lawes.* 4ly. To take away all pretences from *(b) Libertins and yokelesse Christians, under pretext of Christian Liberty, and the privileges of Christianity* to disobey contemn all Kings, Magistrates Lawes and Civil Government, as exempted from their power. 5ly. To lessen and controll the Antichristian Usurpations of the Popes, Prelates, Clergy of *(c) Rome* it self, and their Confederates elsewhere, upon the Crownes, prerogatives, rights and kingdoms of Christian Kings and Emperors which should embrace the Gospel: All which reasons are expressed or intimated in the Gospel it self, *Pauls* Epistle to the *Romans*, and *St Peters*.

d 2 Tim. 2. 33. 4. *11ly. St. Paul* in his second Epistle to *Timothy* (a Bishop, as all Popes, Bishops assert) in relation to his spiritual warfare, layes down this universal Maxim, which every **good Souldier of Jesus Christ** must observe, *(d) No man that warreth intangleth himself with the Affairs of this Life, that he may please him who hath chosen him to be a Soldier.* If then no Bishop or good Spiritual Souldier of Jesus Christ, must so much as once *entangle themselves with the affairs of this world and life*, that so they may discharge their duties, as to please Christ, who hath chosen them to be his souldiers: then certainly neither Christ nor his Apostles ever gave or committed to any Apostle, Pope, Bishop, or Minister of the Gospel, any Supreme Temporal Jurisdiction, over all or any Kings, kingdoms or Civil Corporations in the world, *(e) which require continual attendance*, and would totally *(f) avocate them from their spiritual warfare.*

e Rom. 13. 6. *f* Acts 6. 2. &c. *3* Acts 6. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. *12ly. The Apostles themselves* (though inspired from Heaven what to preach, without much study) when there was a complaint made to them, *(g) that the widows and poor were neglected in the daily ministrations, calling all the multitude of Disciples to them, sayd, It is not Reason that we should leave the Word of God and serve Tables; wherefore Brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost, and wisdom, whom we may appoint over this businesse: But we will give our selves continually unto the Ministry of the Word:* And the saying pleased the whole multitude, who thereupon chose Stephen and 6. more Deacons to attend the poor: whereupon **the word of God increaseth, & the number of Disciples multiplied in Jerusalem greatly.** If the Apostles then thought it *against reason*, that they should once or twice a day serve Tables, and the poor, (though an act of charity and piety) as being inconsistent with their Apostolical Office, Ministry; and thereupon ordained Deacons to discharge the trust: Then certainly it cannot but be against Reason and Scripture to assert, That Christ gave, or any of his Apostles by divine right and institution ever had, claimed, exercised, or ought to enjoy any the least Temporal Jurisdiction or Dominion in the world; much lesse such as Popes pretend to from *St. Peter*, who was present at, and assenting to this institution of Deacons: it being wholly inconsistent with their Spiritual function.

6 Mat. 6. 24. *Lu.* 10. 13. *1* John 2. 15. *2* Mat. 19. 27. *Mar.* 1. 18. *Lu.* 5. 11. *4* Acts 13. 2. *Rom.* 1. 1. *m* Rom. 12. 6, 7, 8. *a* Gratian caus. 21. qu. 3. *Summa Angelici.* 2. Clericus 9. ** Gul. Nubri-* genfis. hist. l. 4. c. 4. *Antiqu.* Ecclef. Brit. p. 140, 141. *13ly. Christ himself assured his Apostles, (h) That no man can serve two Masters, for either he will hate the one and love the other, or he will hold to the one and despise the other; We cannot serve God and Mammon:* Therefore, when Christ called his Disciples to follow him, *(i) they forsook their worldly employments and all they enjoyed*, that they might apply themselves wholly to their Apostolical and Ministerial functions: And when He called *Barnabas and Paul* to be Apostles, he said, *(k) Separate me Barnabas and Paul to the work I have appointed them.* Which Paul thus expresseth; *Paul an Apostle of Jesus Christ, called to be an Apostle, (l) Separate unto the Gospel of Jesus Christ;* being wholly taken off from all secular employments as incompatible with their Apostolical Function. Upon which Account he giveth this charge to all other Ministers; *(m) He that hath the gift of the ministry, let him wait on the ministry; and he that teacheth in teaching, and he that exhorteth on exhortation; He that ruleth (as a Magistrate) let him do it with diligence.* Whence sundry *Fathers, Councils, Popes Decretals, Canonists, Schoolmen, have prohibited all Bishops, Priests and Clergymen to intermeddle as Judges, Advocates, Proctors or Solicitors, in any secular affairs;* as * inconsistent with their spiritual function under pain of deprivation; Therefore it is most certain, That Christ never gave to *Peter*, or any other Apostle, Bishop, Minister, any Temporal Jurisdiction over Kings, kingdoms, or in temporal affairs, being diametrically contrary to and inconsistent with their spiritual vocations.

14ly. St.

14ly. St. Paul chargeth Timothy (a Bishop, as Bishops assert) (a) **To give him- self wholly** to reading, exhortation and doctrine, that his profuing might appear before all men: and gives him, with all other Bishops, Presbyters, and Ministers of the Gospel this dreadfull charge; (b) **I charge thee therefore before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead at his appearing, and his kingdom: Preach the word, be instant in season, out of season, reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering & doctrine;** denouncing a **Wo** (c) to himself if he preach not the Gospel, which he thereupon preached constantly, (d) **publikely, and from house to house,** as (e) **Christ and his Apostles daily preached it;** whose (f) **examples all Bishops, Popes, Ministers ought to follow.** Now this they could not possibly do, had they all Temporal and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction delegated to them, the execution whereof would (g) **totally divert, or very much interrupt them in their ministerial Office, preaching, instructing the people, and other duties of their Ministry.** Therefore it is intallible, Christ never gave to any of them any temporal Jurisdiction.

Col. 4. 17. g See Mart. Parker Antiqu. Ecclef. Brit: p. 138, to 142. in Vita Huberti. Bernard. de Confid. l. 1. & 3.

15ly. St. Paul blaming the (b) Christians of the Church of Corinth, for going to Law with their brethren before Pagan Judges, to the scandal of christianity, doth not delegate the hearing and decision of such controversies to the Bishops or Elders of the Church; but adviseth them, **To let them to Judge who are least esteemed in the Church;** as no wayes fit for the Bishops and Pastors thereof: Therefore they neither had, nor ought to have any Temporal Jurisdiction.

16ly. St. Paul makes this the special badge and character of Antichrist, that man of sinne, and sonne of perdition, (i) **that he opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God,** (to wit, over all Kings and secular Magistrates, styled (k) **Gods in the Old Testament**) or that is worshipped, so that he as God sitteth in the Temple of God, shewing himself that he is God. And St. (l) John describes him under the Notion of a **beast**, exercising temporal Jurisdiction in the Church and State, causing all, both great and small, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand or foreheads; and that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark: and that he had power given him over all Kingdoms, Tongues and Nations; (which Popes now claim) so that all that dwelt on the earth worshipped him, whose names were not written in the Lamb's book. And he further subjoyns, (m) **That the ten horns he saw, were ten Kings, who receive power as Kings, one honour with the beast, who have one mind, and shall give their (Kingly) Power and Strength unto the Beast:** that so by pretext thereof, he may claim and exercise both civil and ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, as Popes do now by pretext of (n) **Constantines, Charls the Great, and other Kings donations and resignations of their Temporal Jurisdictions to the Pope and his Successors.** Upon which account most (o) Protestant (and some Romish Divines) assert, Popes claiming exercising both the supream temporal and ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, over Kings, Emperors, Kingdoms, Churches, to be **the ANTICHRIST.** And if so, Then that Jurisdiction which is thus declared to be Antichristian, neither did of right belong to Christ, nor was ever delegated by him to St. Peter, or the Bishops of Rome, or any other Bishops whatsoever, being diametrically contrary to Christ and Christianity.

17ly. Christ himself as he did with some indignation refuse to be a voluntary Judge or Arbitrator in a small temporal inheritance, to divide it between two brethren when required; saying, ***Man, who made me a Judge, or a Divider over you?** neither God, nor Man the Supream Magistrate having given him any such Commission: So he hath in precise terms expressly prohibited all Kingly and Lordly Dominion to his Apostles, and in them to all Popes, Prelates, Bishops and Ministers whatsoever. Mat. 20. 25, 26. Luke 22. 25, 26. And he said unto them, ***The Kings of the Gentiles exercise Lordship over them, and they that exercise Authority upon them, are called Benefactors,** (or Gracious Lords, as the old Translations render it) **But ye shall not be so, (or it shall not be so) among you: but he that is or will be Great (or Greatest) among you, let him be your Minister, and whosoever will be Chief among you, let him be your Servant.** From which Text, Origen in Mat. Hom. 13. & in 11ay Hom. 13 Chrysostom Opus Imp. in Mat. Hom. 31. & in Epist. ad Ephes: Hom: 1. Hierom Epist: 2. ad Nepotianum, c. 9. Comment. in Epist: ad Ephesios, c. 6. Gregorius Magnus, Pastoralis. Curæ, p. 2. c. 6. & Homil: 17. in Evangelia; Beda, Ambrosius, Theophylus Antiochenus, Rabanus Maurus, Paschasius

Rasbertus, Anselmus, Theophylact, and most other antient and modern Commentators on Mat: 20. & Lu: 22. condemnall Regal and Lordly Dominion not only in Temporal, but in Ecclesiastical and Spiritual things in Popes and Prelates of the Church, as expressly prohibited by Christ, yea by & in Peter himself as well as others; Hear St. Bernard for all the rest in his excellent Book (a) *De Consideratione*, where he thus expounds and applies these forecited Texts against Papal Sycophants Glosses on them to Pope Eugenius, in the ruff of his Papal grandeur.

(a) Nam quid tibi aliud promisit Sanctus Apostolus, quam sedula sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum? Quod habeo, inquit, hoc tibi Do. Quid illud? unum scio, non est aurum, neque argentum cum ipse dicat, Argentum & Aurum non est mihi. Est aut alia

Act: 3. 6.

quacunque ratione hæc tibi vindices, sed non Apostolico Jure. Nec enim illa tibi dare quod non habuit, potuit. Quid habuit, hoc dedit, sollicitudinem, ut dixi, super Ecclesias. Numquid dominationem? Audi ipsum, Non dominantes, ait, in Clero, sed forma facti gregis. Et ne dictum sola humilitate, putes, non etiam veritate, Vox

Mat: 20. 25, 26

Lu: 22. 25, 26.

Dominie est in Evangelio, Reges gentium dominantur eorum, & qui potestatem habent super eos, Benefici vocantur. Et infert, inter vos non sic: Placuit enim, Apostolis

interdicitur Dominatus. Ergo tu, et tibi usurpare aude, aut Dominans Apostolatium, aut Apostolicus Dominatus, plane ab alter-

utro prohiberis: Si utrumque similiter habere voles, perdes utrum-

Hof: 8. 4.

que: Alioquin non te exceptum illorum numero putes, de quibus queritur Deus sic: Ipsi regnaverunt, & non ex me, Principes extiterunt, & non cognovi eos. Jam si regnare sine Deo jubat, habes gloriam, sed non apud

Luke 22.

Deum. At si interdictum tenemus, audiamus Edictum: Qui major est vestrum, fiat sicut minor, & qui præcellior est, sicut qui ministrat: Forma Apostolica hæc est: Dominatio interdicitur, indicitur ministratio: quæ et

Commendatur ipsius exemplo legislatoris, qui secutus adjungit; Ego autem in medio vestrum sum, tanquam qui ministrat. Quis se jam Titulo hoc

2 Cor. 11. 13.

inglorium putet, quo se prior dominus Gloriæ præsignavit? Merito, Paulus Glorietur in eo dicens: Ministri Christi sunt? Et ego: & addit, ut minus sapiens dico, plus ego, in laboribus plurimus, in carceribus abundantius, in plagis supra modum, in mortibus frequenter. O Praclarum Ministerium! quo non id gloriosius

Gal. 6. 14.

principatu? Si gloriari oportet, forma tibi sanctorum præfigitur, Apostolorum proponitur gloria. Parvane tibi illa videtur? quis mihi tribuat similem fieri in gloria Sanctorum? Clamat Apostolus, Mihi autem abest gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi: Hoc Glorietur opto semper optimo genere Gloriæ, quod Apostoli, quod Prophetæ delegere sibi, transmissere tibi. Agnosce hereditatem tuam in Christi cruce, in laboribus plurimis. Felix qui dicere potuit, Plus omnibus laboravi. He thus further disproves the

Popes right to intermeddle with, judge or determine any temporal causes, or to usurp the Scepters, Crowns, possessions of the world, or earthly kingdoms:

(b) Quid servilius, indigniusque, præsertim summo Pontifici, quod non dico omnidie, sed pene omni hora, infundare talibus rebus, & pro talibus? Denique quando oramus?

Et quidem quotidie perfreperunt in palatio Reges, sed instant, non Domini. Iste ne etiam istud: Tu videris. Nam certe lex Domini immaculata convertens animas. Hæc autem non tam leges quam lites sunt, et sabillationes subvertentes sub-

cliam. Tu ergo Pastor et Episcopus animarum, qua mente obsecro sustines coram te semper silere illam, gerere istas? Fallor, si non movet tibi scrupulum perversitas hæc.

b De Consideratione, lib. I.

Pl. 19.

Da occasionem Sapienti & sapientior erit. Audiamus Apostolum, quid de hujusmodi sentiat. Sic non est inter vos sapiens (ait ille) qui judicet inter fratrem & fratrem? Et infert, Ad ignominiam vobis dico, contemptibiles qui sunt in Ecclesia, illos constituite ad judicandum. Itaque, secundum Apostolum, indignè tibi usurpas tu Apostolicus officium vile, gradum contemptibilem. Unde & dicebat Episcopus, Episcopum instituens, Nemo militans Deo implicat se negotiis secularibus. Ego autem parco tibi; non tam fortis loquor, sed possibilis. Putas ne hæc tempora sustinerent, si hominibus litigantibus pro terrena hereditate, & flagrantibus abs te Judicium, Voce

1 Cor. 6.

Domini tui responderes: O homines quis me constituit Judicem super vos? In quale tu judicium mox venires? Quid dicit homonusticanus & imperitus, ignorans Primitivum tuum, inhonorans summam et præexcellam sedem, derogans Apostolicæ dignitati? Et tamen non monstrant puto qui hoc dicent, Ubi ali-

2 Tim. 2.

Luc. 12.

quando quispiam Apostolorum Index sederit hominum, aut divisorum terminorum, aut distributor terrarum: Stetisse denique lego Apo-

stolos

Nota.

stolos judicandos, sedisse judicantes non lego : erit illud, non fuit. Ita ne est imminutus dignitatis Servus, si non vult esse major Domino suo, aut Discipulus si non vult esse major eo qui se misit ? aut filius si non transgreditur terminos quos posuerunt Patres sui ? Quis me constituit Judicem ? ait ille, Dominus, & Magister ; et erit injuria Servo, Discipuloque nisi Judicet Universos ? Mihi tamen non videtur bonus estimator rerum, qui indignum putat Apostolis, seu Apostolicis viris non judicare de talibus, quibus datum est judicium in majora. Quid ni contemnant judicare de terrenis possessumculis hominum, qui in caelestibus & Angelos judicabunt ? Ergo in criminibus non in possessionibus Potestas vestra, quoniam propter illa, non propter has, accepisti claves regni caelorum, pravaricatores utique excludere, non possessores : Quanam tibi major videtur & dignitas & potestas, demittendi peccata, an praedia dividendi ? Sed non est comparatio : Habent haec infima & terrena Judices suos, Reges et Principes terrae : Quid fines alienos invaditis ? Quid falcem vestram in alienam messem extenditis ? Non quia indigni vos, sed quia indignum vobis talibus insistere, quippe prioribus occupatis, &c. Itaque haec & innumera talia dixerem, si fortia dic rem, si verba, si sincera. Nunc autem quia dies mali sunt, sufficit interim admonitum esse.

Luke 12.

Mat 9.

He proceeds thus most elegantly and pithily in answering the Popes pretences to the Monarchy and Possessions of all the world, as Successor to the Apostles in their pretended Universal Principality. *Nimis confortatus est Principatus eorum; constituti sunt Principes super omnem terram* (only in preaching the Gospel to all Nations, as he proves from Psal. 19.) *Eis tu successisti in hereditatem; ita tu haeres, et orbis haereditas.* At quatinus haec portio te contingit, aut contigerit illos, id sobria consideratione pensandum ; Non enim per omnem reor modum. *Ut michi videtur, dispensatio tibi super illum credita, non data possessio.* Si pergis usurpare et hanc, contradicit tibi qui dicit, *Meus est orbis terra, & plenitudo ejus.* Num tu ille de quo Propheta ; *Et erit omnis terra possessio ejus ?* Christus hic est, qui possessionem sibi vendicat, et jure Creationis, et merito Redemptionis, et Dono Patris ; Cui enim alteri dictum est, *Postula a me, & dabo tibi Gentes hereditatem, & possessionem tuam terminus terra.* Possessionem et Dominium cede huic, tu curam illius habe : Pars tua haec, ultra ne extendas manum. Quid inquis ? Non negas praesse, et Dominari vetas ? Plane sic. Quasi non bene praesit, qui praest in sollicitudine ; nunquid non et villa villico, et parvus Dominus subjectus est paedagogo ? Nec tamen villae ille, nec ille cui Domini Dominus est. Ita et tu, praesit, ut provideas, ut consulas, ut procure, ut serbes. Praesit et prosis ; praesit ut fideles servus et prudens, quem constituit Dominus super familiam suam ; Ad quid, ut desillis escam in tempore : Hoc est, ut dispenses, non imperes. Hoc fac, Dominari ne affectes hominum homo, ut non dominetur tibi omnis iniustitia. At satis superque id intimatum supra, cum quis sis disputaretur. Adde tamen et hoc ; Nullum tibi venenum, nullum gladium plus formido, quam libidinem dominandi. Certe multum tibi tribuas, si multum deceptus non es, nil te existimas plus his accepisse a magnis Apostolis. Recordare nunc vocis illius ; Sapientibus et insipientibus debitor sum. Et si non indubitan tibi ipsam censes, hoc quoque simul memento, debitoris molestum nomen, servienti potius quam Dominanti congruere. Servus in Evangelio, audit ; Quantum debes Domino meo ? Ergo site agnoscis sapientibus & insipientibus non dominatorem sed debitorem, curandum summopere tibi & tota vigilantia considerandum, quomodo & qui non sapient sapiant, qui sapiant non desipiant, & qui desipere, respiciant, &c. After which, he concludes with this pathetic Exclamation, and interrogation. O ambitio ambientium Crue, quomodo omnes torquens omnibus places ? Nil acerbius cruci, ac nil molestius inquietat, nil tamen apud miseros mortales celebris negotiis ejus. An non limina Apostolorum plus jam ambitio quam devotio terit ? An non vocibus ejus vestrum tota die resultat palatium ? An non questibus ejus tota Legum Canonumque disciplina infundat ? An non spoliis ejus omnis Italica inhiat inextinguibili aviditate rapacitas ? Quid ita tua spiritualia studia

4 De Contide-
ratione, 1.3. c.
1, 3, 4
Pl. 45, & 138.

Psal. 49.

Psal. 2.

Mat. 24.

Rom. 1.

Luke 16.

non saltem intercidit, sed occidit. Quoties sancta ac fecunda tua abortivi oia fecit inquietum et inquietans malum? Aliud est quod ab oppressis appellatur ad te: aliud autem quod Ambitio in Ecclesia per te regnare molitur. Nec deesse illis, nec huic aliquatinus assentire oportet.

a De Consideratione, l. 4.

Nota.

John 21.

He concludes thus to our purpose: after a large detection of and invective against the monstrous ambition, rapine, injustice of the Parasites, Officers, and Ministers of the Court of Rome, he falls upon the more then Regal and Imperial wordly pomp of the Pope himself; (a) *Inter hæc tu Pastor procedis deauratus, tam multa circumdatus varietate. Oves quid rapiunt? Si auderem dicere, Demonum magis quam ovium pascua hæc, Scilicet Sic facitabat Petrus? sic Paulus læcebat? Aides omnem Ecclesiasticum zelum ferbere sola pro Dignitate tuenda; Honori totum datur, sanctitati nihil, aut parum. Si causa requirunt, paulo summissius agere, ac socialius te habere temperaveris, Abiit inquit, non decet, tempore non congruit, majestati, non convenit, quam geris personam attendito. De placito Dei ultima mentio, est pro salutis nulla cunctatio, Nisi quod sublime est, salutare dicamus, et quod gloriam redolet, id iustum. Ita omne humile probro vincitur inter Palatinos, ut facilius qui esse, quam qui apparere humilis velit invenias. Timor Dei, simplicitas reputatur, de dicam fuitas, &c. Hic, hic non parco tibi, ut pareat Deus. Pastorem te populo huic coram aut nega, aut exhibe. Non negabis, ne cuius sedem teneas, te neget heredem: Petrus hic est, qui nescitur processisse aliquando vel gemmis ornatus vel sericis; non tectus auro, non vectus equo albo, nec stirpatus milite, nec circumstrepentibus septus ministris. Absque his tamen credidit satis posse impleri salutare mandatum, Si amas me, pasce oves meas. In his successisti non Petro, sed Constantino.* Thus this Canonized Roman Saint, Bernard, concluded long since against the Popes pretended Monarchy to Pope Eugenius himself, with whom I shall cloze this branch of my 4. Proposition.

For the second part thereof; *That Jesus Christ as Supream King of his kingdom, the Church-militant upon earth, never delegated the Sovereign Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over it, or all the Members in it, to St. Peter, or any other Apostle, Bishop, Priest or Pope whatsoever, as his Viceroyes; but only the ministerial part of his Prophetical (not Kingly or High Priests) office of teaching and preaching the Gospel publicly to all Nations, administering the Sacraments of Baptism, & Lords Supper according to his institution and command; feeding them as his sheep with the sincere milk of his word, teaching them (as his Apostles, Ministers, Servants) to obey what he hath commanded them; be'ecching them as his Embassadors in his stead to be reconciled to God; and to declare, pronounce them absolved from their sins by God, upon their sincere repentance, and to denounce damnation against them, if they do not repent and believe in Christ.*

I shall demonstrate the verity thereof: First, from the several Commissions, or Precepts: 2dly. From the respective Titles given by Christ and the Gospel to the Apostles, Peter, Bishops, Presbyters, Ministers and their respective Offices, in and as they relate to the Kingdom, Church and people of God.

1. For their respective Commissions, I shall enumerate and examine them distinctly.

a Mat. 10. 1, to 16. Mar. 3. 14. to 20. Lu. 9. 1, to 16. compared with c. 10. 1, to 14.

The first Commission given them by Christ, was only to (b) *preach the Gospel and Kingdom of Heaven to the lost sheep of the House of Israel, but not to the Samaritans and Gentiles; without any Jurisdiction or pomp; without scr'p, gold, silver, or brasse in their purses, two coats, or staves; only as labourers worthy of their hire, or meat, which they were to receive from those to whom they preached:* Which commission imports nothing of Supream Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in it, expiring before Christs passion, then head on earth of his Church, and equal to all the Apostles; not peculiar to St. Peter.

b Mat. 28. 19, 20. c Mar. 16. 16, 17, 18.

The second general Grand Commission given them by Christ (wherein their office principally consists) after his Resurrection, is thus recorded by St. (c) *Matthew, and (d) Mark: Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every Creature: He that believeth*

believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; he that believeth not shall be damned; Go ye and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghost; Teaching them to observe whatsoever I have commanded you; (not what your selves without my command, much lesse Popes, Priests, Prelates shall of their own heads prescribe) That this was their principal commission, charge, office; is further evidenced (a) by the Apostles daily constant preaching to the people, both in the Temple, Synagogues, and from house to house, notwithstanding the High Priests and Councels inhibitions not to preach; chusing rather to obey God then men: By St. Pauls separation and mission to preach the Gospel; the necessity laid upon him, and (b) wo that would fall on him, if he did not preach it; And his dreadfull charge to Timothy, (and in him to all Bishops and Ministers of the Gospel) (c) I charge thee before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge both the quick and dead at his appearing and his kingdom; Preach the Word; be instant in season, out of season, re-buke, reprove, (in and by the word preached) exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine. In all this Grand commission, there is only a Ministration, not the least Dominat ion or Jurisdiction delegated to Peter, or any other Apostle, Evangelist, Bishop, Priest, or Minister whatsoever: Yea, it is observable, That Popes and Prelates of the Church, who most contend for Jurisdiction, do most neglect this most essential prime part of their Commission, and relinquish it to inferiour Priests, Ministers, Curates, to whom they deny the power of Jurisdiction.

c 2 Tim: 4. 1, 2. d Leo 1. Epist: 86: Concil: Hisp. Surius Concil. Tom. 1. p. 800. Tom. 2. p. 719. Rabanus Maurus De Instit. Cler. 1. 1: c. 4. Concil. Trident. Sessio. 23. De Sacramento Ordinis. Summa Angelica & Rolla. Tit. Ordo & Jurisdiction.

The third Commission whereon the Pope and his flatterers principally erect St. Peters and their absolute Ecclesiastical Sovereign Supremacy over all other Apostles, Ministers, Priests, Kings, Emperors, Kingdoms, and Catholick Church on Earth; and upon which all Bishops, Presbyters, Priests do bottom their pretended divine Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over Emperors, Kings, and all Secular persons, as appropriate to their functions, consistories, and incommunicable to Princes or Laymen; is, that which was generally given by Christ to all the Apostles, yea to private Christians and Lay-men, and the whole Church, before Christs passion, Mat. 18. 18. Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven. Thus renewed, confirmed to all the Apostles by Christ in behalf of the whole Church, after his resurrection in other words, Jesus breathed on the Disciples and said, Receive ye the holy Ghost; whosever sins ye remit, they are remitted; and whose so ever sins ye retain, they are retained. Which Commission, though thus twice joyntly given to all the Apostles alike by Christ; yet because he first granted this commission to them, directing his speech personally to Peter, Mat: 16. 18, 19. I say unto thee, thou art Peter, &c. And I will (not now do) give unto thee the keyes of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven. Popes and Popish writers thence conclude St. Peters and others Universal Supremacy over the whole Church, and all other Apostles and Bishops whatsoever as well as Kings and Emperors.

I answer, That these Commissions (if rightly examined) do neither give St. Peter nor his pretended Successors, nor any Prelates or Ecclesiastical persons such an inherent Supream Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, distinct from the Regal and Temporal, and incommunicable to Lay persons, as is pretended.

For 1. Every particular person, though a Lay man, or private Christian, hath an absolute power, yea special command from Christ himself, to pardon, forgive and remit sins, and offences committed against himself: as this clause in the Lords Prayer, (e) Forgive us our trespases, as we forgive them that trespasse against us; These precepts When ye pray standing forgive; for if ye forgive their Trespases, your heavenly Father will also forgive you; but if ye forgive not men their trespases, neither will your heavenly Father forgive you your trespases; Forgive and you shall be forgiven; (f) Forgive one another, as God for Christs sake hath forgiven you, with other Scriptures demonstrate. And as they may thus pardon, loose, and forgive: so they may likewise binde, or retain sinnes and trespases against them, when the parties are obstinate and impenitent. This is evident

a Acts 2. 4, 42, 46, 47. c. 3. c. 4. 1, 2, 18, 19, 33, c. 5. 28, 29, 42. c. 19. 8, 9, 10. c. 20. 20, 31, c. 28. 30, 31. Col. 1. 5, 6, 23. Rom. 10. 18. c. 15. 19, 20. b 1 Cor: 9. 14. to 24. Rom. 1. 1, 2. Gal. 1. 16 Eph: 3. 8, 2 Cor. 10. 14, 16. 1 Theff. 2. 9. Acts 20. 20. c. 28. 30, 31.

John 20. 22, 23

e Mat: 6. 13, 14, 15. c. 28. 15, to 22. Lu: 6. 37. c. 11. 4. 6. Mar. 11. 25, 26. f Ephes: 4. 32. 2 Cor. 2. 7, 10, 11.

vident by Luke 17. 3, 4. *If thy brother trespass against thee, rebuke him, and if he repent, forgive him: And if he trespass against thee seven times a day, and seven times in a day return unto thee, saying I repent, thou shalt forgive him, (but not without repentance:)* Compared with 2 Theff: 3. 14, 15. Rom: 16. 17, 18. 1 Cor: 5. 11, 12, 13, and Mat: 18. 15, 16, 17. *Moreover, if thy brother trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone; if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother: But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three Witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the Church; and if he shall neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee (mark it, not them) as an heathen man, and a publican; Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose in earth, shall be loosed in heaven.* Therefore the self-same Commission, Authority of binding and loosing upon earth is given to every private person in this Original Text by Christ, as was given to Peter, Mat: 16. 18, 19. and to all the Apostles, John 20. 22, 23. Hence (a) St. Augustin resolves, *Cum capisti habere fratrem tuum tanquam Publicanum, Ligis illum in terra, cum autem corrigeris & concordaveris cum fratre tuo, solvis illum in terra. Cum solveris in terra, solutus erit in celo;* b Theophylact is yet more punctual, *Situ offensum eum habes eum qui te affecit injuria, sicut Publicanum & Gentilem, erit ille et in celo talis. Si autem solveris eum, hoc est, si illi condonaveris, erit illi et in celo condonatum. Non enim solum quæ solvunt Sacerdotes sunt soluta, sed quæ eumque nos et iniuria affecit, vel ligamus vel solvimus, et ipsa erum ligata et soluta.* And if every private person may thus bind and loose as well as Priests, as these two Fathers, together with (c) Bishop Jewel and others resolve; then much more may Kings and Supream temporal Magistrates do it, in their Courts and Consistories. Our Venerable (d) Bede, (e) Peter Lombard, (f) Scotus, with other Popish School-men, yea their (g) Canon Law, and Canonists resolve; *That in the absence or want of a Priest, a man may confesse his sins to his coequal or neighbor, yea open his daily and lesser sins to his neighbor, where there is a Priest, and receive absolution from him though a Layman, as well as from a Priest.* And that they may do so even by divine Institution, is most fully demonstrated by Jam: 5. 16. (written to the twelve Tribes scattered abroad) who are thus admonished; *Confesse your faults one to another, (not to a Pope, Bishop, Priest) and pray for one another, that ye may be healed;* from which Text not only many Antients, but * most Orthodox Protestant Divines resolve; *That no private christian (in point of conscience) is obliged to confesse his sins to a Priest, any more then to another private Christian, and Laymen no more obliged to confesse their sins to Priests, then Priests are to confesse their sins to Laymen; and that this text makes the duty of confessing their sins, faults one to another reciprocal, being coupled with mutual praying for one another; the Bishop, Priest being bound to pray for the people, as well as the people for the Bishop or Priest; therefore to confesse unto them, as far forth as they are to confesse to him.*

a De Verbis Domini secund. Mat. Sermo 16. b Enarratio in Mat. cap. 18. p. 45.

c Defence of the Apology, 2 part cap. 6. div: 2. p. 176, 177. d In cap. 5 Jacob. e In 4 Sententi. Distinct. 17. f In 4 Sent. Distinct. 17. Art. 3. g Gratian De Pœnit. Dist. 1. Extravag. De officio Judicis Ordinari. Pastoralis, in Glossa.

* Jewel, Moulin Chamier, Chemnicus, Willer, Fulk, Field, White, & others of Confession.

2ly. I answer, That the power of binding and loosing, retaining and remitting public or scandalous sinnes, is not given to Peter, the Apostles, Popes, Bishops, Priests or Ecclesiastical persons, as an inherent priviledge and jurisdiction peculiar to them alone, but to the whole Church and congregation, to whom the right and execution thereof principally appertains. This is infallibly demonstrated, by Mat. 18. 17. "If he shall neglect to hear them, tell it to the Church or Congregation; and if he shall neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee (not the Church) as an heathen man, and a publican;" This word Church or Congregation, is never taken throughout the Scripture for any one particular person, whether High Priest, Priest, Apostle, Bishop or Presbyter, nor yet for two, three, or more Apostles, Bishops, Priests, Ministers, assembled together without, or as contradistinct from the Laity; but ever for the whole Church or congregation either as conjoynd with the Apostles, Bishops, Ministers, and sometimes without them, for Lay christians alone, as severed from their Bishops and Pastors; particularly in these signal Texts, Acts 15. 3, 4, 5. "And when Paul, Barnabas, and other of them were come to Jerusalem, they were received of the Church, and of the Apostles and Elders, being brought on their way by the Church, And he went through Syria and Cilicia confirming the Churches. Acts 14. 23, 27. And when they had ordained them Elders in every Church, they commended them to the Lord. And when they were come to Antioch, and had gathered the Church together, they rehearsed all that God had done with

“with them, *which Church is stiled* the multitude gathered together, (not Bishops or Priests) Acts 15. 30. c. 16. 5. So were the **Churches** established in the faith. c. 20. 17. 28. And from *Miletus* he sent to *Ephesus*, and called the Elders of the **Church**, (not Elders the Church.) And then gave them this charge; Take heed to your selves, and to all the flock over which the holy Ghost hath made you Bishops; **to feed the Church**, (distinguished from the Bishops feeding them) which he hath purchased with his own blood. Acts 21. 18, to 25. The day following *Faul* went in with us to *James*, and all the Elders were present: And when he had saluted them, & they heard his relation, and what was reported of him by the Jewish Profelytes, they concluded; **The Multitude or Church** must needs come together to hear the business; put in distinction from *James* and the *Elders* of the Church at *Jerusalem*, Rom: 16. 16. The **Churches** of Christ salute you. *Gains* my host, and of the **whole Church** saluteth you. Thus the words, **Church** and **Churches** are used 1 Cor. 1. 2, 3. c. 7. 17. c. 11. 16, 18, 22. c. 12. 28. c. 14. 4, 23, 33, 34. c. 16. 1. 5. 2 Cor: 1. 1. c. 8. 18, 19, 23, 24. c. 11. 8. 28. c. 12, 13 Gal: 1. 19, 22. *Ephes*: 4. 11, 13. c. 5. 25, 27, 32. Col. 4. 15. 1 Tim: 5. 16. 1 Thess: 1. 1. c. 2. 14. c. 5. 27, 2. 2 Thess: 1. 1, 4. 2 Tim. 3. 2, 4, 5. “A Bishop must be one that ruleth his own house well; For if he knoweth not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of (not rule) the **Church** of God? Here put as distinct from him. 1am: 5. 14. Let him call for the Elders of the **Church**. 1. John 3 v: 9, 10. I wrote unto the **Church**; but *Diotrephes* who loveth to have the pre-eminence among them, receiveth not us, nor the brethren, and casteth them out of the **Church**. Rev: 1. 20. The seven Stars are the Angels of the seven **Churches**, and the Candlesticks are the seven **Churches**, distinguished from them. Rev: 2. 1. 11, & c. c. 3. 1. 6. 13, 22, & c. The *Angel* of the **Church** of *Ephesus*, *Pergamos*, and the other 5. *Asian Churches*, interpreted to be the Ministers or Bishops of them, are distinguished from the people, who are stiled alwayes the *Church of Ephesus*, &c. but the Angel, Bishop, or Ministers thereof, whether singly or joyntly considered, are never once stiled the Church throughout the New Testament or Old: Therefore tell the **Church**, never signifies *St. Peter*, or the Pope, (a single person only, and so no Church) nor yet the Jewish *Sanhedrim*, as many fancie, (being never stiled a Church, but *Council* only in the New Testament, and no divine institution) but only the particular congregation or Church collectively considered, whereof the person offending was a member. And if meant of it, or of the Jewes *Sanhedrim* or *Council*; *St. Peter*, and the Pope, with his Conclave of Cardinals, being no such Council or Church, (consisting of the Princes of the Tribes of *Israel*, and 72 Laymen) not of Priests alone, and no Successors to them by Divine institution; the Jewish State, Priesthood, Church, ceremonies, being totally abolished by Christ; the Pope and other Prelates can pray in no ayde from this much wrested, abused, mistaken Text, to support their pretended Supremacy, and divine Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction: (principally vested in the whole Church) which is to rebuke, loose, seclude, retain or absolve penitent or impenitent scandalous sinners, as *St. Paul* himself resolves, 1 Cor: 5. throughout. When ye are gathered together in the name of our Lord *Iesus Christ*, to deliver such a one to Satan. Purge out therefore the old leaven, that ye may be a new Lump. Do not ye judge them that are within? Therefore put away from **your selves** that wicked person: spoken to and of the whole Church of *Corinth*, not to the Ministers or Elders thereof. 2 Cor: 2. 6, 7. Sufficient for such a man is this cens- sure inflicted by many, (the whole Church, not the Apostle, Pope, Bishop) So that contrariwise, ye ought rather to forgive and comfort him, lest perhaps such a one should be swallowed up of grief; Wherefore I beseech you, that you would confirm your love to- wards him. To whom ye forgive anything, I forgive also. 2 Thess: 3. 14. If any man obey not our Epistle, note ye that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed. Rom: 16. 17. Now I beseech you brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offences contrary to the doctrines ye have heard, and avoid them. 2 Tim: 3. 5. From such turn away. All directed to the Church, Saints, Brethren, (not the Bishops or Mi- nisters of the Church) in whom the power of the *Keyes*, of binding and loosing origi- nally resides, and in them only ministerially as servants of and to the Church: Whence (a) *St. Augustine* thus determines, Cum Christus Petro diceret, tibi dabo cla- ves Regni calorum, Universam significabat Ecclesiam: Whereupon in the Pri- mitive Church, sinners and penitent persons desired the prayers, pardon and absolu- tion

* Mat. 6: 12.
c. 26. 59. c. 10.
17. Mat: 14. 1.
Lu. 22. 66. Joh.
11. 47. Acts 4.
15. c. 5. 21, 10.
42. c. 6. 12, 15.
c. 12. 30. c. 23.
1, 6, 15. 20.
28, c. 24. 20.
c. 25. 11.

a In Johann.
Tract 124.

b De Peniten-
tia lib.
c In Psal. 37.
d Defence of
the Apology, part 2. ch. 6. sect. 7. p. 192. e De veteribus Ecclesie Ritibus, l. 2.

tion of the whole Church, and all the Members of it when they were restored to it, as (b) *Tertullian*, (c) *Origen*, (d) *Bishop Jewel*, (e) *Albissinus*, and others relate.

a In Mat. cap:
16.

b 4 Sentent.
Dist. 18. cap.
ideo.

c In Mat. Tract.
1.

d Quam Clavi-
ven habebant
Legis Docto-
res nisi inter-
pretationem Le-
gis & contra
Mavortium, l. 4.
e Duces Eccle-
siae habent cla-
vem Scientiae,
ut aperiant

Scripturas, cre-
ditis tibi populi.
et Scientia Scripturarum, per quam aperitur janua veritatis. Opus Imperfect. in Mat. Hom. 44. g Remitterentur peccata
per Dei verbum, cujus Lenitas est interpret. De Gen & Aet. lib. 2. h Clavis est dicenda, qua ad fidem peccatorum dura re-
ferantur. De Sancti & Humili 17. i Defence of the Apology, part 2. cap. 7. Divisi: 1. k Conference with Hart, cap.
3, 4. l Answer to the Jesuites Challenge.

3dly. This binding and loosing, remitting and retaining finnes, was not by any judicial sentence pronounced by the Apostles in any Consistory Court where they sat as Supreme Judges, as Popes, and other Prelates since have done; the Apostles having no such Courts, nor exercising such a Sovereign Jurisdiction in them, as these since have done, for which (a) St. *Jerom* thus sharply reprehends them; *Istum locum Episcopi & Presbyteri non intelligentes, aliquid sibi de Phariseorum assumunt supercilio, ut vel damnent innocentes, vel solvere se noxios arbitrentur, cum apud Deum, non sententia Sacerdotum, sed reorum vita ponderatur. Alligat & solvit Episcopus vel Presbyter eos qui insones sunt, vel noxii; sed pro officio suo cum peccatorum audierit varietates, scit qui ligandus sit, qui solvendus &c.*: That is, as (b) *Peter Lombard* interprets it, *Dominus tribuit Sacerdotibus potestatem Ligandi & Solvendi, id est, ostendendi hominibus Ligatos & Solvendos*; in and by the preaching of the Gospel to them; according to Christs commission; *He that repenteth, believeth and is baptized, shall be saved*; here is the loosing and remitting; *He that repenteth not nor believeth, shall be damned*; and the wrath of God abideth on him; here is the binding and retaining; *by the keys of the kingdom of heaven, to wit, the Gospel, which shuts and opens heaven gates, admits or excludes, inherits or disinherits them of it; and is the savor of life unto life to those who believe it, but the savor of death unto death to those who believe it not*; as is evident by *Mat. 16. 16. Luc. 13. 3. 5. John 3. 38. c. 12. 48. Rom. 2. 1, to 16. 1 Cor. 6. 9, 10, 11. 2 Cor. 2. 14, 15, 16. c. 4. 3, 4. Gal. 5. 19, 20, 21. Ephes. 5. 5, 6. Rev. 21. 8, 17. c. 22. 14, 15. Acts 3. 26. c. 16. 30, 31. 2 Cor. 10. 4, 5, 6.* Which texts do open heaven gates to all repenting and believing, but shut them against all *unrelenting, unbelieving sinners*. This (c) *Origen*, (d) *Tertullian*, (e) *Hierom*, (f) *Chrysostome*, (g) *Augustine*, and other Fathers; (h) *Bishop Jewel*, (i) *Dr. Reynolds*, (k) *Bishop Usher*, and most Protestant Divines, prove to be the *Keyes of heaven*, and the *proper pardoning, binding, loosing, retaining of sins* in the premised commission; which though peculiar to Apostles, Bishops, Priests, and Ministers of the Gospel, in respect of their public Ministry in preaching the word and pressing the promises and threatenings of the Gospel; yet it belongs to every Christian Magistrate and private Christian too, in their orb; who may in their respective places apply the promises of the Gospel to the consolation and absolution of private penitent Christians; their own families, friends, neighbors, and denounce the wrath and judgement of God against impenitent persons, (and Malefactors, as *Judges* usually do) as there is occasion.

* In Mat. tract.
1.

m Hom: in E-
vang. Qui in-
dicerunt.

n 4 Sentent.
Distinct. 18.

o De Potestate
Ligandi & Sol-
vendi, pars 1.
c. 24.

4ly. This power of binding, retaining, loosing and remitting finnes, with the keys of the kingdom of heaven whereby this is done, were equally given to all the Apostles, as farre forth as to *Peter*; Christs words, *I will give to thee the keyes of the Kingdom of heaven, &c.* being in the future, not present tense; giving him no actual possession of the keys, kingdom of heaven til after Christs ascension, & then but joyntly with the rest of the Apostles, *John 20. 21, 22, 23.* Yea every ordinary Minister, Presbyter, Priest, hath as large a divine power in the Keyes, as the Pope himself, or the greatest Patriarch, Archbishop, Bishop in the world; and may as absolutely, fully bind, loose, absolve, retain mens finnes as they, their Commissions being all one and the same; and their power herein, not judicial, but *meerly ministerial*, declaratory, not definitive, the absolute judicial power of shutting and opening heaven, pardoning, remitting, retaining sins, and absolving, condemning sinners, being peculiar to God and Christ alone as *Isay 22. 22. Rev. 3. 7. Mat. 9. 5, 6. Luc. 7. 48, 49. John 2. 13. Rom. 2. 17. resolve, & (m) Origen, St. Ambrose, Chrysostom, Augustine* with others before cited, *Beda*: yea, (n) *Peter Lombard*, (o) & *Richardus De Sancto Victore* confesse,

and

and (a) Bishop Jewel, (b) Dr. Rainolds, Dr. Field, Bishop Usher, Dr. Ames, and all other Protestant Divines prove at large in their *Treatises of Confession, Absolution, Power of the Keyes*, and against the Popes Supremacy. Whence (c) *Alphonso de Castro* concludes, (though a great champion for the Pope) *Quando absolvit simplex Sacerdos, tantum absolvit de Culpa sicut Papa*. Therefore if these Texts give any Supream Ecclesiastical Authority over Kings and the whole Church to St. Peter, or the Pope; they give the very same to every Priest, Curate whatsoever; and so we shall have as many Popes, yea Vicars generals and Viceroyes of Christ over the Church, all Christian Kings, Emperors, and their kingdoms, as there are Priests.

5ly. I have long admired, how any Pope or Prelate from this borrowed Metaphor of the *Keyes of the Kingdom of heaven* given to Peter or others, can pretend to such a transcendent Sovereign Ecclesiastical & Temporal Jurisdiction, too, as some of them claim from thence; Since I never read in any Text, Story, *That Keyes were an Emblem of Supream Jurisdiction*, but the (d) *Sword*, or (e) *Scepter* only; which belongs not unto Apostles, Popes, Prelates, Priests, but *Kings alone*: And experience informs us, that *Porters* who keep the keyes, and open, shut the gates of Kings, Popes, Bishops, Noblemens Pallaces, Cities, Colledges, Castles, Courts; and other publike or private *Bayliffs, Stewards, Butlers, Grooms*, who keep the keyes of their Lords, Masters *Barns, Butteries, Sellers, Stables*, are persons of inferiour quality, void of any Supream Temporal or Ecclesiastical Authority in or over their fellow Servants, much lesse over their Lords, Masters, to shut them out or let them in at their pleasures: Therefore every of these *Porters, Key-keepers*, yea every parish Clerk, who keeps the keyes of the Church, Cathedral, or of the Popes own palace at *Rome*, may as justly challenge a Supream Temporal and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over their Kings, Lords, Popes, Bishops, Parish-Priests, Parishioners, Churches themselves, as the Pope, Priests and Prelates do, from *St. Peters* keyes; because they keep the keyes, and open the doors to let them in and out of their Pallaces, Churches, Houses, yea the Door-keepers, and Turn-keyes of both Houses of Parliament may as well argue they are above the Houses, Members themselves in power and jurisdiction upon the same Account, as Popes above the Church & Kings.

6ly. *Popes* and their (f) *flatterers*, to appropriate those Keyes to St. Peter and the *Romish Hierarchy*, which Christ himself never knew nor gave them, have made up a New Bundle of Keyes in their own forge, which will never shut nor open the gates of heaven: As first, the *Key of Power*; 2ly. *Of Jurisdiction*; 3ly. *Of Order*; 4ly. *Of Discretion*; 5ly. *The Keyes most principall*; 6ly. *The Keyes lesse principall*; 7ly. *The Keyes of Knowledge*; Which though chief *Bonaventura* confesseth, *most of their Ordinary Masse Priests want, being so ignorant, that they are utterly voyd of all true saving knowledge of the sacred Scriptures*. Most of these *Keyes*, (b) they appropriate to the Pope originally, and from him derivatively to Bishops. But since they have not in all their New Bunch of Keyes, *The Key of Faith, and knowledge of the word of God*, which only opens heavens gate; and since the gate of heaven is very strait, and but one, and so needs not such a multiplicity of Keyes, or pick-locks to open it as the (i) *Roman Porters* have forged; yea the broad gate of hell but one, which stands open day and night to let in prisoners, who can never return back thence; as I may conclude with (k) *John Veselius* on the one hand, *Claves Papa & Pralatorum non aperiant Regnum Dei, sed abscondunt*; So I may resolve on the other, That they give them no Supream Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction at all over any Churches, Christians, much lesse over Kings and Emperors, for the premised reasons.

diotæ post successionem Sacerdotii sicut ante, Dicendum ergo, quod Scientia non est clavis principalis, nec per se, sed prout juncta est Autoritate Ligandi & Solvendi, & hæc Clavis non est de esse Ordinis, sed de bene esse. b Gratiar. Distinct: 10. 21. 22. *Alvarus Pelagius De Planctu Eccles: lib. 1. Artic: 37, 51, 53, 55, 56, &c.* i Bishop Jewels Defence of the Apology, part 2. divisi: 6, 7. p. 182, 183. &c. i De Subditis & Superioribus.

The 4th. Commission which Popes and their creatures would appropriate to St. Peter and the Pope, is that treble Interrogation and command given by Christ to Peter, after his treble denying of him with an Oath, John 20. 15, 16, 17. *Jesus said unto Simon Peter, Lovest thou me more then these? He said, Yea Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, Feed my Lambs, Feed my Sheep, Feed my Sheep.* From whence Popes and their Janizaries conclude, That the Pope is the Universal Vi-

a Defence of the Apology, part 2 chap. 6, 7. b Conference with Hart, c. 3, 4, 5. c Adversus Hærefes, l. 2. De Absolutione.

d Rom. 13. 4. e Gen. 4. 10. Num. 24. 17. Esth. 4. 11. c. 5. 9. Pf. 45. 6. Jerem. 19. 44. Amos 1. 5, 2. Zech. 10. 11. Hebr. 1. 8.

f *Johannis Patristensis de Potestate Papali, & Regali. Cusanus Epist. ad Pothentios, Petrus de Palude de Potestate collata Apostolicis. Bellarmine de Romano Pontifice. Mr. Harding against Jewel: Peter Lombard: in 4. Sentent.*

g 4 Sententiarum Distinct: 18. q. 1. 8. Omnes fere Sacerdotes ica sunt simplices & i. See Bern. de l. 2. c. 3. Stat ergo inconsumm privilegium tuum tibi, tam in datis clavis, quam in ordine. c. 1.

b De Peniten-
tialib.

c In Psal. 37.

d Defence of
the Apology, part 2. ch. 6. sect. 7. p. 192.

tion of the whole Church, and all the Members of it when they were restored to it, as (b) *Tertullian*, (c) *Origen*, (d) *Bishop Jewel*, (e) *Albissinam*, and others relate.

a In Mat. cap:
16.

b 4 Sentent.
Dist. 18. cap.
ideo.

c In Mat. Tract.
1.

d Quam Cla-
vem habebant
Legis Docto-
res nisi inter-
pretationem Le-
gis ? contra

Mancion. m. 1. 4.

e Duces Eccle-
siae habent cla-
vem Scientiae,
ut aperiant

Scripturas, cre-
ditis tibi populis.

Unde praecipitur ut Magistri aperiant, & Discipuli ingrediantur.

In Esam lib. 6. cap. 54. f Clavis
et Scientia Scripturarum, per quam aperitur janua veritatis. Opus Imperfect. in Mat. Hom. 44. g Remitterentur peccata
per Dei verbum, cujus Lenitas est interpres. De Cain & Abel. lib. 2. h Clavis est dicenda, quia ad fidem pectorum dura re-
ferantur. De Sanctis, Homil. 17. i Defence of the Apology, part 2. cap. 7. Divis. 1. k Conference with Hart, cap.
3, 4. l Answer to the Jesuites Challenge.

3dly. This binding and loosing, remitting and retaining finnes, was not by any judicial sentence pronounced by the Apostles in any Consistory Court where they sat as Supreme Judges, as Popes, and other Prelates since have done; the Apostles having no such Courts, nor exercising such a Sovereign Jurisdiction in them, as these since have done, for which (a) St. *Jerom* thus sharply reprehends them; *Istum locum Episcop. & Presbyt. non intelligentes, aliquid sibi de Phariseorum assumunt supercilio, ut vel damnent innocentes, vel solvere se noxios arbitrentur, cum apud Deum, non sententia Sacerdotum, sed reorum vita ponderatur. Alligat & solvit Episcopus vel Presbyter eos qui insontes sunt, vel noxii; sed pro officio suo cum peccatorum audierit varietates, scit qui ligandus sit, qui solvendus &c.* That is, as (b) *Peter Lombard* interprets it, *Dominus tribuit & credentibus potestatem Ligandi & Solvendi, id est, ostendendi hominibus Ligatos & Solvandos*; in and by the preaching of the Gospel to them, according to Christs commition; *He that repenteth, believeth and is baptized, shall be saved*; here is the loosing and remitting; *He that repenteth not nor believeth, shall be damned*; and the wrath of God abideth on him; here is the binding and retaining; *by the keys of the kingdom of heaven, to wit, the Gospel, which shuts and opens heaven gates, admits or excludes, inherits or disinherits them of it; and is the savor of life unto life to those who believe it, but the savor of death unto death to those who believe it not*; as is evident by *Mat. 16. 16. Lu. 13. 3. 5. John 3. 38. c. 12. 48. Rom. 2. 1, to 16. 1 Cor. 6. 9, 10, 11. 2 Cor. 2. 14, 15, 16. c. 4. 3, 4. Gal. 5. 19, 20, 21. Ephes. 5. 5, 6. Rev. 21. 8, 17. c. 22. 14, 15. Acts 3. 26. c. 16. 30, 31. 2 Cor. 10. 4, 5, 6.* Which texts do open heaven gates to all repenting and believing, but shut them against all unrelenting, unbelieving sinners. This (c) *Origen*, (d) *Tertullian*, (e) *Hierom*, (f) *Chrysostome*, (g) *Augustine*, and other Fathers; (h) *Bishop Jewel*, (i) *Dr. Reynolds*, (k) *Bishop Osher*, and most Protestant Divines, prove to be the *Keyes of heaven*, and the proper pardoning, binding, loosing, retaining of sins in the premised commision; which though peculiar to Apostles, Bishops, Priests, and Ministers of the Gospel, in respect of their publike Ministry in preaching the word and pressing the promises and threatenings of the Gospel; yet it belongs to every Christian Magistrate and private Christian too, in their orb; who may in their respective places apply the promises of the Gospel to the consolation and absolution of private penitent Christians; their own families, friends, neighbors, and denounce the wrath and judgement of God against impenitent persons, (and Malefactors, as *Judges* usually do) as there is occasion.

* In Mat. tract.
1.

m Hom: in E-
vang. Qui in-
dicerunt.

n 4 Sentent.
Distinct. 18.

o De Potestate
Ligandi & Sol-
vendi, pars 1.

c. 24.

4ly. This power of binding, retaining, loosing and remitting finnes, with the keys of the kingdom of heaven whereby this is done, were equally given to all the Apostles, as farre forth as to *Peter*; Christs words, *I will give to thee the keyes of the Kingdom of heaven, &c.* being in the future, not present tense, giving him no actual possession of the keys, kingdom of heaven til after Christs ascension, & then but joyntly with the rest of the Apostles, *John 20. 21, 22, 23.* Yea every ordinary Minister, Presbyter, Priest, hath as large a divine power in the Keyes, as the Pope himself, or the greatest Patriarch, Archbishop, Bishop in the world; and may as absolutely, fully bind, loose, absolve, retain mens finnes as they, their Commissions being all one and the same; and their power herein, not judicial, but merely ministerial, declaratory, not definitive, the absolute judicial power of shutting and opening heaven, pardoning, remitting, retaining sins, and absolving, condemning sinners, being peculiar to God and Christ alone as *Isay 22. 22. Rev. 3. 7. Mat. 9. 5, 6. Luc. 7. 48, 49. John 2. 13. Rom. 2. 17. resolve, & (m) Origen, St. Ambrose, Chrysostom, Augustine* with others before cited, *Beda*: yea, (n) *Peter Lombard*, (o) & *Richardus De Sancto Victore* confesse, and

and (a) Bishop Jewel, (b) Dr. Rainolds, Dr. Field, Bishop Usher, Dr. Ames, and all other Protestant Divines prove at large in their *Treatises of Confession, Absolution, Power of the Keyes*, and against the Popes Supremacy. Whence (c) Alphonso de Castro concludes, (though a great champion for the Pope) *Quando absolvit simplex Sacerdos, tantum absolvit de Culpa sicut Papa*. Therefore if these Texts give any Supream Ecclesiastical Authority over Kings and the whole Church to St. Peter, or the Pope; they give the very same to every Priest, Curate whatsoever; and so we shall have as many Popes, yea Vicars generals and Viceroyes of Christ over the Church, all Christian Kings, Emperors, and their kingdoms, as there are Priests.

5ly. I have long admired, how any Pope or Prelate from this borrowed Metaphor of the *Keyes of the Kingdom of heaven* given to Peter or others, can pretend to such a transcendent Sovereign Ecclesiastical & Temporal Jurisdiction, too, as some of them claim from thence; Since I never read in any Text, Story, *That Keyes were an Emblem of Supream Jurisdiction*, but the (d) *Sword*, or (e) *Scepter* only; which belongs not unto Apostles, Popes, Prelates, Priests, but *Kings alone*: And experience informs us, that *Porters* who keep the keyes, and open, shut, the gates of Kings, Popes, Bishops, Noblemens Pallaces, Cities, Colledges, Castles, Courts; and other publike or private *Bayliffs, Stewards, Butlers, Grooms*, who keep the keyes of their Lords, Masters *Barns, Butteries, Sellers, Stables*, are persons of inferiour quality, void of any Supream Temporal or Ecclesiastical Authority in or over their fellow Servants, much lesse over their Lords, Masters, to shut them out or let them in at their pleasures: Therefore every of these *Porters, Key-keepers*, yea every parish Clerk, who keeps the keyes of the Church, Cathedral, or of the Popes own palace at *Rome*, may as justly challenge a Supream Temporal and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over their Kings, Lords, Popes, Bishops, Parish-Priests, Parishioners, Churches themselves, as the Pope, Priests and Prelates do, from St. Peters keyes; because they keep the keyes, and open the doors to let them in and out of their Pallaces, Churches, Houses, yea the Door-keepers, and Turn-keyes of both Houses of Parliament may as well argue they are above the Houses, Members themselves in power and jurisdiction upon the same Account, as Popes above the Church & Kings.

6ly. *Popes* and their (f) *flatterers*, to appropriate those Keyes to St. Peter and the *Romish Hierarchy*, which Christ himself never knew nor gave them, have made up a New Bundle of Keyes in their own forge, which will never shut nor open the gates of heaven: As first, the *Key of Power*; 2ly. *Of Jurisdiction*; 3ly. *Of Order*; 4ly. *Of Discretion*; 5ly. *The Keyes most principall*; 6ly. *The Keyes lesse principall*; 7ly. *The Keyes of Knowledge*; Which though chief *Bonaventura* confesseth, *most of their Ordinary Masse Priests want, being so ignorant, that they are utterly voyd of all true saving knowledge of the sacred Scriptures*. Most of these *Keyes*, (h) *they appropriate to the Pope originally, and from him derivatively to Bishops*. But since they have not in all their New Bunch of Keyes, *The Key of Faith, and knowledge of the word of God*, which only opens heavens gate; and since the *gate of heaven is very strait, and but one*, and so needs not such a multiplicity of Keyes, or pick-locks to open it as the (i) *Roman Porters* have forged; yea the broad gate of hell but one, which stands open day and night to let in prisoners, who can never return back thence; as I may conclude with (k) *John Veselius* on the one hand, *Claves Papa & Pralatorum non aperiant Regnum Dei, sed abscondunt*; So I may resolve on the other, That they give them no Supream Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction at all over any Churches, Christians, much lesse over Kings and Emperors, for the premised reasons.

dioræ post succceptionem Sacerdotii sicut ante. Dicendum erga, quod Scientia non est clavis principalis, nec per se, sed prout juncta est Autoritate Ligandi & Solvendi, & hæc Clavis non est de esse Ordinis, sed de bene esse. h Gratiæ, Distinct: 10. 21. 22. Alvarus Pelagius De Planctu Eccles: lib. 1. Artic: 37, 51, 53, 55, 56, &c. i Bishop Jewels Defence of the Apology, part 2. divisi: 6, 7. p. 182, 183. &c. k De Subditis & Superioribus.

The 4th. Commission which Popes and their creatures would appropriate to St. Peter and the Pope, is that treble Interrogation and command given by Christ to Peter, after his treble denying of him with an Oath, John 20. 15, 16, 17. *Jesus said unto Simon Peter, Lovest thou me more then these? He said, Yea Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, Feed my Lambs, Feed my Sheep, Feed my Sheep*. From whence Popes and their Janizaries conclude, That the Pope is the Universal Vi-

a Defence of the Apology, part 2. chap. 6, 7. b Conference with Hart, c. 3, 4, 5. c Adversus Hæreses, l. 2. De Absolutione.

d Rom. 13. 4. e Gen. 4. 10. Num. 24. 17. Esth. 4. 11. c. 5. 9. Pf. 45. 6. Jerem. 19. 44. Amos 1. 5. 2. Zech. 10. 12. Hebr. 1. 8.

f Johannis Patristensis de Potestate Papali, & Regal. Cusanus Epist. ad Pothentius, Petrus de Palude de Potestate collata Apostolicis. Bellarmine de Romano Pontifice. Mr. Harding against Jewels Peter Lombard in 4th Sentent. 19.

g 4 Sententiarum Distinct: 18. qu. 1. 8. Omnes fere Sacerdotes ita sunt simplices & i-

* See Bern. de l. 2. c. 3. Stat erga inconcussum privilegium tuum tibi, tam in datis clavis, quam in ovibus committitur.

car, Head over all the Church Militant, that the whole world is his Dioceſſe; and that he hath an absolute Power not only over all other Biſhops, Cardinals, Priests, but over all Chriſtian Kings, Emperors, Princes, not only to feed, but to excommunicate, depoſe, kill them; divide, or give their Crowns, kingdoms to others.

^a Gratian Diſtinct. 2. 96. Alvarus Pelagius de Planctu Eccleſ. lib. 1. c. 23. 37. 55. Joannis Pariſienſis, de Potestate Regali & Pontif. Bellarmin de Romano Pontif. l. 5. c. 4, 5, 6, 7. Carerius, Bozius, Thomas Waldenſis, Schioppus, Auguſtinus Triumphus, and others in their forecited Books, De Potestate Papæ, &c. Here, p. 35. to 42. See Dr. John Whites Defence of the way to the Church, ch. 6. & 10.

To which I answer 1. That the High Priests and Priests in the Old Testament were obliged by their office, duty to feed, teach and instruct their flocks, as well as St. Peter and the Apostles under the New: as is largely resolved (with much expostulation by God himself against those who neglected it) Jer: 23. 1, to 16. Ezech: 34. 2. to 24. Zech: 11. 7. 2 Chron: 17. 7, 8, 9. Neh. 8. 7. c. 7. 15. and other Texts. But the High Priests under the Law claimed no such Sovereignty or Jurisdiction over the people: much less over Moses, Joshua, Supreme temporal Magistrates, or their Kings, by this their pastoral charge, power, to feed Gods sheep and flock; as I have (b) formerly proved; and shall here further illustrate by the example of Aaron the first High Priest; who was subject and subordinate to Moses the Israelites first chief Civil Governour, being no Priest by birthright, nor consecration, as some Popish writers would now make him: First because Aaron was his (c) elder Brother by 3 years, & so the only Priest by birthright, & the high Priest by (d) Moses special consecration; who at his death* stripped him of his high priests robes, and put them on Eleazar his son. 2ly. Because he never consecrated himself a Priest, as he did Aaron and his sons, nor was he ever consecrated a Priest by others. 3ly. Because (e) he never offered burnt offerings or sacrifices, nor intermeddled with the proper office of the Priests, but charged them alone to do it. 4ly. Because the word Priest in Psal: 99. 6. 9. whence they would conclude Moses a Priest, signifies as well a (f) Prince as a Priest, and therefore cannot conclude him a Priest, but Prince among them. Now though Aaron was high Priest, and Moses his younger brother, yet Aaron was subject to his Jurisdiction, Power, Censure; as these 2. Scriptures evidence. First Moses particularly (h) reprehended Aaron and the Priests for burning and not eating the sin-offering in the holy place, according to their duty and Gods prescription; for which Aaron made his Apology to him. 2ly. (i) By Gods anger against Aaron, and smiting his Sister Miriam with Leprosy, only for speaking against Moses for marrying an Ethiopian woman, and using these seditious words against him; Hath the Lord only spoken by Moses? hath he not also spoken by us? in derogation of his Authority. 4ly. By Aarons confessing of his sinne, and craving pardon of him for it in this submissive manner, Alas, (k) My Lord, I beseech thee lay not this sin upon us; wherein we have dealt foolishly. 5ly. By Aarons intercession to Moses for Miriam after God had smitten her with Leprosy, and then healed her upon his prayer; that she might not be put out of the Camp; Which Moses refused to grant, shutting her out of the Camp seven dayes ere he restored her: Seeing then this Pastoral office of feeding advanced not Aaron above Moses, to whom he was high Priest; who continued (l) subject to his Supreme Ecclesiastical and Civil Jurisdiction; How Christs command to Peter to feed his Sheep, can elevate his pretended Successors above Kings, Emperors, and all other Biſhops, no rational Christian can discern.

2ly. Every Apostle, Minister, Priest, Bishop in and under the Gospel is expressly enjoined and bound ex officio, to feed Christs sheep, lambs, flock committed to his charge, as well as Peter: as is evident by this question and demand of God himself, Ezech: 34. 2. Should not the Shepherds feed the flocks? which infallibly intimates, that they should and ought to do it under the Gospel as well as Law: by Jer: 11. 15: I will give you Pastors after mine own heart, which shall feed you with knowledge and understanding. Jer: 23. 4. And I will set up shepherds over them which shall feed them; both meant of the times of the Gospel; by these expresse Gospel Texts Acts 20. 28. where Paul gave this strict charge to all the Elders and Biſhops of Ephesus, Take heed therefore unto your selves, and to all the flock over which the holy Ghost hath made you Biſhops (to what end?) to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood; Which words, Feed the Church of God, are certainly as universal, as Feed my sheep, feed my Lambs: 1 Cor: 9. 7. Who feedeth a flock and eateth not of the milk thereof? applied by St. Paul to all Ministers and Preachers of the

^b See here, p. 5, 6. Bishop Jewels Defence of the Apology, 8 part, ch. 1. divil. 4. p. 711, 712.
* See here p. 9. Hardings Reply to Jewel.
^c Exod: 7. 7. Num: 33. 39. Deut. 34.
^d Exod: 40. 12, to 17. Here, p. 5. Bishop Carlton of Jurisdiction Royal, Episcopal, Papal, p. 32, 33, 34.
^e Num. 20. 25, to 29.
^f Levit: 10. 16, to 20.
^g 1 Sam. 8. 18. 1 Chron. 18 17. Exod. 2. 16. Gen. 47. 22, 26
^h Levit. 10. 14. to 20.
ⁱ Num. 12. 1. to 16.
^j Num. 1. 11
^k In Veteri lege Sacerdotium indignus erat Potestate Regia & ei subiectum Joannis de Parisius, De Potest. Regia & Papali, c. 5.

the Gospel, who ought to live of the Gospel. Yea, (which is most observable,) St. Peter himself (as if he had purposely foreseen his pretended Successors ambitious Monopoly, and claim of Feeding Christs Sheep to himself; to erect a new Monarchy, tyranny over them, by a propheticall Spirit, and purposely writ against it) for ever refutes their pretences in this memorable passage, 1 Pet. 5. 1, to 5. *The Elders that are among you I exhort as συμπεσβύτες, or Compresbyter, or Consenior, (as the Vulgar, Ferom, Arias Montanus, and other Latin Translations render it) as your fellow Elder, (yea fellow-shepherd too) (not chief Head, Pastor, Feeder of the Universal Church of Christ) ποιμένας, feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready minde; and ὡς κατακυριεύοντες τοῦ κλήρου: not as Lords over (or as Domineering and ruling over) the Lords heritage, but being ensamples to the flock; And when the Chief Shepherd (acknowledged by Peter himself after Christs Resurrection to be Christ alone, not himself) shall appear, ye shall receive a Crown of glory that faderth not away. Whence St. Peter expressly enjoynes them to feed the flock as Shepherds only, not as Kings or Lords over them.*

3ly. Christ himself (a) the good, (b) Great, (c) Chief Shepherd of his sheep, informs us; that as he himself, so every other (d) good shepherd that entrench in by the door, doth not only guard, but feed his sheep, and the sheep hear his voyce, and he calleth his own (sheep) name and leadeth them out, and he goeth before them, and the sheep follow him, for they know his voice. Every Apostle, Bishop, Minister of the Gospel is as much a Shepherd of Christs sheep, as Peter; therefore bound to feed Christs sheep, Lambs as much as he. This St. (e) Ambrose long since asserted: *Dominus dixit Petro, Pasce oves meas; Quas oves, quem gregem non solum tunc beatus Petrus capit, sed et nobiscum eas succipit, et cum illo eas nos suscepimus omnes.* And (f) St. Basil goes a little further to his Keyes as well as feeding. *Petrus inquit, amas me? Pasce oves meas: & consequenter omnibus Pastozibus et Doctozibus eandem potestatem tribuit: Cuius signum est, Quod omnes ex aequo obligant, et absolviunt, quemadmodum ille.* This (g) Bishop Jewel, (h) Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Ames, Chamier, and all Protestant Divines assert and prove at large: Yea (i) Pope Anacletus himself resolves, *Ceteri vester Apostoli cum eodem (Petro) pari consortio honorem et potestatem acceperunt,* and that as well the power and honor of the keyes, and of binding and loosing, which he there relates to, as of feeding Christs sheep. And (k) St. Cyprian resolved long before him, *Christus eandem dedit Apostolis omnibus potestatem. (l) Hoc utique erant & ceteri Apostoli quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio predicti et honoris et potestatis. Pastores sunt omnes, sed grex unus ostenditur qui ab Apostolis omnibus unanimi consensu pascatur:* Yea the whole (m) Clergy of Rome writes thus to all the Clergy of Carthage, *Cum incumbat nobis qui videmur Propositi esse & Vice Pastores, custodire Gregem; si negligentes inveniamur, dicetur nobis quod & antecessoribus nostris dictum est, qui tam negligentes propositi erant, Quoniam, &c. Ezech. 34. 2, 3, 4, &c. Sed & ipse Dominus Simoni sic dixit: Diligis me? respondit, Diligo: ait ei, Pasce oves meas, Hoc verbum factum ex actu ipso quo cessit cognoscimus, & ceteri Discipuli similiter fecerunt, Nolumus ergo fratres devotissimi vos mercenarios inveniri, sed bonos Pastores, &c.* Resolving every Apostle, Bishop, Minister, to be as much Pastors, and as far bound to feed Christs sheep as Peter. Therefore if this gave Peter a Sovereign Jurisdiction over all the Church, and Kings themselves, it must give the like to all other Bishops, Priests, Ministers; and so we shall have as many Popes, Vicars Generals, and Supreme heads of the Church of Christ paramount all Kings and Emperors, as there are Priests and Bishops.

4ly. The sheep thus fed, are not St. Peters, nor any Popes, Bishops sheep that feeds them; but only the (n) sheep, flock of Jesus Christ, for whom he hath laid down his life, yea purchased, redeemed them with his own most precious blood. Therefore their bare feeding of can give them no dominion or Sovereign Jurisdiction over them, no more then it doth to any Ordinary countrey Shepherd which feeds, keeps, folds his Lords or Masters sheep, who can neither shear, sell, thrust them out of the fold, pasture, nor kill or dispose of them at his pleasure; but only guard, feed, fold, carefully watch over and lead them into such pastures as his Lord prescribes: his shepherds office being only a painfull, carefull Service, Ministry, not a Dominion or Dignity.

5ly. All the acts, duties of St. Peters or any other Apostles, Bishops, Ministers Pa-

(1) John 10.

14.

b Hebr. 13. 20.

c 1 Pet. 5. 3.

d John 10. 1, 10.

e De dignitate

Sacerd. cap. 2.

f In Vita Soli-

taria, c. 23.

g Defence of

the Apology,

part 2. c. 7. div.

h Conference

with Hart, lib.

3. p. 83. to 102.

i Gratian Dist.

21. c. In Sa-

cerdotalis.

k De Singula-

ritate Prælato-

rum.

l De Unitate

Ecclesiæ, Edit:

Pamellii, p. 150.

m Cypriani ep:

3. Edit: Pam:

p. 10.

Joan: 21.

n Psal: 100. 3.

Psal: 79. 13.

John 10. 2, to

26. Acts 20.

28. Jer: 23. &

Ezech: 34. John

21. 16.

* Gen. 31. 39;

40.

floral office in relation to Christs flock are meerly servile, ministerial towards their sheep for their preservation and welfare, not Lordly or Jurisdictional: as namely,

1. To (a) water and feed them in good, green pastures, with the wholesom food of Gods word. 2ly. To (b) watch over them day and night; and guard them from Wolves, Thieves, Robbers that would devour, kill, seduce, destroy them. 3ly. To (c) go in and out before them in an holy and exemplary conversation. 4ly. To (d) gather them together when they are scattered by any persecutions, Wolves, casualties, and to seek them out and bring them home to their fold and pasture, when they are strayed thence. 5ly. To (e) stand by them in their greatest dangers without flying, and to lay down their lives for their safety and defence against Wolves and Robbers. 6ly. To (f) gather the Lambs with their arms & carry them in their bosoms; to lead those gently that are with young, to bind them up which are broken, and to heal and strengthen them that are sick. 7ly. To fold and make them lie down in safety. 8ly. (g) Not to feed themselves instead of the flock, by eating the fat, or cloathing themselves with their wooll, nor yet to kill, starve or fly from them, nor to rule them with fear, force, cruelty, as Lords over them; nor to use and cull them out as sheep appointed for the slaughter, as Popes use to do. Wherefore none of all these Pastoral positive duties importing the least Dominion or Jurisdiction over Christs sheep, but only a ministry and service towards, for them, accompanied with an heavy wo and account if neglected; and the Negative part, expressly prohibits all Lordly Dominion and Jurisdiction over them; How Popes, Prelates or Priests can hence conclude any Supream Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over Christs Church and flock to be vested in themselves alone, (not in Kings) (who are to feed, rule them by way of Government and Jurisdiction as Kings, but not as meer spiritual shepherds) transcends my apprehension. Yet hear what (h) *Martinus Becanus* the Moguntine Jesuite concludes from hence, in his *Controversia Anglicana*, De Potestate Regis & Pontificis, contra *Lancelotum Andream*, Mogunt. 1612. and let all Christian Kings and their Subjects consider it as well with detestation, as admiration; *The Pope as a Shepherd, who is to feed Christs sheep, hath his Doggs;* (And who are they?) *Hi canes intelliguntur partim Reges et Imperatores, These Doggs (of this proud shepherd) are partly Kings and Emperors;* (they must be no longer Sheep, but Currs.) Then descanting upon these their honourable Royal Titles: *Igitur hi Canes, These Doggs therefore if they be watchfull, they must be ready at the Shepherds hand: but if they be lazie, madd or troublesome, the Shepherd must presently remove them. This He teacheth;* thus the Council of *Lateran* decreeth. He subjoynes, *Christian Kings are Sheep, are Rammes, are Wolves, and are Doggs:* (though Christ and St. Peter never made such distinctions of them) *Whence it is that the Pope beareth himself in a divers manner towards them. As they are Sheep, if they be silly, he may put them out of the fold: As they are Rammes, if they be troublesome and push with their horns, (against his Miter) he may shunt them up: As they are Wolves he may drive them away: Quatenus Canes, as they are Doggs, he may put them from their office, if they be defective therein: and some of these he doth by Excommunication, others by Deposition.* Thus *Becanus* concludes, against Gods, the Prophet *Jeremiahs*, *Ezechiels*, *Christs*, and St. *Peters* own Glosses and Resolutions on this *Pasce oves meas*: metamorphosing sheep, but specially Kings, Emperors who are such, into Doggs, Wolves allegorically, and the Pope the pretended Chief shepherd into both, really and practically, to his eternal infamy.

h Quest: 3. nu.
14, 15, 16.

6ly. If these Commissions to Saint Peter will not evidence the Popes Supremacy over other Bishops, Priests, Kings and Emperors, yet there is one Commission more will certainly effect and conclude it without dispute, Acts 10. 10, to 17 where Peter falling into a trance, saw heaven opened, and a certain vessel let down unto him like a great sheet, knit at four corners, let down to the earth; wherein were all manner of four-footed beasts of the earth (therefore sheep amongst the rest) and wilde beasts, and creeping things, and fowls of the air; and there came a voyce unto him; *Rise Peter, kill and eat.* But Peter said, *Not so Lord, for I have never eaten that which was common or unclean: And the voyce spake again unto him the second time; What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common. This was done thrice, and the Vessel was received again into heaven. Whence (i) some Romish Parasites, Janizaries conclude from Surge Petre, macta & manauca, by their own Chymical Divinity, per quod innuitur quod Petrus Pontifex fuit populi Univerſis, vas autem illud orbem univversum signat,*

i Alvarus Pelagius, de Planctu Eccles. l. 1. artic. 55. Bellarm. De Romano Pontif. l. 5. c. 4, 5, 6, 7, &c.

et universitas contentum in eo significat; tam Judaeorum quam Gentilium Nationes; yea some of them assert, the lawfulness of the Popes deposing and murdering Christian Kings, Princes, by his assassins from this Text.

I answer, first: That *Arise Peter, kill and eat*, if meant of sheep, is very ill coupled with, *Simon, feed my sheep*; being directly contrary to his pastoral duty and office, *Ezech. 34. 3*, to 6. *John 10. 1*, to 6. 2ly. There were no Kings, Emperors, nor men at all in this vessel, but only *four-footed beasts, creeping things and fowls*, which God provided for the food of man, and gave all men as free power to kill and eat, as he did hereto Peter; *Gen. 9. 2, 3, 4. Levit. 11. 2, 3, 9. Deuter. 14. 4*. How then that which is the common priviledge of all mankind to kill and eat such beasts, can be a peculiar Supremacy in Peter alone; Or how Kings, Emperors, men, can be intended or typified in or by these beasts, or eaten by St. Peter, like beasts, fowls and creeping things, to advance Peters pretended Supremacy; or how Peters spurious Successors can be enabled by this Text to depose, excommunicate, kill and eat the flesh of Kings, Emperors, men, whereas God himself when he first gave Commission to Noah and Mankind to kill and eat of every beast of the earth, creeping thing, fowl of the air, and fish of the sea, (a) prohibited them to kill or eat the flesh of any man, threatening to require the blood of the life of every man at his brothers hand; without making St. Peter and his Successors *Cannibals and Murderers*; yea beasts and fowls instead of men; (whom God only commissioned to eat the flesh of Kings, Captains, mighty men, free and bond, *Rev. 19. 17, 18*.) I cannot discern. 3ly. St. Peter notwithstanding this invitation, (not simple command) did (b) neither kill nor eat any of these beasts, fowls, but absolutely refused to do it; whereupon they were taken up again into heaven, as the Text relates. How then come his pretended Successors, both to kill and eat, when he refused to do either? and to ground their Supremacy thereon? It seems they are now more hungry and voracious then St. Peter was then. 4ly. This whole History was no reality, but a (c) meer trance and vision, wherein was a mixture of all sorts of beasts, creatures, as well clean as unclean by the (d) *Levitical Law*; which beasts and fowls Peter then conceived he might not lawfully eat: Now the end of this vision was double; First to instruct Peter, (e) that the *Levitical Law* putting a difference between unclean and clean beasts, was then totally abolished, and all of them to be freely eaten by Jews as well as Gentiles. 2. That the (f) Gentiles were now as holy and dear unto God as the Jews, Christ having broken down the wall of partition that was between them; as the sequel of that Chapter and Peter himself relates, chap: 11. Now how this vision only to inform and instruct St. Peters judgement in these two particulars, can give him or the Pope such a Sovereign Jurisdiction, as they by head and shoulders deduce from it, let all rational men resolve.

The 7th. Commission the (g) Pontificians have found out given by Christ to Peter, is that of *Matth. 21. 2, 3. Then sent Jesus two Disciples* (whereof the Romanists averr Peter to be one) saying unto them, *Go ye into the village over against you, and straightway ye shall find an Asse tied, and a colt with her: Loose them and bring them unto me. And if any say ought unto you, ye shall say, the Lord hath need of them, and straightway they will send them. And the Disciples went and did as Jesus commanded them.* From whence they infer, that the Pope hath power to bind, loose, excommunicate and depose Kings, Emperors, absolve their Subjects from their Allegiance, and take away their Crowns, kingdoms from them, when (he their Lord) hath need of them (as he did King *Johns* and others) as Peter did thus loose and take away the Asse, Colt, and bring them unto Christ.

I Answer First: That it appears not by any story that Peter was one of those two Disciples that loosed and brought away this Asse and Colt to Christ. 2ly. Admit he was, yet he had another disciple equally joyned with him in Commission, which destroys his sole Monarchy and Supremacy. 3ly. They went not about this errand till Christ gave them a special Commission for it: But Popes run in a quite contrary errand, to depose Kings and Emperors before they are sent by Christ, yea against his expresse inhibition. 4ly. They did not take them away without the owners consent, but with it, as the words *straightway they will send them* imply: Whereas Popes depose and take away Kings and Emperors Crowns, kingdoms, and absolve their Subjects from their Allegiance against their wils. 5ly. Christ did not send them to take away the propriety, but only to borrow the use of this Asse and Colt, at this very instant, (not the Crowns, Scepters, or kingdoms of Kings) and that only for his necessary

a Gen. 9. 2, to 8.

b Acts 10. 14, 15, 16.

c Acts 10. 10, 11.

d Levit. 11. 2.

e Deut. 14. 4.

f Col. 2. 14, 15.

g 16. 21, 22.

h 1 Cor. 8. 9.

i Rom. 14. 14.

j 1 Tim. 4. 4, 5.

k 1 Cor. 10. 25.

l to 31.

m Acts 10. 19,

n 20, 34, 35, 45,

o 46, 47. c. 11. 2,

p to 19. Ephes. 2,

q 13, to 18.

r See Marcellus

s Patavinus De-

tens. Pacis,

u l. 2. c. 3.

*Though he rode as a King into Jerusalem.

necessary use for a few hours, even then when he rode like a King, in greatest triumph he ever used on earth, into *Jerusalem*, and then sent them back. Popes do not borrow, but forcibly seise, detain not the Asses or Horses of Kings, Emperors, but their Crowns, and kingdoms too; which Christ never commissioned, nor sent *Peter*, or any other Disciples to demand or take from Kings, and bring them unto him. 6ly. Those Disciples were sent only to loose a meer natural Ass and Colt for Christ to ride upon, not Emperors, Kings, Princes, on whose backs Christ never rode, on whose heads, crowns he never trampled, whiles prostrate at his feet, as Anti-christian * Popes have frequently done; neither had he Emperors or Kings to hold his stirrop, bridle, when he ascended on the Asses back, as Popes have made Emperors and Kings to hold theirs. 7ly. No argument for the Popes Supremacy can be deduced hence, but only that *Peter* was here an *Ass-driver*, not a *Shepherd*; that his *Keyes* were now transformed into a halter or * *bridle* to muzzle Asses: that Emperors and Kings are now metamorphosed not only into *Sheep*, *Wolves*, *Dogs*, (as *Becanus* formerly asserted) but into *Popes Asses* too, which have no understanding: This his great Champion * *Gastar Schioppinus* is not ashamed with greatest impudency directly to proclaim to all the world, in this most scurrillous passage, in allusion to this Text. *Ecclesia est Mandra, five Grex aut multitudo jumentorum, five Aunozum ditellariozum seu sagmariozum, &c.* The Church (he means the Roman, and let the Members thereof now observe it) is a great fold or stable of Beasts or Asses; of which some are *Back-Asses*, some are *Dolle-Asses*, and others *Burden Asses*. Then relating *cuiusmodi Auni sunt nos Catholici?* (what sort of Asses we the Roman Catholicks are) *We* (writes he) *must be beasts which have understanding and reason to obey the Bishops with all humility and patience; for they are the men, they the Muleters and Ass-drivers, they must yoke, bridle and saddle us, put halters about our necks, load & drive us. For others, they are like to beasts, but tame & moderate beasts, such as must do what they are commanded, for a good understanding Ass is he, that honoureth and followeth the direction and command of the Muleter.* He adds, *Reges Catholici sunt Asini cum tintinnabulis; Catholick Kings are Asses with Bells about their necks, as being the Fore Asses, leading the way to other inferior Asses.* Then much commending *Charles the Great*, he writes, *That Charles was a far greater and wiser Ass, then those Kings that cast off the Popes yoke; for Charles being tantus Asinus, so great an Ass, cryed (or rather brayed) out with a loud voyce, Univerſe Aunozum mandæ, to the whole fold of Asses; that is, to the whole Church in this manner, For the memory of St. Peter let us honor the Roman Church: and though the yoke which the Pope imposeth be such as we can hardly bear, yet let us fall down under the same. Ex quibus verbis verum Issachar agnoscas, de quo Gen. ch. 49. Issachar Asinus fortis. From which words of Charles, thou maist know he was a very Issachar, of whom it is said Gen. 49. Issachar is a strong Ass.* Thus *Schioppinus*. Is not this fine Catholick Divinity, enough to enamour all Christian Kings, Princes with the Church of Rome? which is now become a fold of Asses, instead of a flock of Sheep, and their Popes, Bishops, Muleters, and Ass-drivers, instead of Shepherds?

Nota.

I shall not waste Ink and Paper to answer the other pretended Commissions given by Christ to St. Peter, on which Popes and their Parasites likewise ground their universal Supremacy, as (a) *Launch out into the Deep; (b) Loose thy net; (c) Christ entered into Simon Peters boat; Strengthen thy brethren, &c.* Nor to answer this profound Argument and passage of St. Bernard, urged by (f) *Tho: Waldensis*, to prove Saint Peters Universal Supremacy over the Church, from Christs entering into his Boat. *Beatus etiam Bernardus sic loquitur de Navicula una Petri, Lib. 2. Ad Eugenium.* Discipuli Navigabant & Dominus apparebat in litore quodque jucundius erat in Corpore redivino: sciens Petrus quod Dominus est, in Mare se misit & sic venit ad ipsum, aliis Navigio perveniens. *Quid istud? Nempe signum singularis Pontifici Petri, per quod non unam Navem ut ceteri quique suam, sed ipsum sæculum suscepit gubernandum. Mare enim sæculum est, Navis Ecclesia. Inde est quod*

a See Marſilius Patavinus, Defens. pacis, p. 2. c. 3. Alvarus Pelagius de Planctu Eccles. l. 2. Artic. 37. 51, 53. Bellarmine De Romano Pontifice Alexander Cacerius de Potestate Papæ Augustinus Triumphus, Hart, Harding, The Rhemists, Bozius, Johannes Parisiensis, and others. b Lu. 5. 4, 5, 6. John 21. 17. c Luke 22. 32. d Innocentii Opera Tom. 1. p. 321. e Doctrinale Fidei Tom. 1. Artic. 2. c. 5. to 8. f Doctrinalis Fidei, Tom. 1. lib. 2. Artic. 3. cap. 29. p. 229. See Alvarus Pelagius De Planctu Ecclesiz, lib. 1. Article 51, 53.

aliter

altera vice instar Domini Petrus gratiens super aquas, unicum se Christi Vicarium designabit: quinon uni populo sed cunctis p[ro]esse deberet: siquidem aqua multis a populi multi. Itaque cum quisque caterorum habeat suam, tibi una commissa est gravissima Navis facta ex omnibus, ipsa universalis Ecclesia toto orbe diffusa. Hæc Bernardus. Rather by way of jeer to others who thus descanted on it, then in seriousness. Yet *Waldensis* gravely infers thence. *Quam synceriter, quamque subtiliter enucleat pater Bernardus eminentiam summi Sacerdotis, & fastigium Christi Vicarii ab ipsi mendicis Evangelii rutilantis?* making a large descant on them. But the repetition of these crazie enthusiastical arguments and airy conceits, to evidence the Popes Supremacy from such impertinent texts, or rather blasphemies, is a sufficient refutation of them.

6ly. When all these Commissions to the *Apostles, Peter*, and forecited Texts, will not prop up the Popes tottering Universal Supremacy, they then flye to his *Sword*, as to their *Triaris*, and last refuge, yet with very ill successe, if the Texts and inferences from them be well examined. Our Saviour being near his Passion used these words to his Disciples, Luke 22. 34. to 39. *When I sent you without purse, or scrip, or shoes, (or † slaves) lacked ye any thing? And they said, Nothing. Then said he unto them; But now, he that hath a purse let him take it, and likewise his scrip: and he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy him one. And they said, Behold here are two swords; And he said unto them, It is enough.* conjoynd with Matth. 26. 51, 52. John 18. 10, 11. *Then Simon Peter having a sword drew it, and smote the high Priest's servant, and cut off his right ear. Then said Jesus unto Peter, Put up thy sword into the sheath, or into his place; for all they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword: the cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink?* From which Texts, Popes and their (a) Parasites, have drawn these strange Conclusions, universally embraced by most as infallible Oracles.

1. That these two Swords here mentioned, were the Supream Ecclesiastical and Temporal Swords of Authority and Jurisdiction, here instituted and distinguished by *Christ* himself. 2ly. That these two Swords are distinct in their own Natures: the one originally put into the hand of *St. Peter* and his Successors of Rome alone, and derivatively by and through him into the hands of the other *Apostles, Bishops, Priests, incommunicable unto any Temporal Kings or Princes.* The other put into the actual possession of *Emperors or Kings, by St. Peter and his Successors, to be drawn forth at their command for their and the Churches defence, as well as for the Government of their kingdoms.* 3ly. That both these Swords are originally given to, and used in *St. Peter* and through him in the *Pope, who may dispose of, give, recall and command them at his pleasure.* Strange dotages and delusions drawn by head and shoulders from these Texts.

To clear which Texts from these false Glosses for the future, I shall desire the Readers to observe: 1. That the *Sword* which Christ commanded every of his *Apostles* to sell his garment (for want of money) to buy; was not a Metaphorical, Civil, or Ecclesiastical *Sword* of Authority or Jurisdiction, (which had been flat *Simonie* to buy) but a plain, material, iron sword, which ordinary foldiers, or servants then wore, (as since they have done, and yet do) to guard their *Kings, Generals, Captains, Masters* against violence: For 1. It was a sword to be bought at the Cutlers, and that for the present defence of their Master *Christ.* 2ly. They thereupon all answered (not *Peter* for them) They had then two swords, with one whereof *Peter* cut off *Malchus* his ear; therefore both only material iron swords. 3ly. *St. Peters* sword was drawn out of his sheath, when used, & commanded by *Christ* to be put again into its scabbard or place; therefore a real iron sword. 4ly. *Christ* gives this reason for its putting up, *For all they that take the sword, shall perish by it:* Therefore both the swords he commanded them to buy, the two swords they then had, when *Christ* said, *It is enough;* & the sword to be put up were only ordinary swords of common soldiers, or servants, not of Temporal Magistrates or Prelates. 5ly. *Christ* directed his speech not to *Peter* by name, but to all his other *Apostles* in general; *He that hath no sword let him sell his garment & buy one;* & he having then a sword of his own, this speech did not concern him, but those only who wanted swords; whence not *Peter*, but the other *Apostles* said joyntly (as they replied to *Christ's* first question, *that they wanted nothing;*) *Behold here are two swords:* which implied a tacit demand, whether they needed to buy any more? Whereupon *Christ* said, *It is enough;* there needed no more. *Peter* therefore not being their mouth, in this case, for ought appears, how can these two swords belong to him alone, upon the other *Apostles* answers? 6ly. It is most clear, that one of these two swords

* Inter seculares, nugæ nugæ sunt, in ore sacerdotis blasphemie. Bernard. de Confid. l. 2. † Mat. 10. 9. 10.

* Bernard. de Confid. ad Eugenium, l. 4. Alvarus Pelagius de Planctu Ecclesie. l. 1. Art. 12. & 54. l. 2. Artic. 57. Gratian Distinct. 21. caus. 23. q. 1. 1. Glossa. Abbas Vespergenis p. 343. Here, p. 36. Johannis Parisiensis de Potestate Regali & Papali.

was *Peters*, is evident by Christs words to him; *Put up thy sword*: Yet it was only the sword of a *common soldier*, or *servant*; not of a *Civil* or *Ecclesiastical Magistrate*; (he being then neither) and that Apostle whose the other sword was, yea every common soldier that hath or wears a sword, may claim as absolute a Sovereign *Ecclesiastical and Temporal Jurisdiction*, as the Pope can do from this sword of *Peter*. 7ly. *Peter* then had, used but one sword alone, not two. How comes the Pope, his pretended Successor, to challenge two swords, and that of a farr different nature from his, and not to be content with a common Servitors or soldiers sword, as he was? 8ly. Christ himself *severely* checked (a) *Peter* for drawing, smiting with this sword, and cutting off *Malchus* his ear; 1. Because he did it without his command, who was his Lord and Master. 2ly. Because he did it before the band, Captain, Officers laid hold on Christ to apprehend him, so that he began the quarrel. 3ly. Because he smote *Malchus* that was next him, and cut off his ear, without any just provocation from him. 4ly. Because he did it with an ill intent, to (b) prevent, hinder Christs crucifixion, the fulfilling of the Scriptures, and redemption of mankind by his passion; from which he dissuading him only a little before, Christ had thereupon reprehended him, with a double (c) *Get thee behinde me Satan, thou art an offence unto me, for thou savourest not the things of God, but those that be of men*. 5ly. Because he drew it out of incredulity and presumption; as if Christ could not be otherwise rescued from his apprehenders, but by his rash valour, when (d) as his Father would have given & sent him Legions of Angels to rescue him, and prevent his crucifixion, had he desired it, or had it stood with the Scriptures, or Gods eternal purpose, and his own good pleasure; wherefore *Peters* drawing and smiting with his sword, being sinfull, unlawfull in all these respects, cannot possibly be a just legal foundation for his or the Popes Temporal or Spiritual Supremacy. 6ly. Christ commands (e) *Peter* to put up his sword into his sheath, and never to draw or use it more; because all that take the sword (without lawfull commission from God) shall perish with the sword. How then Popes, St. *Peters* pretended Successors, can both challenge, draw, smite with this sword of *Peter*, not only to cut off *Malchus* his ear, but the Crowns, Heads of Christian Emperors, Kings, Lords, Parliaments, and engage Christian Kings, kingdoms to draw their Military swords of War against each other, yea their Subjects to draw their swords against their lawfull Emperors, Kings, as against Turks, Infidels, when excommunicated or deprived by them, and to murder one another by thousands in the field, against this expresse prohibition of Christ, and his reason thereto annexed; let Popes and their flatterers resolve their own and other rational mens consciences, when they are able. 8ly. Neither *Peter* nor any other Apostle was then a King, or Supream Civil Magistrate, nor personated any such officer, when Christ used these words of two swords, that they were enough; & gave this command to *Peter*, *Put up thy sword into his place*. How then could either of these two swords possibly signifie or represent the Kings or Magistrates Supream Civil Sword of Justice? 9ly. Neither was *Peter* nor any other of the Apostles at this time invested with the sole Supream Ecclesiastical Power or Jurisdiction, which then wholly resided in Christ himself; How therefore can *Peters* material sword, transferr to the Pope or his successors, the supream Spiritual Sword of Jurisdiction over the whole Catholick Church and its members? 10ly. Those two swords, which Christ said were enough, were both of one kind, material, not metaphorical; of iron, steel; not of the Spirit; and but one of them used, or rather abused by *Peter*: How then can they typifie Two distinct Jurisdictions vested by Divine institution in two distinct ranks and Professions of Men, Kings and Priests, Secular Princes and Spiritual Priests? So that one of them may not usurp the sword of the other two. 11ly. If these swords, as *Canonists* define, be so different, distinct, and put into those several hands by Christs institution, how came the Pope in *Peters* pretended Right to claim, monopolize both; when *Peter* had but one sword, and that of a far different nature from those Popes now pretend to? 12ly. The Scripture never distinguisheth between the Temporal and Ecclesiastical sword in the Popes and Prelates sence: Indeed it stiles the word of God, (h) the sword of the spirit, and a (i) two edged sword; and the Vindictive power of the Civil Magistrate to punish evil doers, (i) a sword; but the pretended Popes Ecclesiastical censures, whether of Interdicts, Excommunications, Anathemas, or delivering men to Satan; putting them out of the Synagogue, or being reputed heathens or publicans, are never once stiled nor intimated in Scripture to be a sword, or to proceed from St. *Peters* sword, but *Keyes* alone; yea Popes, Prelates, Priests themselves

a Mat. 26. 50.
51. John 11. 10
11.

b Mat. 26. 51.
52, 53. John
28. 11.

c Mat. 16. 23.
Mar. 8. 33.

d Mat. 26. 53
54.

e Mat. 26. 52
53.

f See Gratian
Distinct. 10.

g Ephes. 6. 17.

h Hebr. 4. 12.
Rev. 1. 16. c. 2.

i 2. c. 19, 14,
15.

k Rom. 13. 4.

* 1 Cor. 5. 5.
15. John 9. 22.
34, 35. Mat 18
27.

resolve, that all their Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, Censures are founded on the Power of *Peters Keyes*, not *Sword*; and derive them only from the Keyes which Christ committed to him and the other Apostles, not that sword which Christ commanded him to put up into the sheath, and use no more. How then came the Keyes, and these two swords (so different in their names, forms, nature, uses, the one to open, shut, bind or loose, the other to defend penitent, and smite, slay, or punish impenitent sinners) to be both one, and to give Popes one and the self-same Supream Temporal and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction? Either then they must disclaim *St. Peters Keyes*, or his two Swords as inconsistent; or if they will distribute the use of one of his swords to Kings and Civil Magistrates, they must by the self-same reason allow them one of his keyes too: And then Kings, Emperors shall both enjoy, exercise Supream Ecclesiastical and Temporal Jurisdiction over the Churches, and Clergy within their Dominions, by divine Right, as well as the Pope. 12ly. * *Paul* himself makes this a special qualification of a *Bishop*, *that he must be no striker*; whence Bishops and Priests claim an exemption from bearing arms, or going to war; Therefore they can neither claim nor exercise either of these two swords. 13ly. This crochot of two swords, had its principal rise from (a) *St. Bernards* passage to Pope *Eugenius* the 3d. about the year of Christ, 1146. *Dracones, inquis, me moneo pacificare, & serpentes, non oves? Propter hoc, inquam, magis aggredere eos, SED VERBO, NON FERRO: quid te denuo Usurpare gladium tentes, quem semel iustus es, ponere in vaginam? Quem tamen qui tuum negat, non non satis mihi videtur attendere verbum Domini dicentis sic, Converte gladium tuum in vaginam. Tuus ergo et ipse, tuo forsitan nutu, et si non tua manu evaginandus: Alioquin si nullo modo ad te pertineret, et is dicentibus Apostolis; Ecce gladii duo hic, non respondisset Dominus, Satis est, SED NIMIS EST. Uterque ergo Ecclesie, et Spirituales scilicet gladius et materialis; sed is quidam pro Ecclesia, ille vero et ab Ecclesia exercendus est. Ille Sacerdotis, is Militis manu: sed sane ad nutum Sacerdotis, et iussum Imperatoris. Nunc vero accipe illum, qui tibi ad faciendum creditus est, et vulnera ad salutem, si non omnes, si non vel multos, certe quos possis. Nos sum inquis, melior quam patres mei. Quem illorum domus exasperans, non dico audivit, sed non irruit? Ideo te insiste magis, si forte audiant & quiescant; insiste & resistentibus. Dicendo hac, forte nimis dicar. Num nostra illa vox; (c) instat oportune, importune. Hunc (si audes) nimium appellato Prophetam precipitur; (d) Clama, ne cesses: ad quos, nisi ad sceleratos & peccatores? Annuncia, inquit, populo meo scelera eorum, & domui Jacob peccata eorum. Prudenter adverte, sceleratos perhiberi & populum Domini: puta de his idem. Et si scelerati, & si iniqui, videntur audiam, (f) quod uni ex his meis non fecisti, nec mihi fecisti. Fateor populum istum fuisse adhuc dura fronte indomito nudo, sed utrum etiam indomabili, nescio unde loquendo sciri potest. Potest fore quod necdum fuit. Si dissidis tu, (g) Sed apud Deum non erit impossibile verbum. Si dura fronte sunt, durato & tu e contra tuam: Nil tam durum quod duriori cedat. De minus ad Prophetam, (h) Dedi frontem tuam durior frontibus eorum. Unum est quod te absolvit, si egisti cum populo illo ut possis dicere; * Populi mei quid tibi debeo facere & non feci? Si sic fecisti nec profecisti, est domum quod facias, & quod dicas: b Ecce de Ur Chaldaeorum; & dicito, i quia oportet me & aliis civitatibus evangelizare. Puto nec penitebit exilii, orbe pro urbe commutato. I have transcribed his whole passage relating to both swords for this purpose, 1. To prove that the temporal sword belongs not to the Pope, but only to Christian Emperors, Kings, nor is it put into his hands. 2ly. That it is to be unsheathed for the Churches defence, when there is need, not at the Popes or Priests meer pleasure or mandate, but at the Emperors and Kings special commands. 3ly. That the spiritual Sword of Priests, to be exercised by the Church, Popes, Prelates, is here expressly defined to be only the Word of God, the preaching of the Gospel with instance in season, out of season: the lifting up of Priests voices without ceasing; crying aloud to them and shaming not, shewing the people their sins, and the house of Israel their transgressions; especially when they prove Dragons, Scorpions, obstinate, impenitent, hardning their faces, and hearts against all admonitions and reproofs; In which case, Popes, Prelates, Priests, must ingeminate, and more boldly*

* 1 Tim. 3. 3.
Tit. 1.

a De Consideratione ad Eugenium, l. 4.

b Johan. 18.

c 2 Tim. 4. 1.
d Isay 58.
e Lu. 1.

f Mart. 29.

g Ezech. 3.

* Isay 5. 4.

h Gen. 11. 31

i Lu. 4.

boldly, earnestly, incessantly inculcate their reprehensions and exhortations, yea harden their faces against them, as they harden theirs: as the Prophets did in the old Testament; and if they continued incorrigible after all this: Go forth of Ur, leave them, resort and preach the Gospel to other Cities, as Christ himself did. This is the only Spiritual sword, and the sole drawing and smiting with it, belonging to the Church, Priests, Popes, not Suspensions, Excommunications, Interdicts, Curses with Bell, Book, Candle, not only of Private persons, but whole Churches, Kingdoms, Cities, Emperors and Kings themselves; prostrations at their Papal feet, depositions from their Crowns, losse of their Realms, absolving all Subjects from their allegiance, against former Oaths, to arm them against their lawfull Sovereigns; of which St. Bernard hath not one syllable. Therefore no appurtenances to the Spiritual sword of Popes or Priests, but meer Antichristian Usurpations, abuses, of this pretended sword, which wounds many not to their *salvation*, but destruction. Finally St. Bernard preffeth the Pope to use this Spiritual sword not in England, France, Germany, or other Kings Dominions, but in Rome it self, and his own Pallace, Court alone, where the people, Officers of all sorts, were generally *Dragons, Scorpions*, the most impudent, impenitent, brazen-faced, hard-hearted, desperate sinners of all others, of whose reformation Pope *Eugenius* and himself did almost despair. And then induced him to use his utmost endeavours to reform them, by the forecited smitings of them with the sword of the Spirit. And in case of their final incorrigibility; not to excommunicate, interdict, or anathematise them, but desert them totally, and by a voluntary exile to remove to some other City; to exchange *Rome* for the *World*, or any other part thereof, which was farre better then it; there to preach the Gospel, and discharge his Pastoral office, committed by Christ to *Peter*, and through him to himself; by *seeding his sheep*, which he defines only to be the preaching of the Gospel to them; concluding in these words, *Evangelizare pascere est; fac opus Evangelistæ, et Pastoris opus implesti*. Upon all which considerations, I hope the most zealous Pontificians will henceforth be satisfied; That the Civil and Spiritual swords have not their distinction, distribution, nor any foundation at all on *Peters* single sword, or the other Apostles *two material swords*; and that the only spiritual sword belonging to Popes and the Church, is not their usual Ecclesiastical Censures, thunderbolts, but the meer word of God incessantly preached, applied in season and out of season to all sorts of sinners, especially the most obdurate; wherewith the City and Court of *Rome* are so stuffed, that Popes have most reason to brandish this sword, and all other swords or keyes they claim from St. *Peter*, only there, not in other Princes, Bishops Diocesses and Dominions, much lesse against Emperors and Kings themselves.

2ly. If St. *Peters*, the Apostles, Priests and Ministers commissions forecited will neither warrant, support their Supream Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction challenged, pretended to, much lesse will their several Titles do it. Before I enter upon the Positive Titles given to them in Scripture, I shall desire you to take notice, 1. That neither St. *Peter*, nor any other Apostle, Minister, or Presbyter, is ever once stiled by Christ or any Apostle in relation to his office; either a *King, Prince, Caesar, Lord*, or the higher Powers; but only earthly Kings and temporal Magistrates. (a) *Alvarus Pelagius*, the Popes Grand Advocate, doth not only ingenuously acknowledge, but renders these solid reasons for it: First, because *Kings and Lords do frequently abuse their Regal and Lordly power to tyranny and great oppression of their Subjects; which Popes and Clergymen would be likewise apt to do, if dignified with these Titles*. 2ly. Because the name of a King *aliquando superbum sonat*, and is apt to puff men up with *pride and arrogance*; therefore inconsistent with the humility and meeknesse of Christs Disciples, Ministers. 3ly. *To put a distinction between Civil and Ecclesiastical Governors*. Inter spirituales & temporales Reges sicut est discretio in potestatibus, sic debet esse in nominibus. Principes itaq; seculares nomen Regis quod commune est, sibi a proprietate retinent, præsertim quia ante constitutionem spiritualium Regum, officium Regis & nomen plures habuisse leguntur. Principes autem spirituales aliis nominibus nuncupantur, quæ non fastum, sed actum & pietatem insinuant. Et propter hoc ait *Petrus*, Pastoribus Ecclesiæ, 1 *Pet. 5. 2. 3.* & 95 *Distinct. Est. Neque ut Dominantes in Clero*: & Christus dixit Discipulis *Lu. 22. Reges Gentium dominantur eorum, vos autem non sic.* & *Mat. 20. Yea he draws this memorable inference from hence.* Et secundum hoc videretur dicendum, quod licet Christus sit Rex & Sacerdos, tamen ejus Vicarii scilicet Apostoli & eorum successores, non sunt Sacerdotes &

* De Planctu
Ecclef. 1. 1. Ait
v. 52

et Reges, imo solum conuenit eis potestas Sacerdotalis vel Pontificalis ex concessione Christi. Si autem aliquibus eorum conuenit potestas Regia, hoc est ex concessione Principum terrenorum, sicut ex concessione Constantini habet Romanus Pontifex Imperialem potestatem. *Distinct. 96. Constitimus.* Which though *Alvarus prima facie*, grants to be *rationabiliter dictum* for others; yet he spends several Articles to assert, That the Pope is not only a spiritual, but temporal King and Lord, yea King of Kings and Lord of Lords; and that not only Popes, but even Bishops and Priests too have a power and jurisdiction above all Kings, Emperors, Princes in the world, even to excommunicate, depose, and put them from their Thrones, Kingdomes, Empires, as you heard before at large.

2ly. Neither Christ, nor his Apostles after his Ascension in any of their Epistles or Gospels, ever gave St. Peter or the Pope any of these swelling Titles now claimed, or Attributed to them by their flatterers, as (a) *Christ's sole Viceroy, his sole Vicar General on Earth, sole head of the whole Catholick Church, God, Vice-God, Christ, Christ's Omnipotentiary, or Plenipotentiary*, indued with a plenitude of all power both in heaven and earth, the life of the world; or any of those Titles which (b) St. Bernard (by way of irony, censure only) gives to Pope Eugenius, as others did in good earnest; *Age indagemus adhuc diligentius quis sis? quam geras, videlicet, pro tempore, personam in Ecclesia Dei: Quis es? Sacerdos magnus, Summus Pontifex. Tu Princeps Apostolorum; tu Primatu Abel; Gubernatu Noe; Patriarchatu Abraham; Orine Melchisedech, dignitate Aaron, auctoritate Moyses, iudicatu Samuel, potestate Petrus, unctione Christus. Tu es cui claves tradita, cui oves credita sunt. Sunt quidem & alii celi janitores, & gregum pastores: Sed tu tanto gloriosius, quanto & differentius utrumque praeceteris nomen hereditasti, &c.* If none of these ambitious Titles were ever given by Christ or other Apostles to Peter himself in this magnificent manner; or to any other Apostle; How comes the Pope now to appropriate them to himself in Peters right, who doth not own but quite disclaim them? 1 Pet. 1. 1. c. 5. 1, 2, 3.

Wherefore premitting them as late Papal fancies, invented by Popes and their Parasites, I shall proceed to St. Peters particular Scripture Titles, peculiar to himself; whereon Popes and their flatterers bottom his and their own pretended transcendent Supremacy.

The 1. is his very Sirname, *Peter*, Mat. 16. 18. *I say unto thee, thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church.* Whence they infer, a That Peter is not only supreme head of Christs Church, but the very rock and foundation on which it is built.

I answer, 1. That he had this very name *Peter* given him either before he was called by Christ to be an Apostle, or at leastwise he was named *Peter* by Christ upon his very first calling to be his Disciple, Mat. 4. 18. c. 8. 14, 15. Mar. 3. 16. Lu: 6. 14. Jo: 1. 41, 42 If then his first sirname *Peter*, gave him no such supream Jurisdiction, Lordship over all the other Apostles and whole Catholick Church, as certainly it did not, Christ himself being *then the supream head thereof on earth*, for some years after. This repetition, or confirmation of this his former Title, could give him no such new headship or supremacy. 2ly. Neither Christ nor any of his Apostles, or Evangelists, before or after Christs resurrection, who oft stile him by the name of *c Simon*, and *Simon Bar-Jonas*, without his sirname *Peter*, or *d Simon Peter*, joyntly, or *Peter* singly, Nor yet *Peter* himself, (who stiles himself in his General Epistle, 1 Pet. 1. 1. 2 Pet. 1. 1. *Peter*, and *Simon Peter* A SERVANT and an Apostle of Iesus Christ; and 1 Pet. 5. 1. a Fellow-Elder :) ever dreamed of such a supremacy or headship, as this, or of the least Dominion or Jurisdiction over the rest of the Apostles, or Elders of the Church, much lesse over the whole Church of God, and Emperors, Kings themselves, as Popes now claim. 3ly. This name *Peter*, as *I say unto thee thou art Peter*, attest, was only personal, individual, affixed to his own person alone, not transmitted to his pretended successors of Rome, who (e) though they usually change their former Names, when elected and crowned Popes; yet not one of them ever yet stiled himself *Peter*, but many of them *Paul*; and more of them *John*: Therefore not one of them assuming this name *Peter*, and neither Christ himself, nor *Peter* transmitting his sirname *Peter* to them, they can derive no Supremacy from it to themselves. 4ly. Yet all later Popes aver

44. c. 22. 31. c. 24. 34. John 1. 42. Acts 15. 14. d John 6. 8. 68. c. 13. 6. 9. 24. 36. c. 13. 10. 25. c. 20. 2. 6. c. 21. 3. 3. 7. 11. 15. Acts 1. 15. c. 2. 14. 38. c. 3. 1. 6. 12. c. 4. 8. 13. c. 5. 3, 8, 29. c. 11. 5. 17. 18. 32. e Platina, Onuphrius, Baronius, Dr. Barnes, Lydius, Omerus, Laertius Cherubinus, and others who wrote the Popes Lives, & Pontificale Romanum.

* Ibid. Artic. 71.
52, 53, 56, 57.

* Here p. 37.
38, 39.

a See here, p. 20
37, 38, 39.
Bishop Jewels
Defence of the
Apology, p. 59.
121, 125, 449
572, 582, 594.

b De Consideratione, lib. 3

a Innocentii 3.
Opera, Tom. 1.
p. 223.
Gravari Dist.
50. Caus. 24.
qu. 1. Alvarus
Pelagius de
Planctu Eccl.
lib. 1. Artic. 55.
Tho. Waldensis
Doctrinale Fi-
dei, Tom. 1. l. 2.
Artic. 1. c. 1, 2.
3, 4, 5, 6, 7.
Bellarmine de
Pontifice Ro-
mano, l. 1. & 2.
& 3, & 4, & 5.
passim. Au-
gustinus Tri-
umphus, the
Rhemiſts, Hart
& all Papists
that write of the
Popes Supre-
macy.
b Eph. 5. 22.
Col. 1. 10.
c Mat. 16. 17.
John 21. 15,
16, 17. Mat. 17
25. Mar. 1. 30.
36. c. 14. 37.
Luke 1. 4, 5.
10. c. 7. 40, 43

f Hardings Con-
sutation f. 210
Bp. Jewels De-
fence p. 125.
127. Leo 1.
Serm. 1. & 2. de
Petro & Paulo,
Greg. Epist. 1.
8. Epist. 45.
13. c. 8. ep. 45.
Laertius Che-
rubinus, Bulla-
rium Romanum
Pontificale Ro-
manum, Aven-
tinus Annal:
Boiarum, l. 6.
The Excommu-
nications of
Henry the Em-
peror, Frederick
& King John.

g 1 Pet. 2. 3. to
10.

* Ephes. 2. 21,
23.

h Traët. 1. in
Mat.

i Adversus Ja-
nuarium l. 1.

k Defence of
the Apol. p. 115

l Doctrinale Fi-
dei, Tom. 1. l. 2.

Artic. 1. c. 6.

m De Planctu
Ecclesie, l. 1.

Artic. 55.

n 1 Cor. 10. 4.

o Psal. 40. 2.

p 1 Cor. 10. 4.

themselves to be (f) *not only Christ, but Peter himself; and what ever is given, offered to, or acted by them, to be given to, done, acted by St. Peter himself*: and all things acted against their Antichristian Usurpations, to be acted against St. Peter; as their Epistles, Bulls, Canons, Formularies, Interdicts, Excommunications, and Charters of pretended or real Donations to them by *Constantine, Charles the Great, King John* and others evidence: When as the Pope in reality and Name, is no more St. Peter himself, then he is *Judas, the son of perdition, S. James, or Peter Lombard, Peter the Hermit, Peter Martyr*, or any other bearing that name; nor so much Peter, as *Peters statue, or picture* representing his pourtaicture; which may as justly claim the Authority, and more rightly the name of Peter, (which they all give it) then any Pope 5ly. If this very name Peter, hath the headship, or supremacy of the Church affixed to it, then every person stiled Peter (especially if a King and Sovereign Prince) may as justly challenge the supremacy and headship of the Church, as any Pope, especially when stiled *Innocent, Boniface, Gregory, Clement*, or any other such name, not Peter. 6ly. St. Peter resolves, (g) that the Lord Jesus Christ (not he) is *the precious Headstone, which God hath layd in Zion*, prophesied of by *Isaiah c. 28. 16. & Pl. 118. 20.* to whom *coming as unto a living stone, disallowed indeed of men, but approved of God, ye also as living stones are built up a spiritual house (or Church) an holy Priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable unto God through him; that he is made the head of the corner*, and he that believeth on him shall not be confounded: Yea himself repeated it again Acts 4. 8. to 12. Then Peter filled with the holy Ghost, said, *Ye Rulers of the people and Elders of Israel, be it known to you all, and to all the people of Israel, that by the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom ye crucified, whom God hath raised from the dead, even by him doth this man stand here before you whole. This (not I) is the Stone which is become the head of the corner*: Here St. Peter himself twice precisely retutes the blasphemous Glosses, Inferences of his Successors to Rob Christ of his Headship, stonship, and translate it to the Pope, through St. Peters conduct-pipe. 7ly. St. Paul who is joyned hand in hand with Peter in Popes seals, Croisiers, Bulls, Charters, yea joynt Bishop of Rome (as well as joynt Martyr with him, if he were ever Bishop there) resolves with Peter, *That other foundation (of the Church and Christian faith) can no man lay, but that which is already laid, which is Jesus Christ, (not Peter) 1 Cor. 3. 10, 11, 12. And we are built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets (in general, not in Peter) Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone, in whom, (not in Peter) all the building fitly framed together groweth into an holy temple in the Lord, in whom ye also are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit.* 8ly. (h) *Origen* long sincerely resolved; *Petra est quisquis est Discipulus Christi, & that these words spoken to Peter, were common to all*: St. (i) *Hierom* seconds him, *Ecclesia fundatur super omnes Apostolos: ex quo super eos Ecclesia fortitudo solidatur*, in and by Christ the chief corner-stone, on whom they are all built: Wherewith our learned (k) Bishop Jewel and Church accord. Yea (l) *Tho. Walensis*, and (m) *Alvarus Pelagius* too, (though grand sticklers for the Popes Supremacy:) quote this passage of *Origen* Hom. xii. in Hieremiam, thus resolving; *Quæ est igitur Petra? (n) Dominus Jesus Christus: bibebant enim de spirituali confluence Petra, & super Petram statuit pedes meos. Quævis alias Petras, & alias Cavernas? Venio ad chororum Prophetarum atque Apostolorum; & dico quia omnes imitatores Christi Petra sunt, ut Petra est ille qui docuit.* With St. *Hierom* Com: in Matth. 18. Tom. 9. & Mar. 8. *Augustin* super Johan. Traët. ult. Tom. 9. de Verbis Domini, Sermo 13. 1 Tim. 10. *Re tractationum* c. 21. Tom. 1. *Ambrosius* in Lu. 6. c. 11. Tom. 5. *Chrysostom* in Locum. all resolving *Christ himself, & the faith which Peter confessed of him (not Peter himself, but secundum Metaphoram, as put for his faith confessed) to be the Rock on which the Church is built*; that Non a Petro Petra, sed Petrus a Petra, sicut Christus non a Christiano, sed Christianus a Christo. Non dictum est illi, *Tu es Petra*, sed *Tu es Petrus*. Ideo quippe ait Dominus; *Super hanc Petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam*: quia dixerat Petrus, *Tu es filius Dei vivi*: super hanc Petram quam confessus es ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, *Petra enim erat Christus*: super hanc Petram quam cognovisti ædificabo Ecclesiam meam: *Super me ædificabo te, non me super te.* To which Authorities, & Apoc. 2: 17. (objected against the Popes Supremacy by Wickliff, his Master Gulielmus, and others) they give this pitifull Answer, Super Christum Petram primo & principaliter ædificatur Ecclesia: secundum vero formam Vicariam super Petrum Petram. Omnes Apostoli Petra sunt, præcipue

cipue tamen Petrus, in quo omnes Petra primo nomen sumpserunt; When as *Origen* (from whom they draw this inference) resolves, That all the Petty Rocks of Apostles and Prophets derived their names only from Christ the Rock, not from *Peter*: Which rotally subverts his headship and supremacy from this Text, and Title of *Peter*.

2ly. To supply this shipwrack, (a) Pope *Innocent* the 3d. (b) *Alvarus Pelagius*, a *Mysterium* *Miltz*, l. 1. c. 8. *Operum* *Torr.* 1. p. 321. (c) other his *Champions*, have found out an unanswerable Text, to prove his Headship over the Universal Church: to wit, Christ tells *Peter*, he should be called *Cephas*, which signifies a Head: *Petrus secutus est Christum, non solum in genere Martyrii, sed & in ordine Magisterii, quod Christus ostendit: cum ait, Tu vocaberis Cephas.* Licet enim *Cephas* secundum unam linguam; interpretatur, *Petrus*, secundum alteram tamen exponitur *Caput*; Nam sicut caput habet plenitudinem sensuum, cetera vero membra partem recipiunt plenitudinis, ita ceteri Sacerdotes vocati sunt in partem sollicitudinis, sed *Summus Pontifex* (he should have said *Petrus* rather) *assumptus est in plenitudinem potestatis*: Pope (d) *Leo* the 1. thus blasphemously writes of *Peter*, (intending the Pope and himself thereby) *Christus Petrum in consortium individuum Trinitatis assumpsit*: And thence inferres, *Deus a Petro velut a quodam Capite dona sua velut in corpus omne diffudit.* Doctr. Fidei, l. 2. Tit. 2. 4. d. Epist. 89. See Bp. Jewel His Def. of the Apology, p. 125.

To all which I answer, 1. That *Cephas*, signifieth not a Head in any Language (as these wilfully mistake) but only a Stone, or *Peter*, witnesse *Iohn* 1. 42. (the text whereon they rely) *When Jesus beheld Simon, he said, thou art Simon the sonne of Jonah, thou shalt be called Cephas*, which is by interpretation, *Lapis*, so some; or *Petrus*, so others render it; and our English Translations, a Stone, or *Peter*, not an head. Yea the Holy Ghost himself, by *St. Pauls* sacred pen, gives him this Title of *Cephas*, (as the very same with *Peter*) no lesse then 5 several times in his Epistles, 1 Cor. 1. 12. *Every one of them saith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollo, and I of Cephas*: where *Paul* and *Apollo* are put before *Cephas*, as they are also 1 Cor. 3. 22. 25. *Whether Paul or Apollo, or Cephas, &c. all are yours.* & 1 Cor. 9. 5. *Have not we power to lead about a sister, or wife, as well as other Apostles, as the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas*; where all the other Apostles, *James* and *John* are marshalled before *Cephas*. Gal. 2. 5. *And when James, Cephas and John, which seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, that we should go unto the heathen, and they unto the circumcision:* Here *Cephas* is recited after *James*; and both *James*, *Cephas* and *John*, (the grand pillars of the Church) gave both to *Paul* and *Barnabas*, the right hand of fellowship, as their equals, neither claiming an absolute headship over them or the Church, as Popes do now from this Title *Cephas*, 1 Cor. 15. 5. *That he was seen of Cephas* (after his resurrection) then of the twelve; here only *Cephas* is placed before the 12. not in point of priority of order or dignity, but because he first saw Christ at his appearance after his resurrection, before any of the other Apostles, to comfort and strengthen his soul after his terrible detestable denying of Christ: Wherefore this surname *Cephas* then given to *Simon* being one and the same with *Peter*, and signifying not an head, rock, nor chief head-stone, or Topstone; a Title peculiar to *Jesus Christ* alone: and *Simon Peter* by this very name *Cephas*, being in four several Texts ranked after *Paul*, *Apollo*, *James*, *John*, and all the Apostles, it cannot prove *St. Peters* or the Popes headship over the Church. 2ly. Admit *Cephas* signified a head; yet it doth not signifie the head of the Universal Church, the head of the World, the head of Bishops, principalities, powers; which Popes must prove before they pretend thereto. For 1. It is used in Scripture for the head of the natural body in a proper fence, Psal. 23. 5. 2 Kings 10. 6, 7, 8, &c. 2ly. Metaphorically; as 1. For the Top or upper part of a pillar or base, 2 Chron. 3. 16. Pl. 24. 7. 2ly. For the Fathers or chief men of a particular Tribe or family, Exod. 6. 24, 25. Numb. 1. 16. c. 30. 1. Deut. 5. 23. Josh. 14. 1. 2 Chron. 5. 24. c. 7. 2, 7, 9, 11, 40. c. 12. 32. 3ly. For subordinate Princes, Civil Governors, and Rulers of the people in the Civil State, Exod. 18. 25. Num. 7. 2. c. 10. 4. c. 13. 3. & 25. 13. Deutr. 1. 15. c. 33. 5, 22. Josh. 19. 22. c. 21. 1. c. 22. 21, 30. c. 23. 2. 1 Kings 8. 1. 1 Chron. 8. 6, 10, 13, 18. c. 9. 13. 2 Chron. 5. 2. c. 28. 12. Mich. 3. 1. Isa. 9. 14. Judg. 8. 10. c. 11. 8, 9, 11. 3ly. For Kings and Supream Civil Governors, 1 Sam. 15. 17. Jer. 22. 6. 4ly. For a head city, or (f) *Metropolis*, Isay 7. 8, 9. Josh. 11. 10. 5ly. For an æconomi- cal head; so the man is called the head of the Wife, or woman, 1 Cor. 11. 3. c. 5. *times in Enchirid.*

e Christus cum
resurrexit a
mortuis prius se
Petro, quam
ceteris ostendit
Apostolis, quia
secundum Apo-
stolum visus est
Cepha, post hoc
undecim. In-
nocentius l. 3.
Mysterium Miltz
pars 1. n. 8.
Tom. 1. p. 321.

f Sancta Beth-
lehem caput est
orbis, Pruden-
tius in Enchirid.
23.

23. 6ly. For a Spiritual supream head; so Christ is stiled the head of [the] Church, the head of every man, the head of the heathen, the head of all principalities and powers, and God the head of Christ, and head over all, 1 Chron: 29. 11. Psal: 18. 43. 1 Cor: 11. 3. Eph: 1. 22. c. 4. 15. c. 5. 23. Col: 1. 10. 18. c. 2. 19. Pl: 118. 22. Mat. 21. 42. Now that *Cephas* signified any of these 3. last sorts of heads, the Pope must clearly demonstrate, or else renounce his headship as derived from *Cephas*. 3ly. Pope (a)

a In 1 Regum.
1. 4. c. 4.
b In Act. Apost.
Hom. 3.
c Extravag. de
elect. & elect.
potest. Jewels
Defence, p. 117
125. &c.

Gregory the 1. resolves, That Paul had the priesthood of the whole world; that he being converted to Christ, *caput effectus est Nationum*. Which (b) *Chrysostom* thus seconds, Both land and sea, and the habitation of the whole world is committed to Paul. How then could Peter be the supreme head? 4ly. As for Pope *Leo* the 1. his passage, seconded by Pope (d) *Nicholas*; That Christ hath assumed Peter into the fellowship of the individual Trinity, that so God from Peter (not from Christ) as from an head might diffuse his gifts into all his body the Church; it is a most grosse daring blasphemy, derogatory to Jesus Christ his Headship, Offices in the highest degree, contradicted by John 1. 16. Eph. 1. 23. c. 2. 21, 22. c. 4. 10, 11, 12. Col. 1. 18, 19, 20, 21. befitting only such blasphemous Pontiffs who stile themselves *Gods, and Vice-gods, as well as Heads.

* Here, p. 38,
39.

3ly. I proceed to those respective Titles, Names given to all Apostles, Ministers of the Gospel, and their Church-offices in the New Testament, neither of which imports or transfers to them any Supream Ecclesiastical or Temporal Jurisdiction, at least not such as Popes, Popish Prelates, Priests now claim and exercise.

1. The chief and first of all those Titles both for dignity and authority, is an *Apostle*: St. *Paul* resolving, that God hath set in his Church; (e) First Apostles; and that (f) when Christ ascended far above all heavens, he gave some (to be) Apostles, &c. the first and chiefest in order, as all (g) Divines, and Popes themselves acknowledge. Now what doth this prime title signifie or import? No jurisdiction at all, but only a messenger sent by Jesus Christ into all the world to preach the Gospel to all Nations according to his mission and commission, Mat. 28. 19, 20. Mar. 16. 15. 16. John 20. 21. Acts 26

2 1 Cor. 12. 28.
f Ephes. 4. 11.

g In their Com-
mentaries on
the Acts, and
Pauls and Pe-
ters Epistles.

b See Scapula
his Lexicon,
Calepine, Hol-
ske, Calvin, &
Riders Dictio-
ries.

i Mal. 3. 1. c. 2. 7

17, 18. Rom. 1. 5. *Αποστολῆς*, as all Divines and (h) Dictionaries accord, is derived from the Greek word *ἀποστέλλω*, which signifies to send in a message; Hence Mar. 11.

10. Luc. 7. 27. Christ saith of John Baptist, This is he of whom it is written, (i) *Behold I send my Messenger before thy face*. Thus Phil. 2. 25. *Epaphroditus* is stiled *Pauls Brother and companion in labour, and fellow-soldier, but your messenger*; and 2 Cor: 6. 23. *Titus* (whom the Pope and Bishops assert to be Archbishop of *Crete*) and the brethren with him, are stiled *Pauls fellow-helpers, labourers, and Apostles*, which our best Translation renders *the Messengers of the Churches*, and the glory of Christ: 2ly. This Title of Apostle was not peculiar to St. Peter, but common to all the 12. at first, Mat. 10. 2. Lu. 6. 13. 3ly. After Christs ascension the Title of an Apostle was given to *Matthias, Paul, Titus*, and some others, Acts 1. 26. Rom. 1. 1. 1 Cor. 9. 1, 2. Ephes. 4. 11. 1 Tim. 2. 7. 2 Cor. 6. 23. Gal. 2. 1. 17. 19. who were equal with, not inferior to the other Apostles. This is the highest Title given to them through all the Evangelists, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalips: The first they stile themselves by in their Epistles: As Peter an Apostle of Jesus Christ. 1 Pet. 1. 1, 2 Pet. 1. 1. Paul called to be an Apostle, Paul an Apostle by the will of God, &c. Rom: 1. 1, 2 Cor. 1. 1. Eph: 1. 1. Col. 1. 1. 1 Tim. 1. 1. 2 Tim. 1. 1. 1 Tit. 1. 1.

* John 1. 37,
to 40.

† Doctrinale
Fidei, Tom. 1.
l. 2. cap. 1. p.
138. 139.

‡ Mat. 16. 11, 22.
23. Mar. 8. 31.
32, 33. Lu. 4. 7.
8.

§ Mat. 26. 31,
32, 33, 75. Mar.
14. 29, 30, 31.
Lu. 22. 33, 34.

¶ Mat. 26. 51.
to 55. John 18.
10, 11.

‡ Mat. 14. 38.
to 22.

And their very Office in relation to this stile, is termed an *Apostleship, Mission, Ministry*, Acts 1. 25. Rom. 1. 5. 1 Cor. 3. 2. Gal. 2. 8. Therefore no title, office of Jurisdiction. 4. In this Apostleship of St. Peter, there are these memorable circumstances subverting his pretended supremacy over the rest, and whole Catholick Church. 1. That Peter was not the first Apostle by vocation, or age; for * Andrew, and another Disciple were called, and followed Christ as his Apostles before Peter; Whence (k) *Thomas Waldensis* (a great asserter of his supremacy) confesseth, *Petrus non dicitur Apostolorum primus, primitate vocationis, sed auctoritate praelationis*: *Petrus non est Apostolorum Princeps, senectute, sed potestate*. 2ly. He is not alwayes first named, but (l) of times postponed after all the disciples, and sometimes after James, John, Paul, Barnabas, (as Mar. 16. 17. 1 Cor. 1. 12. c. 3. 22. c. 9. 5. Gal. 2. 9.) 3ly. That he was (m) more sharply, frequently reprehended by Christ then all the other Apostles, yea stiled Satan; & one that favoured not the things of God but men; 1. for dissuading him from his passion. 2ly. For (n) his arrogance, and self-confidence, That though all others should deny Christ, yet he would not. 3ly. For (o) drawing his sword and cutting off Malchus his

his ear without command, to prevent his passion; and doubting of Christs power. 4ly. For his peremptory refusal at first to let Christ wash his feet. 5ly. For (a) his want of faith when he began to sink, in presuming to walk to Christ upon the sea. 6ly. For (b) refusing the creatures whom God had sanctified and commanded him to eat (and the Gentiles whom they typified) unclean, refusing to eat of them when God enjoyed him. 7ly. He more shamefully denyed his Master Jesus Christ, and that with Oathes and execrations, then all the rest of the Apostles, and that thrice one after another, notwithstanding Christs premonition thereof. 8ly. Christ doubted of the sincerity of his love more then of all the other Apostles, after his treble denial of him: Whence he thrice put this question to him one after another, but to none else, (c) Simon, lovest thou me? 9ly. St. Paul at Antioch withstood and reprehended Peter openly to his face, because he was to be blamed: First, for his Judaizing and complying with the Jewes: 2ly. For withdrawing himself from, and refusing to eat with the believing Gentiles, and that out of fear. 3ly. For his dissimulation, and not walking uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel. 4ly. For compelling the Gentiles, to live as do the Jewes. But we never read that Peter thus reprehended Paul, or any other Apostle, for any crime whatsoever. 10ly. The (d) Apostles that were at Jerusalem when they heard that Samaria had received the word of God, they sent unto them Peter and John; who went unto them by their order: Therefore the other Apostles thus sending Peter, were rather Supream, then he or John thus sent by them. 11ly. When (e) Peter returned to Jerusalem after Cornelius his baptism & conversion, he was there publicly questioned by the Church for his going to, & eating with them which were not circumcised, & forced to make a large Apology for it, by the special command of the Spirit, and the miracles wrought among them by him. Whereupon they were satisfied. If St. Peter had been so supream as the Pope would make him, it had been a great presumption in them thus publicly to question and arraign him for his actions; when as none must now question or judge the Pope for any crime or sinne how great soever; nor to say to him, Domine, cur ita facis? though he should send millions of souls to hell, and decree Vertues to be Vices, and Vices vertues; as the (f) Canonists, and (g) Bellarmine himself determin; He being paramount all Iudicatories, Tribunals whatsoever, and General Councils too, as they dogmatize. 12ly. Peter was the Apostle principally of the Circumcision only, and that not the chief, St. James residing constantly amongst them, and being Bishop of Jerusalem (as most averr) not Peter; who though he converted (h) Cornelius and his family who were Gentiles, and was sent with John to Samaria, and cured Aeneas, and raised Tabitha at Lydda and Ioppa; yet we read not, that he publicly preached at Lydda, Ioppa, or planted any one Church among the Gentiles, whose company he avoyded for fear of the Jewes. Hence Paul relates Gal. 2. 7, 8, 9. Now when James, Cephas, and John (who seemed to be pillars) saw that the Gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the Gospel of circumcision was unto Peter, for he that wrought effectually in him the Apostleship of the Circumcision, was mighty in me towards the Gentiles) they gave to me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, that we should go unto the Heathen, & James, Peter & John to the circumcision. Upon which account Peter directed his first Epistle only to the scattered Jewes. Now the circumcision and Jewes being but a very small number, the least part of the world, Church, the other Apostles mission being generally to all the world, and principally to the Gentiles, of whom St. Paul was the prime Apostle, (i) who spread the Gospel into most parts of the world, planted many famous Churches amongst the Gentiles, and in Rome it self, to whom he directed a several Epistle, but Peter none at all, nor was ever there, for ought appears by Scripture. How Peter, or Popes, can against all these particulars, with any colour of verity or ingenuity assert St. Peter to be paramount all other Apostles, undoubted head, or sole Vicar General of the whole Catholick Church, Let all Roman Catholickes resolve their consciences, and theirs who on all these grounds deny it. Yet notwithstanding (k) Alvarus Pelagius informes us, That the Church is called Apostolical, because it is founded on the Apostles, especially on St. Peter the chief of the Apostles; That the Church of Rome is titled, The Church of the Apostles Peter and Paul; Therefore the Pope is Summus Rector Ecclesie, dicitur Apostolicus, yea Apostolicus in many of his Bulls, and Canonists Glosses; & Sedes Apostolica, vocatur sedes Papalis in multis locis (of Gratian, and his Glossers there cited) Et dignitas Papalis officium Apostolicum appellatur; Et Lex Papa vel Constitutio, Apostolica instituta vocatur, & quia

Acts 10. 23.
14. 15.

Mat. 26. 60.
to the end Mar.
14. 68. to the
end, Lu. 22. 37
to 63. John 18.
25, 26, 27.

John 21. 17,
16, 17. John
13. 6, 7, 8.

Gal. 2. 21,
to 17.

Acts 2. 14, 17

Gratian Dist.
21. & 40. caus.
9. qu. 3. caus.
12. qu. 2. and
the Glosses
thereon. Alvarus
Pelagius de
Planctu Eccles.
l. 1. Artic. 4, 5.
6.
De Romano
Pontif. l. 5.
b Acts 10 & 13
& 8.

Rom. 15. 18.
to 26. c. 16. 26.
Ephes. 3. 3, to
12. Col. 1. 8.
27, 28, 29.
Rom. 10. 18.

Alvarus Pe-
lagius de Plan-
ctu Eccles. l. 1.
Artic. 55. f. 34,
39.

quia Petrus & Paulus principes Apostolorum Romanam Ecclesiam Christo Domino confirmarunt: Et quia omnes Apostolos fuerunt fundamentum & origo totius Ecclesie militantis: Et quia Papa est Vicarius illius magni Apostoli, desuper missi Christi de sinu Patris, ipse successor Petro, in quo tota Apostolica auctoritas secundum plenitudinem reservatur: Being all built upon the sand, since both the Title, Office of an Apostle, or Messenger, comprehend no Sovereign Jurisdiction in them.

The 2d. Title given them in Scripture, even while they were Apostles, is *Disciples*, and that as well after as before Christs Resurrection. This Title is given them more frequently in the Evangelists, and *Acts*, then that of Apostle, in many hundred places: and in Mat. 28. 19. Mar. 16. 7. John 20. 18, 19, 20. 25, 26, 30. c. 21. 1, 2, 4, 8, 12, 14. Acts 1. 15. c. 9. 1. they are stiled *Disciples* after Christs resurrection, and their Mission as Apostles: This title was likewise common to them all, yea to all Christians and converts to the faith, though no Apostles, Bishops, nor Ministers of the Gospel, Acts 6. 1, 7. c. 9. 25, 26, 28. c. 11. 26, 29. c. 14. 20, 22, 28. c. 15. 16. c. 18. 23. 27. c. 19. 1, 3, 30. c. 20. 7. 30. c. 21. 4. 17. Now this Title of Disciples, common to Apostles and all Christians, carries not the least colour or shadow of any, much lesse of supream Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in it, but rather of subjection to the doctrine, instruction of others who instructed them.

The 3d. Title, next in dignity to that of Apostles, is *Prophets*, and their ministry is usually stiled *prophecyng*; Acts 13. 1. c. 15. 42. 1 Cor. 12. 29. c. 14. 3, 4, 5, 6, 22, 29. c. 11. 5. Ephes. 4. 11. 1 Thess. 5. 20. That this Title carryeth in it any Ecclesiastical or Civil Jurisdiction, especially Supream, no mortall can conjecture, nor any now claim, since they disown this Name.

The 4th Title is an *Evangelist*, or *Preacher of the Gospel*, whose office is stiled *Preaching*, Ephes. 4. 11. Acts 2. 8. 1 Tim. 4. 1, 2, 5. Rom. 10. 8. 15. 25. 1 Cor. 1. 18. 2 Cor. 10. 14. And in this there is no Jurisdiction at all couched, much less Supream.

a Alvarus Pelagius de Planctu Eccles. l. 1. Art. 62.

This Title of *Preacher*, is not peculiar to Apostles, Bishops or Priests by order, but attributed frequently to King Solomon, Ecclesiastes 1. 1, 2. stiled *The Preacher*; *The words of the Preacher, the Sonne of David, King of Jerusalem. Vanity of Vanities*, saith the *Preacher*, *all is vanity. If the Preacher was King over Israel in Jerusalem.* And c. 7. 27. c. 12. 8, 9, 10. He oft saies himself *The Preacher*; adding, *Because the Preacher was wise he still taught the people knowledge; yea he gave good heed and sought out, and set in order many Proverbs: and the Preacher sought to find out acceptable words:* And as King Solomon, so King David his Father, was a *Preacher* too; else he would not have recorded, Psal. 40. 9, 10. *O Lord my God, I have Preached righteousness in the great congregation, so I have not refrained my lips, O Lord thou knowest. I have not hid thy righteousness within my heart, I have delivered thy faithfulness and thy salvation, I have not concealed thy lovingkindness and thy truth from the great congregation.* Yea other Christian Kings, as *Constantine*, *Oswald*, have been preachers and expounders of the Scriptures to their people upon special occasions, in default of able learned Bishops, the *principal duty of Kings being to endeavour the felicity and salvation of their peoples souls, as well as bodies or estates.* Thus *Noah*, (though no Priest by order) is stiled, a *Preacher of righteousness*, 2 Pet. 2. 5. And though the office of publike preaching the Gospel was principally committed to the Apostles and Ministers of the Gospel; yet it is specially recorded, *That when the Church at Jerusalem were all scattered through Pauls persecution throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the Apostles; Therefore they that were scattered abroad, (whom Zanchius the Jesuit, and Baronius too affirm to be above 15000. who were not certainly all ordained Ministers, but Lay-men) went every where preaching the word, and converting souls in Samaria and elsewhere; which the Apostles being informed of, sent Peter and James from Jerusalem to pray with, confirm, and lay hands on those they converted, that they might receive the holy Ghost, and likewise preach the Gospel in those parts.* Yea *Origen* himself about 200. years after Christ, quando Presbyteratus honorem nondum esset consecutus, whiles he was a Layman, at the earnest request of the Bishops of Palestine, ut de sacris libris disliceret, et publica eas in Ecclesia interpretaretur (for defect of able Ministers and Bishops to instruct them) thereupon publickly preached and expounded the Scriptures in *Casarea*. Upon which *Demetrius* (a person disaffected to *Origen*) writing Letters to the Bishops of Palestine, Nunquam ante auditum, nunquam factum esset, ut presentibus Episcopis Laici concionarentur; Thereupon they all, specially *Alexander* Bishop of Jerusalem, and *Theodotianus*

* Euseb. de Vita Constantini. † Beda, Mat. Westm. Holished in his Life.

* Alvarus Pelagius de Planctu Eccles. l. 1. Art. 62. See here chapter 5. b Acts 8. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. to 16. Zanch. in Act. 8.

* Eusebius Ecclesiast. Hist. l. 6. c. 20. Nicophorus Calixtus Eccl. Hist. l. 5. c. 14.

Bishop

Bishop of *Cesarea*, in defence thereof returned him this answer in writing, charging him with untruths, *Quod autem in literis dixeris, Nunquam ante auditum, neque iam usurpatum, ut Laici presentibus Episcopis disputarent, Scripturasque exponerent, in eo nobis (nescio quomodo, videris) perspicue falsa dicisse. Nam ubi idonei et habiles reperiuntur qui fratribus in verbo Dei adiumento sint, a sanctis Episcopis rogantur, ut populum in verbo instituant, et per exhortationes ad populum verba faciant, et id offendiculo non est: sicut Laodiceis Evangelis à Neone, Iohanni Paulinus à Celso, et apud Synodos Theodorus ab Attico, qui omnes beati et pii fratres erant, nondum Presbyterii gradu potiti, ac verisimile est, illud idem in aliis locis fieri, quambis nobis obscurum, et minime cognitum.* Nor long after this (a) *Adesius* and *Frumentius*, two godly Christian Merchants trading among the *Indians*, occasionally preached the Gospel to them, and converting them to the Christian faith, exhorted them to meet together, and celebrate divine Mysteries, which they exhibited to them. Upon their return from thence, and reporting the *Indians* conversion to the faith by their means, *Athanasius* thought fit to give them Orders, make them Bishops, and send them again to the *Indians* for their further instruction and conversion, to compleat that work which God had so happily began by them. Neither can Popes nor Popish Prelats deny this; for (b) *Bart. Buxiensis*, (c) *Dr. Thierry*, with other Glossers upon *Gratian*, (d) *An- gelus de Clavasio*, and most Canonists resolve, That the Pope, Bishops, yea and Priests too may license a meer Lay-man to preach to the people, and excommunicate Priests themselves, yea authorize women to preach, against Saint Pauls resolution, 1 Cor: 14. 33, 34. 1 Tim. 2. 11, 12, 13. Upon which ground about the year 1620. there sprang up a new order of *Jesuitesses*, or *She-Jesuits*, in *Italy*, *Germany* and other places; who took upon them to preach publicly and privately to others of their sex, and under pretext of promoting the salvation of souls, alia opera permulta sexus et ingenii imbecillitati & modestie muliebri & virginali praesertim pudori minime convenientia aggrediantur. The scandal whereof grew so great, that Pope *Urban* the 8. by his Bull, dated in *January* 1630. was enforced utterly to suppress their Congregation, Order, Houses. Pope (*) *Gregory* the 13. Anno Domini 1584. by a special Bull granted this special Privilege to the whole Society of the *Jesuits* and their *Emissaries*; to preach in all places without interruption, though not in Orders. Explaining and ratifying the Bull of Pope *Paul* the 8th. which as *Gregories* Bull recites, had granted them this Privilege. Ex illo concessionis huiusmodi tempore, etiam *Scholares*, & alii *Religiosi* vestri sacris Ordinibus nondum initiati, alias tamen idonei * ad praedicandum verbum Dei passim, & ubique mittuntur. Verum quia nonnullis dubitatio curiosius incescit, auditum privilegium praedicandi, etiam eos comprehendat, qui ad Ordines ipsos nondum ascenderunt: Nos quemcumque hoc scrupulo eximere volentes, praesentium autoritate declaramus ac etiam decernimus, vestrum unicuique etiam ad sacros Ordines praedictos non promoti, praedicationis munus in vim privilegii huiusmodi exercere potuisse & posse. Vobis insuper concedentes ut etiam Clerici vestri prima tantum tonsura insigniti, prout hucusque fecerunt, valeant, deinceps ipsum Dei verbum ubique populo praedicare. Districtius inlubentes universis & singulis locorum Ordinarius & quibuscvis aliis quacunque dignitate, & Authoritate fungentibus, quemquam vestrum quovis pretexto praemissorum occasione impedire vel molestare audeant quoquo modo. Non obstantibus Apostolicis ac in generalibus & provincialibus Conciliis edictis generalibus vel specialibus, constitutionibus & ordinationibus, ceterisque contrariis quibuscunque. Therefore this Title of an Evangelist or Preacher, can derive no supreme Jurisdiction, power to the Pope, (who seldom preacheth) or any other in and over the Church of God, since every Jesuit, though not in Orders, may preach.

This Liberty of preaching indulged by this Popes Bull to Lay-Jesuits, in all places without controll, hath been one cause of the growth of such Preachers during our late Confusions, many of these disguised Jesuits having bin preachers among us, & of the prodigious increase of the Jesuites beyond all other Orders of the Roman Church, (through the extraordinary favours, assistances of the Pope, and King of Spain, they being the most active Instruments to promote the Popes Universal Monarchy over the Church, and Spaniards Universal Monarchy over the whole world,) worthy our special Observation. Their Order, Society, by *Ignatius Loyola* his solicitation (the Founder thereof) was * first ratified by the Bull of Pope *Paul* the

a Theodoret
Ecclesi. 3. c. 23.
Sozomen. l. 3. c.
24. Rufinus, l. 1
c. 9. Cent. Mag.
4. col. 25, 26.

b Distinct. 96.
c bene. v. Lai-
cus. Distinctio
23. Mulier caus.
16. qu. 1. Ad-
jicimus.
c Distin. c. De-
cernimus.
d Summa An-
gelica, Tit. Lai-
cus, sect. 4.
e Laertius Che-
rubinus Bulla-
rium Roma-
num, Romae
1638. Tom. 4.
p. 115, 116.

* Laert. Che-
rub. Bullarium
Tom. 2. p. 361,
362.

* Hospinian &
Ludovicus
Lucius Historie
Jesuiticae, l. 1. c. 1
p. 8. Speculum
Jesuiticum, p. 1
H. J. Mullerus
& Maffaeus in
Vita Ignatii, &
Historia Jesui-
tica. Ribadenie-
ra in Vita Ig-
natii: Laertius
Cherubinus
Bullarium Ro-
manum, Tom
2. p. 528, 575

the 3d. October, 5. 1540. their Number at first not being above 15. or 16. increasing by Degrees was ordered *not to exceed 60. at most*; but 3. years after the Pope left it free to Ignatius and his successors to admit *so many as they pleased into their Society*. Whereupon they increased so exceedingly, that Petrus Rabadeniera Anno 1608. and Auberius Myraus, Anno 1620. published a Catalogue of the Number of their Colleges, Houses, Cells, in all quarters of the world, and of the fellows of their Society therein (besides their Novices and Scholars.) Their *Domus Professæ* then (within the compasse of 80. years,) amounted to 21. their Colledges to 371. their *Domus professæ separata* to 43. their Houses and Residentiaries to 103. in all 538. and their *Socii*, or *Patres societatis* in them to 13010. The Numbers of these Locusts being then so augmented, that Clandius Aquaviva their General boasted, (b) *That he could raise an Army sooner then any Christian King*: and in the time of the *Venetian Interdict*, when Pope Paul the 8th. was in some danger, *covenanted to raise him an Army of forty thousand men*, upon this condition, *that whosoever was slain in that war, should be reputed a martyr*. In the year 1640. (being their *Jubile*, or 100. year from their Societies institution) they published in print new Tables of their Houses, Colleges, Cells, then printed at *Antwerp*, with additions to the former; wherein Ignatius was portrayed lying along on the ground, with an olive-tree springing out of his Loyns,* as the root of Jesse, spreading it self over all parts of the world (Europe, Asia, Africa and America) with the names of every Colledge, House, Cell, in every leaf of this tree, in the Province whether its branches extended: they then amounting in the total to * 935. Houses, Colledges, Cells, and their *Socii societatis* in them to no lesse then 15591: their Scholars, Novices, and others admitted into their Society being ten times more in number. Amongst these, they enumerated no lesse then 15 private Houses, Colledges, Cells, in * *Provincia Anglicana*, in the Province of England, wherein they had then 267. *Socii societatis*, besides 4. Colledges of English Jesuites in forreign parts, one of them in Rome it self, another at *Lovain*, another at *Andomar* in the Netherlands, and the fourth at *Valladolid* in the Kingdom of Castel in Spain. Moreover they had then in Ireland and elsewhere 8. Colledges of Irish Jesuites; two of them at *Salamanca* and *Compostella* in Spain: in Scotland some Residences of Scottish Jesuites, who had besides two Colledges in forraign parts, the one of them in Rome it self, being so many seminaries or professed Traytors against our Kings, Church, State. (c) Ribadeneira, a Spanish Jesuit informs us, *Collegia & Seminaria Jesuitarum esse Hæreticorum exitia, & Apostolicæ sedis propugnacula*: And d Jacobus Crucius Rector of the Jesuites Novices at *Landjerg* An. 1584 writes; *Miles esse debet nostræ Societatis pater* (as Ignatius a fiery Souldier was) *quia ut Militis est, totis viribus in hostem irruere, nec desistere, donec victor evadat; ita nostrum est in omnes irruere, qui Pontifici Romano resistunt, illosque confis, ditis et scriptis, vocato etiam seculari brachio (hoc est ferro & igne) tollere et abolere, sicut Pontifer, et nostra vota, contra Lutheranos suscepta, volunt et mandant*. Nay e Edmond Campian the English Jesuit, in his *Dissertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, or Letter to Qu. Elizabeths Council, printed *Treveris* Anno 1583. p. 22. proclaims to all the world, *Quod ad Societatem nostram attinet, velim sciatis omnes nos, qui per totum orbem longe è lateque diffusi sumus, quorum est continua successio, & magnus numerus, sanctum fœdus inisse, nec quamdiu vel unus nostrum supererit studium & consilia nostra de salute vestra*, (that is, as his (f) own Treasons against Queen Elizabeths person shew, to destroy her, and her Kingdoms together, and as Ludovicus Lucius and Hospinian truly interpret it, *idest Religionis, Reginæ, et Regni vestri everfione, aut sub Papæ jugum reductione*) *intermissuros*. Jampridem inita ratio est, et inchoatum certamen nulla vis, nullus Anglozum impetus superabit. And this whole Society (as Watson a secular Priest in his (g) *Quodlibets* informs us) have long since boasted, *That they were the men miraculously constituted by God, who should turn all things in England upside down; and make such an universal dismal change in Church, Lawes, Parliaments, in such sort, as from the beginning of the world, the like was never heard of before, and turn our Kingdom into a Japonian or Helvetian Commonwealth, which they lately effected*. Therefore it cannot consist with the safety of our King, kingdoms, Church, State, Religion, to tolerate any of this spreading Desperate order of Jesuites amongst us, *i banished out of most forraign Popish as well as Protestant Kingdoms*.

§ Ludovic: Lucius Hist. Jesuitica l. 1. c. 7. p. 156.

* Speculum Jesuiticum, p. 209, 210, 211.

Nº. 1.

* Speculum Jesuiticum, p. 210. Ludovicus Lucius Hist. Jesuit. l. 1. c. 7. c In Vital Ignatii Loyolæ. Lud. Lucius, Hist. Jesuit. p. 157. d Lud. Lucius, Hist. Jesuit. l. 1. c. 1. Hospinian Hist. Jesuit. c. 1. Speculum Jesuit. p. 61. e Hospinian Hist. Jesuit. l. 3. f. 214. l. 1. f. 244. Lud. Lucius Hist. Jesuit. l. 2. c. 2. p. 187.

f Thuanus Hist. l. 74. Speed, Camden, & others in the life of Qu. Elizabeth Anno 1581. g Page 320, 334, &c. h See my Speech in Parl. & my Epistle to A Seasonable Vindicat. &c. i Ludovic. Lucius & Hospinian Hist. Jesuit. & Speculum Jesuiticum.

doms, States, for their manifold Treasons, seditions against their Kings, Magistrates, Government, and who made very many attempts to (1) destroy the sacred persons of Queen Elizabeth, (2) King James, were the principal contrivers of the late horrid Gunpowder Treason, to blow up our King, Queen, Prince, all the Royal Issue, Lords, Commons, Church, Kingdom, Religion, Parliaments at once, had a principal hand in the unparallel'd murder, proceedings against our late King Charles of glorious memory; and had no small influence in the late metamorphosis of our Hereditary Kingdoms, into the confused Chaos of a new Free Commonwealth; Having (as the General of the English Jesuites confessed to a Noble English Lord in their Colledge at Rome) Anno 1653 in England above 1500 of their Society able to work in several trades, (which the Bull of Pope Gregory the 13th. inables them to exercise, as well as to preach without Orders.) They having a Consistory and Council that ruled all the affairs of the Kings in England: into which they never came over in those swarms, as they did during our late confusions; as Cromwell himself relates in his printed Speech, Sept. 4. 1654. p. 16, 17. and being the Heads and Lay-preachers to most of our New sects, as well as Soldiers in our late Armies, and Garisons?

¹ See Camden, Speed in her life.

² Jac. 3. c. 1, 2, 4, 6. Speeds history, p. 1240. to 1244, 1250. to 1256.

Their 5th. Title (whereunto all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and that by divine right is now pretended to be annexed as inseparable, incommunicable to Kings, Temporal Magistrates, or to ordinary Priests, Presbyters, Ministers) is that of Bishop, or Overseer, and their office a Bishoprick, or good work, Acts 20. 28. Phil: 1. 8. 1 Tim: 3. 1. Tit: 1. 7.

To which I answer first: That if the Supream Titles, offices of Apostles, Disciples, Evangelists have no such Jurisdiction included in or conferred by them, as is pretended, then this of Bishop or Overseer, inferior to them, can have none, at least none greater or so great as they. 2ly It is only a Title of Ministry, not of Dignity; of Labour, not Honor; of Operation not Denomination; of Watching, not Lording or loytering; as Fathers and Councils in all ages have defined: I shall present you with a short view of their resolves herein, to abate that Timpany of Ambition, pride, superciliosnesse, luxury, which Popes, others challenge only from this Title of Bishop. (a) Origen (within 220. years after Christ) resolved, Qui Principatum desiderat Ecclesia, debet fieri omnium servus in humilitate servili, ut obsequatur omnibus in his quæ pertinent ad salutem, & h. c. docet nos sermo divinus. Ecclesiarum Principes, Principum mundalium imitatores esse non debent, sed imitari debent Christum accessibilem, & mulieribus loquentem, & pueris manus imponentem, & discipulis suis pedes lavantem atque tergentem, exemplum eis dantem, ut & ipsi similiter faciant suis fratribus. Neque enim ad Principatum Ecclesie venit qui salvari vult, etsi præest; sed ad servitutem Ecclesie. Et si oportet discere de Evangelio, Principes quidem Gentium dominantur eis, & qui potestatem habent in illis, Magistratus vocantur; vos autem non sic. Qui vocatur ergo ad Episcopatum, non ad Principatum vocatur, sed ad servitutem totius Ecclesie. Si vis credere de Scripturis, quia in Ecclesia servus sit omnium, qui præest. Propter quod ait Apostolus: Ita nos existimet homo ut ministros Christi & dispensatores mysterii rami Dei. Peccat autem in Deum quicumque Episcopus, qui non quasi conservis servus ministrat, sed quasi Dominus. Frequenter autem et quasi amarus Dominus dominans per vim: similis constitutus Egyptiis, qui affligebant vitam filiorum Israel vi, &c.

⁴ In Mar. Hom. 13. & in Eusebii Hom. 10.

(b) St. Ambrose resolves, Nisi bonum opus amplecturis Episcopus esse non potest; a Bishoprick being not a Dignity or Dominion, but a good work, &c.

⁶ De Dignitate Sacerdotis, l. 4.

St. Chrysostom Hom. 11. in Ephesios, Non dominamur, ait, fidei vestrae, thus resolves. O Dilecti, nec Domini more hæc imperamus. Doctrinæ verbi præfecti sumus, non est nobis mandatus Magistratus, nec data Auctoritas. Consiliarioz admonentium locum tenemus. Opus Imperfectum in Matth. Hom. 35. Principes Gentium dominantur eis, &c. Christus fructum humilitatis terrestris posuit, primum cælestem: et primatus terrestris fructum posuit confusionem cælestem. Quicumque ergo desiderat primum cælestem, sequatur humilitatem terrestris: quicumque autem desiderat Primum in terra, inveniet confusionem in coelo: ut jam inter servos Christi non sit de Primatu certamen,

nec

nec festinet unusquisque eorum, quomodo aliis major appareat, sed quomodo omnibus inferior videatur. Conversatio igitur melior est desideranda, non dignior gradus. Principes autem Ecclesiae sunt, ut serviant minoribus suis, et ministrent iis, quaecunque acceperunt, ut suas utilitates negligant, & illorum procurent: ut si opus fuerit neque mori reculent pro salute inferiorum suorum, sicut Apostolus dicit: *Ego autem impendar, & superimpendar pro animabus vestris*. Si hæc ergo ita se habent, Primatum Ecclesiasticum concupiscere neque ratio est, neque causa, quia neque justum est, neque utile, as he there proves at large. Denique ipsi honores in Christo in prima quidem facie videntur honores, reuera autem non sunt honores diversi, sed diversa ministeria.

c Ad Nepotian.
Epist. 2. c. 19.
d Epist. 3. ad
Heliodor. c. 7.
e Com in So-
phoniam, c. 2.
Com. in Epist.
1. ad Timothe-
um, c. 3.
f Ep. 13. ad
Rustic. Diac.

a Comaent. 1.
2. in Epist. ad
Galatas c. 4.

b Comment. 1.2
in Epist. ad E-
phes.

e Ad Evagrium
Epistola.

d De Civitate
Dei l. 19.
e Comment. in
Psalm. 126

St. Hieron thus backs him, (c) Illud etiam dico, quod *Episcopi* Sacerdotes se esse noverint, **non Dominos**: honorent Clericos, quasi Clericos, &c. **Unus Dominus**, unum templum, **unus sit etiam Ministerium**. Recordemur semper, quid Apostolus Petrus præcipiat Sacerdotibus, *Pascite eum, qui in vobis est, gregem Domini*; neque dominantes in Clerum, sed forma facti gregis. Rex nolentibus præest, Episcopus volentibus; ille terrore subiecit, hic servituti donatur: ille corpora custodie ad mortem; hic animas servat at vitam. (e) *Qui Episcopatum desiderat, bonum opus desiderat*; Videte quod dixit, *bonum opus* desiderat, **non dignitatem**. Ad boni operis desiderium eum provocat, **non ad honorem**. **Ministri sunt Episcopi, non Principes**: Etiam in altari Dei videant sibi Episcopi, si superbi sunt, Diaconos anteponi. (a) *Frates obsecro vos, &c.* Quæ quidem verba ad humilitatem provocant, & **supercilium decutunt Episcoporum**, qui velut in aliqua sublimi specula constituti vix dignantur videri mortales, & alloqui conservos suos; Discant ab Apostolo, errantes & insipientes Galathas vocari *Frates*. (b) *Subjuncti invicem in timore Christi*. Audiant hæc Episcopi, audiant Presbyteri, audiant omnis ordo Doctorum, **subiectis suis se esse subiectos**, & imitentur dicentem Apostolum, *Cum enim essem liber ex omnibus, omnibus me ipsum servum feci, ut omnes lucrificarem*. Et in alio loco, *Per charitatem servite invicem*. Servator quoque formam servi accepit, ut serviret discipulis suis, & pedes eorum lavit. Hoc interest inter Gentium Principes, et Christianorum, quod illi dominantur subditis, **nos servimus; et in eo maiores sumus, si minimi omnium fuerimus**. Yea he concludes, (c) the Bishop of *Eugubium* (a small despicable City) to be equal to the Bishop of *Rome* himself in power and Jurisdiction. Nec altera Romanæ urbis Ecclesia, altera totius orbis existimanda est, &c. Si auctoritas quaeritur, Orbis major est urbe. Ubiunque fuerit Episcopus sive *Eugubii*, sive *Constantinopoli*, sive *Alexandria*, sine *Tanaïs*, ejusdem meriti, ejusdem est Sacerdotii. Potentia divitiarum & paupertatis humilitas vel sublimiorem vel inferiorem Episcopum non facit. Cæterum omnes Apostolorum successores sunt; quid mihi proferens unius urbis (*Roma*) consuetudinem?

(d) St. Augustin determines; *Episcopatus nomen est Operis, non Honoris, &c.* ut intelligat **se non esse Episcopum, qui præ esse diderit non probesse**. (e) *Quomodo vinitori altior locus factus est, ad custodiendam vineam, sic & Episcopis altior fit locus, ut ipsi superintendant, & tanquam custodiant populum*. Et de isto loco alto periculosa redditur ratio, nisi eo corde stemus hic, ut humilitate sub pedibus vestris simus, & pro vobis oremus, ut qui novit mentes vestras, ipse custodiat. Custodimus enim vos ex officio dispensationis, sed custodiri volumus vobiscum: tanquam vobis pastores sumus, sed sub illo Pastore vobiscum oves sumus. Tanquam vobis Doctores ex hoc loco sumus, sed sub uno illo Magistro in hac Schola vobiscum condiscipuli sumus. Si volumus custodiri ab illo, qui humiliatus est propter nos, & exaltatus ad custodiendos nos, Humiles simus, Nemo sibi arroget aliquid.

In brief, *Primasius* Uticensis Episcopus, *Sedulius* Scotus, *Theodoretus*, *Beda*, *Rabanus Maurus*, *Oecumenius*, *Theophylactus* Bishop of Bulgaria, *Anselmus* Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, *Haymo* Halberstattenensis Episcopus, in their Commentaries and expositions on 1 Tim. 3. 1, 2. & Tit. 1. *Isidor. Hispalensis* Episcopus, de Officiis Ecclesiasticis l. 2. c. 5. *Concilium Aquisgranense* sub Ludovico Pio, c. 9. 11. & 13. *Gratian* *Causa* 8. quæst. 1. St. *Bernard.* De Consideratione ad Eugenium Papam, lib. 2. with infinite more unanimously resolve. **Episcopatus nomen est Operis, non Honoris; Opus, inquit Apostolus, non dignitatem, laborem, non delicias**
&

& honorem. Opus, per quod per humilitatem crescat, non fastidio intumescat. Ne igitur Dominatum et Auctoritatem solum expetat. Nec desiderare Episcopatum putandus est, qui suum desiderat lucrum vel honorem, non plebis salutem. Non enim dicitur, qui Episcopatum desiderat, bonum Gradum desiderat, sed bonum Opus. Ipse ergo sibi testis est, quia Episcopatum non appetit, qui non boni Operis Ministerium, sed Honoris gloriam querit. f Episcopi nomen non

Dominium, sed Officium, non Honos, sed Onus. Nec enim Dignitates sunt Ecclesiasticae, sed opus: eo quod unumquodque horum pro communi utilitate est constitutum, sive Episcopatus, sive Diaconia, sive unumquodque aliud. Curam potius hereditabis et Operam, quam gloriam et divitias. Non est Episcopus qui praesse dilexerit non prodesse: There is therefore nothing in the Title, or Office of a Bishop, (being only a *work*) that can give St. Peter, the Pope, or any other Bishop, Presbyter, Elder or Minister, any Supream or Ordinary inherent Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction independent on, underrived from the munificence of Christian Emperors & Kings, especially if we consider, that in the Apostolical Churches, and those next succeeding them in the purest Primitive times, there were by divine institution (g) many Bishops, Elders in one and the same Church, not one Bishop over many; That they were all of equal authority, who by a common council and consent, did feed, instruct, watch over, and take care of their Churches: that they were promiscuously stiled Bishops, Elders, Presbyters; there being then no real distinction of order and degree between a Bishop & a Presbyter by divine institution: Hence (a) St. Cyprian resolves, *Una est Ecclesia Christi per totum mundum in plura membra divisas*; Item Episcopatus unus Episcoporum multorum concordie numerositate diffusus. *Ecclesia una est, & connexa & coherentium sibi invicem Sacerdotum glutino copulata.* (b) Et si Pastores multi sumus, unum tamen gregem pascimus & oves universas, quas Christus sanguine suo & passione acquisivit, collegit & fovere debemus; Idcirco copiosum est corpus Sacerdotum, concordia mutua glutino, atque unitatis vinculo copulatum, ut si quis ex collegio nostro haeresim facere, ac gregem Christi lacerare ac vastare tentaverit, subveniant ceteri, ut Episcopatum quoque ipsum unum et indivisum probemus, they being all (both Bishops and Priests) ejusdem merito, ejusdem Sacerdotii, Apostolus perspicue docens; eosdem esse Presbyteros, quos & Episcopos. Idem ergo est Presbyter qui Episcopus, &c. as (c) St. Hierom and most antient Commentators after him on 1 Tim. 2. & Tit. 1. assert; which our learned (d) Bishop Jewel, (e) Dr. Raynolds, (f) Dr. Whitaker, (g) Dr. Field, (h) Dr. Willet, (i) Dr. Ames, and sundry other Writers have at large asserted against the Popes pretended Supremacy over all other Bishops, Presbyters, and the Catholick Church, and (k) Gersomus Bucerus, (l) David Blondellus, with many more have demonstrated in peculiar Treatises against the Usurpations of Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops over Ordinary Presbyters, Priests, Ministers, People, by a pretended Divine Right, not derived from Christian Kings, or Princes, from whom alone all their Episcopal Jurisdiction and Courts are or ought to be derived, as the Statutes of 37 H8. c. 17. & 1 E. 6. cap. 2. and other Acts resolve.

ad Tit. c. 1. in Evagrium Epistola. d Defence of the Apology, pars 2. c. 3. div. 5. c. 7. divis. 1. p. 128. 129. 148. e Letter to Sir Fran. Knols, & conference with Hart. f Contra Durazum l. 7. sect. 55. Controv. 2. qu. 2. c. 5. g Of the Church, Book 5. c. 27. h Synopsi Papismi, qu. 1. part 2. i Dr. Ames Bellarminus Enervatus Tom. 2. lib. 3. cap. 1. 2. k De Gubernatione Eccles. lib. 1 Apologia pro sententia Hieronymi, a most learned Treatise; Smectymnus.

The 6th. Gospel Title given to them, is that of Elder, or Presbyter; 1 Tim. 5. 1. 19. 1 Pet. 5. 1, 2. 2 John 1. 3. John 1. Tit. 1. 5. Jam. 5. 14. Rev. 4. 10. Acts 10. 17. c. 15. 2, 4, 6, 22, 23. c. 16. 4. Acts 21. 18. c. 23. 14. Which being the same in substance with that of Bishop, hath no supream Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, but only a directive, not coercive Authority or dominion included in it, as St. Peter resolves, 1 Pet. 5. 1, 2, 3.

The 7th. Title given them, is that of *Embassadors for Christ, to whom he hath committed the word of reconciliation, beseeching men as if God did intreat them (by their Embassy) to be reconciled to God, who hath made Christ to be sinne for us, who had no sinne, that* * 2 Cor. 5. 19. 20. 21.

f See the Unbithopping of Timothy and Titus, p. 9. 10. 102.

g Sect. 11. 30. c. 14. 23. c. 13. 14. 15. c. 23. c. 16. 4. c. 20. 17. 28. c. 21. 18. c. 22. 5. Phil. 1. 1. 1 Tim. 5. 17. Tit. 1. 5. 7. Jam. 5. 14. Heb. 13. 17. 1 Pet. 5. 1, 2, 3. 1 Cor. 14. 20, 30, 31, 32. c. 1 Thel. 5. 10. 15. Rom. 16. 2, 9. 12. Euf. b. Eccl. Hist. l. 2. c. 31. l. 6. c. 8. 12. Sociates Scholast. Eccles. Hist. l. 5. c. 5. l. 7. 3. Possid. in vita Augustin. c. Cent. Magd. 8. col. 679. 680. The Unbithopping of Timothy & Titus, p. 15. 16, 17, 34, 35. a Epist. l. 4. Epist. l. 9. b Epist. l. 3. Epist. l. 3. c Com. in Epist.

that we might be made the righteousness of God by him. But this supplicatory Office, carrying no Jurisdiction, but beseechings and intreatings along with it, derives no Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction at all, (much lesse Supream) to any who enjoy it; and its the same in substance with the Title of an Apostle.

The 8th. Title is that of a *Minister, a Minister of God, a Minister of Christ, a Minister of the Gospel, by whom we believe*; given to Apostles, Bishops, Elders, and all other dispensers of the Gospel, Acts 26. 16. Rom. 15. 16. Ephes. 3. 7. c. 6. 21. 1 Cor. 3. 5. c. 4. 1. 2 Cor. 3. 6. c. 6. 4. c. 11. 23. Col. 1. 7, 23, 25. c. 4. 7. 1 Thes. 3. 2. 1 Tim. 4. 6. Whence the office is stiled a Ministry, Ministration, and Ministering, 2 Cor. 3. 7, 8, 9. c. 4. 1. c. 5. 18. c. 6. 3. c. 9. 13. Rom. 12. 17. Eph. 4. 12. Col. 4. 17. 1 Tim. 1. 12. 2 Tim. 4. 5, 11. Hebr. 8. 6. Now as this Title was attributed to the Priests, Levites, and others in the Old Testament, without any Jurisdiction. Ezra 7. 24. c. 8. 17. Pl. 103. 21. Pl. 104. 4. Isay 61. 6. Jer. 33. 21. Ezech. 44. 11. c. 45. 4, 5. c. 46. 24. Joel 1. 9, 13. c. 2. 17. Hebr. 8. 2. So it signifies nothing but a servant, and their office but a meer service, without the least appurtenant of Jurisdiction, Sovereignty, Power, Dominion over those to whom they are Ministers, as is evident by Matth. 20. 16. Mar. 10. 43. Luke 4. 20. Acts 13. 5. Exod 24. 13. 2 Cor. 3. 4. c. 9. 1. Hebr. 1. 14. 1 Pet. 4. 11. Ezech. 44. 11. 15, 16, 17, 27. and sundry other Texts.

The 9th. Title is the same in effect with that of Minister, to wit, (n) *A Servant of Jesus Christ, servants of the Church, & their servants for Jesus sake, Pauls* usual stile in his *Epistles*, and *Peters and Judes in their Epistles*. Now as this Title is usually given throughout the Scripture to every Christian, servant, and other Ministers of the lowest rank; so it imports only inferiority and subjection to their Lords and Masters, not Sovereignty or Jurisdiction inconsistent in and with a servant, Mat. 20. 27. John 13. 16. Mat. 24. 50. c. 25. 21.

(a) Pope Gregory the 1. being the most humble, was the first Pope who (out of humility) stiled himself not only a *Servant*, but, *Servus servorum Dei*, in all his Letters, by whose example other succeeding Popes gave themselves this Title of humility, which was inserted into their antient Lawes and Decrees, but not in their new, as *Alvarus Pelagius* observes; who informs us, That the Pope stiles himself thus, because he is the servant of *Peter and Paul*; and that he is called a *Servant*, 1. Because he makes himself the servant of all, (like Paul) *that he might gain all*. 2ly. *Propter laborem & sollicitudinem quam sustinet pro omnibus, sicut Servus*. 3ly. *Quia sicut per Servum acquiritur Domino, sic per Papam cuilibet Ecclesie potest acquiri*. But this *Servus servorum* is now asserted to be, *Rex Regum, & Dominus Dominorum*. And that which (b) *St. Bernard* thus decried; *Abstine, Nunquid hoc, quia Summus Pontifex, ideo summus? hoc enim illorum est, qui dignitates virtutes putant, Augustis relinquit illam sententiam, aliisque qui divinis coli honoribus non timent, viz. Nabuchodonosor, Alexandro, Antiocho, Herodi*; is now become the Popes usual darling Title, which occasioned these two Verses:

(d) *Servierant tibi Roma prius Domini Dominorum:
Servorum servi NUNC TIBI SUNT DOMINI.*

d Glossan Gratian caus. 1. qu. 7. Alvarus Pelagius, l. 2. Art. 13.

e 1 Cor. c. 1, 2. 1 Pet. 2. 10. Lu. 12. 42, 43. Tit. 1. 7. Lu. 16. 1, 2, &c.

f Hebr. 5. 1. c. 8. 3. c. 9. 9. c. 10. 38. g Rom. 12. 1. Eph. 5. 2. Phil. 4. 18. c. 2. 17.

The 10th. Title is (e) *Stewards, and dispensers of the mysteries and manifold graces of God*, and their office is stiled a *Stewardship*, to give the household and their fellow servants their meat in due season; not to beat, abuse, domineer over, or enslave them. Now a Steward being but a servant, imports not the least dram of Jurisdiction or Dominion.

The 11th. is that of (f) *Priest*, (which Protestants allow of as a contract of *Presbyter*, but utterly disallow as used by the Church of Rome, for a *sacrificing Priest*) unless in respect of such *spiritual sacrifices of Prayer, Praise, Alms, & offering up our own souls and bodies to God*; Now this Title in this spiritual sense, is common to every Christian, as well as to Popes, Bishops and Presbyters: Witnesse 1 Pet. 2. 9. *But ye are a chosen generation, a Royal Priesthood, an holy Nation, &c.* (as all the Elect and Saints of God are there stiled) Rev. 1. 4. 7. where St. John writes thus to the 7. Churches in Asia. *Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his blood, and hath made us Kings and Priests unto God his Father.* Rev. 5. 9, 10. *Those whom Christ had redeemed with his blood out of every tongue, language & Nation, sing this New song unto him*

him that sits on the throne, Thou art worthy, &c. For thou hast made us unto our God, Kings and Priests; Rev. 20. 6. Blessed and holy is he, that hath part in the first Resurrection, on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be Priests of God and of Christ. From which Texts, (g) Tertullian thus argued. *Nomine & Latine Sacerdotes sumus? Regnum quoque nos et Sacerdotes Deo & Patri suo fecit.* (h) St. Ambrose resolves, *Omnes filii Ecclesie Sacerdotes sunt.* (i) St. Hierom determines, *Genus Sacerdotale & Regale sumus omnes, qui baptizati in Christo, Christi censemur nomine.* Which (k) St. Chrysostom thus backs, *Et tu in baptismo, & Rex efficeris, & Sacerdos, & Prophetas:* adding, St. Peter calls the whole Church of Christ, *A Kingly Priesthood.* (l) St. Augustin concludes, *Hoc Sacerdotio Regali, consecrantur omnes pertinentes ad corpus Christi, Summi & veri Principis Sacerdotum: Omnes sunt sacerdotes, quia membra sunt unius Sacerdotis:* Yea St. Bernard, in molt Commentators and all Protestant Divines from these Texts resolve, That every faithful Christian is after a spiritual & ghostly manner, both a Priest to offer up spiritual sacrifices unto God, and likewise a King, to rule over his sins and corruptions. Therefore Mr. Hardings inference from this Text of Peter, *That the Pope being a Bishop, may be a King,* But on the other side, a King may in no wise be a Bishop or Priest. That the Priesthood which is the greater, may contain the Kingship being the lesse; but not e converso, And Dormers inference thence: *You are a Kingly Priesthood, as who should say, the Priesthood before was not Kingly; for that their Kings (under the Law) (n) ruled over Priests; but now is the Priesthood Kingly, for that to it be subject even Kings themselves;* So that unlesse the Pope, yea every Popish Priest may rule over Kings and Princes as their Lords paramount, and that in Temporals as well as Spirituals, and all the world at their pleasures, they think they are no Kingly Priesthood) must needs vanish into smoak; since not only every Christian King, but private Christian, is as much, as really a Spiritual Priest and King too, by St. Peters and St. Johns resolutions, as the Pope, or St. Peter himself: Especially if we believe (a) *Johannes de Paris* his decision; *Sacerdotium dicitur Regale, a Regno, non hujus mundi sed celi;* and the Glosse on (b) *Gratian*, from St. Cyprians resolution; *Christus actibus propriis & Dignitatibus distinctis potestates utriusque discrevit. Hinc est argumentum,* (as the Glosse resolves) *quod Papa non habet utrumque gladium;* or at least it evidenceth, that every private Christian being both a Spiritual King and Priest, hath both swords as well as the Pope; who upon this account can have no superiour Spiritual or Temporal Jurisdiction over them, since **Par in parem non habet Imperium.*

To cloze up this Chapter, I can discover (upon serious disquisition) nothing in all or any of the Evangelical Commissions or Titles given to the Apostles or Ministers of the Gospel, that can invest St. Peter, or any other Apostle, Pope, Bishop, Presbyter, Minister, Priest, with Supream Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction or Dominion, much lesse advance the Pope to such a transcendent superiority over the whole Church, all Bishops, yea Emperors, Kings themselves, as now they exercise, prescribe, expect by their very *Ceremoniale*, wherein they inform us; *c Papa nemini omnino mortalium reverentiam facit assurgendo manifeste, aut Caput inclinando, aut detegendo.* Such is his Antichristian pride: But on the other side, the Emperor himself, when he is to be crowned by the Pope, (d) *ut primum videt Pontificem, detecto capite, illum, genu terram contingens veneratur, & iterum cum appropinquat ad gradus sedis, genu flectit: Demum ut ad Pontificis pedes pervenit, illos in reverentiam Salvatoris* (who never received nor required any such reverence from Emperors or Kings) *devote osculatur.* Yea the Emperesse, (e) *Imperatrix Coronata mox osculatur pedem Pontificis.* Moreover the Emperor himself, like a Groom of the Popes Stable, or Footman, must hold the Popes stirrop, and lead his horse, (as Popin did to Pope Stephen, and Frederick to Pope Hadrian, and as Constantine the Great did to Pope Silvester, if we credit Mr. Harding.) If more Kings be present, then the more worthy King must lead the Popes horse on the right side, and the other on the left. And if he be not pleased to ride, then four of the greatest Kings (whereof the Emperor to be one, if present) must bear the Popes chair on their shoulders, and the Pope sitting therein. At his feast: the Emperor, or greatest King, must bring water to wash his hands; they must carry the first dish of meat and set it on his Table. At his Coronation, two Cardinals Deacons must hold up the sides of his Pluviale, or loose upper Garment; and the Emperor, or in his absence, two of the chiefest Kings must hold up the tayl thereof. If they happen to offend the Pope, they must dance attendance barefooted

g In Exhortati

ad Castitatem,

h In Luc. 1.

i In Malach. c. 1.

k In 2 Cor.

Hom. 3.

l In Evang. l. 1.

c. 10. De Civita

Dei, l. 20. c. 10.

* Reges sunt &

Sacerdotes omnes

electi. Senten

tia, l. 113.

m Marlorat,

Calvin, Fox,

Beza, &c. Bp.

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of the Apology,

part: 1. c. 11.

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n Here, Fol.

40. Bishop

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712, 713, 714.

a De Potest. Re-

gali, & Papali,

c. 18.

b Distinctio 20.

* Gratian Dist.

65.

c Ceremoniale

Romanum. l. 3.

c. 2.

d Sacram

Ceremoniar:

l. 1. sect. 5. c. 3.

6. Bp. Jewels

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e Sacram

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2 28, 29. Martia

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Dr. Craken-

thorp of the

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24. Bp. Jewels

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naberg. p. 249.
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cus Æneid. lib.
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i Polychron. l. 7.
c. 26. Centur.
Magd. 12. col.
1071.
k Summa, pars
3. Tit. 21. c. 5.
Sect. 4.
l Mat. 4. 8, 9.

a Greg. Magnus
14. Epist. 38.
b De Confid.
l. 2.

c Doctrinale
Fidei, Hom. 1.
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Sect. 8.

d De Confid.
lib. 2:

e Job. 1.

f Job. 5.

g Psal. 230.

at the Popes gates, as (f) did Henry the 4th. the Emperor, and *that for divers dayes and nights, and in a cold frosty, snowy sharp season: Or, they must be whipped with rods on their naked body, as was (g) Henry the 2d. of England, who received three stripes on his naked body from many religious persons, and from others 4. or 5. who in great numbers resorted to his penance. Or else suffer the Pope to trample on their necks, as (h) Pope Alexander the 3d. did on the neck of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa*, justifying this his proud insulting over him, by a blasphemous wresting of this sacred Text, *Thou shalt tread upon the Adder and the Basilisk*. And when the Emperor replied, He shewed this humility, *Nontibi, sed Petro*; this insolent Pope retorted, *et Mihi et Petro*: Yea (i) *Celestine the 3d. when he crowned Henry the 3d. Emperor, and had set the Imperial Crown on his head, which he bowed down to him, the proud Pope sitting in his chair, Statim pede in terram excussit*, presently struck the Crown off his head with his foot to the ground; *designans per hoc, quod ipse Papa haberet potestatem coronandi Imperatorem, si meruerat, & deiciendi si demeruerit.* (k) *Antoninus avertis, Non minor honor debetur Papa, quam Angelis: Vnde Papa recipit a fidelibus (yea a Regibus et Imperatoribus) Adorationes, Prostrationes, et Oscula pedum, quod non permisit Angelus a Johanne Evangelista fieri.* Therefore he learned this humility and prostration not from this good Angel, but the Apostate Angel the Devil; who (l) *usurped a power to give all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them, to Christ, if he would thus fall down unto him and worship him, as Kings and Emperors do to the Pope; who though he files himself Servus servorum Dei in his Epistles, yet displays himself to be (a) Rex superbia, Rex Regum, & Dominus Dominorum, in and by this his Antichristian Pride, actions, and Kings, villain service. It is St. (b) Bernards instruction to Pope Eugenius, Bonus fundus humilitas in quo omne adificium spirituale constructum crescit in Templum sanctum in Domino. Nulla splendidior gemma, in omni praeipue conatu Summi Pontificis: Quo enim celsior ceteris, eo humilitate apparet illustrior in seipso: And it is the determination of (c) Thomas Waldensis, (a great Patron of the Popes Supremacy) Petrus sicut in Apostolatu primus erat, sic etiam in humilitate.* I wish Popes (who pretend themselves to be St. Peters successors, disclaiming all their premised Luciferian Ceremonies, Services, Exorbitances) with all other Bishops and Clergymen, may from henceforth demonstrate themselves to be Christs real Disciples, Apostles, succeeding all others in humility, by preaching, diligence in the Ministry, not in the usurpation of such Ecclesiastical Authority, for which they have neither precept nor president in the Gospel, as the premises demonstrate. I shall cloze up this Chapter with St. (d) Bernards words to *Eugenius*, which I cordially desire all ambitious Popes and Prelates seriously to consider: "En quis es: sed noli oblivisci etiam, quid? Quid definas intueri, quod non desisti esse? Hoc ergo consulo: consideres maxime, quod maximus es; hominem videlicet, quod & natus es. Tolle ergo nunc hæreditaria hæc perizomata ab initio maledicta. Dirumpe, velamen foliorum celantium ignominiam, nec plagam curantium. Dele fucum fugacis honoris hujus, & malæ coloratæ nitorem gloriæ; et unde es nude nudum consideres, quia (e) *nudus egressus es de utero matris tue.* Nunquid insulatus, nunquid micans gemmis, aut floridus sericis, aut coronatus pennis, aut suffarcinatus metallis? Si cuncta hæc veluti nubes quasdam matutinales velociter transeuntes, & cito pertransituras dissipes & exsuffles a facie considerationis tuæ, occurret tibi homo nudus & pauper, & miserabilis; Homo dolens, quod homo sit, erubescens, quod nudus sit, plorans quod natus sit, murmurans quod sit, (f) *Homo natus ad laborem, non ad honorem. Homo natus de muliere, & ab hoc cum reatu; brevi vivens tempore, ideoque cum metu; repletus multis miseriis, ideoque cum fletu: & vere multis, quæ a corporis & animæ simul. Proinde si consideras quantus es; cogita etiam qualis, & maxime. Hæc te sane consideratio tenet in te, nec te avolare finit, nec (g) ambulare in magnis, neque in mirabilibus super te. In te consistito; non infra dejici, non attolli supra, non evadere in longius; non extendi in latius. Tene medium, si non vis perdere modum. Locus medius tutus est: Medium sedes modi, & modus virtus. Omnem extra modum habitationem sapiens exilium putat.*

BOOK I. CHAP. V.

That Gods principal end and intention in ordaining Kings and Supream Civil Magistrates in the world, was not the bare external administration of Justice between man and man, the protection of their Subjects from violence, oppression, the preservation of them in worldly peace, plenty, prosperity; the punishment of Malefactors, rewarding of well-doers, encouragement of Arts, Virtue, Trade, industry, or fighting their battels in times of War against Invading Enemies; though considerable parts of their Regal Office and Sovereign Authority: But the advancement of Gods Honor, Worship, Service, Glory, and spiritual Kingdom, whose Vice-royes they are; the suppression of all Idolatry, blasphemy, sinne, wickedness, the promotion of the eternal salvation, felicity of their people, and to be Kings for the Lord their God, by advancing his interest all they can. Upon which ground (in order to effect these ends) God himself, as well under the Gospel as Law, hath delegated the Supreme Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction only to Kings and other Sovereign Temporal Potentates; not to Popes, Bishops, Priests, who are subordinate to them as their Subjects, not Copartners with them in their sovereign Ecclesiastical Authority in point of Interest; nor yet in its actual execution, no further then they are pleased by their Laws and Commissions to delegate it to them as their Substitutes. With a specification of the chief particulars wherein this Supream Ecclesiastical Power of Christian Kings and Emperors consists.

THE Grand Engin by which (a) Popes and Popish Prelats have robbed Christian Emperors, Kings, Princes, Magistrates of their Supream Ecclesiastical Authority, and monopolized it to themselves alone, is this grosse Paradox and Imposture; *That God and Jesus Christ under the Gospel, have committed to their trust, care, only, the Administration, Government of the Commonwealth and Secular, not of the Church and Religious affairs; of the bodies, temporal estates of their Subjects, not of their Souls, for which they are not to give any account at all to God; & That the Government, care, reformation of the Church, Religion, divine Worship, and their Subjects souls, are by Christs institution wholly and solely delegated to Popes, Bishops, Priests, and other Ecclesiastical persons, not to Emperors, Kings, or Supream Civil Magistrates.* Upon which notorious Forgery, and Mistake, they have, (b) First usurped, engrossed to themselves alone the Title of *The Church*, (when as the (c) definition of a Church, whether *Militant, Triumphant, National or Provincial*, accords not with them, but their flocks, people rather, and is no (d) *where given to them in Scripture*) and the stile of (e) *Churchmen, Ecclesiastical, sacred persons, Clergy-men;* (which Titles they deny to all others not in sacred Orders; styling them, *The world, secular persons, the Laity, popularity, prophane vulgar, unconsecrated persons*, as if they were no members of the Church,) when as the Scripture styles them, (f) *the Church, (g) Members of Christs body the Church,*

a Gregorius 1 Epist. 7. Stephani 7 Epist. Tom. 3. p. 899. Gratian Distin. 10. 22. & Hardings Reply to Jewel, See his Defence of the Apology, p. 689, to 710. b Gratian Cause 7. qu. 2. Dist. 63. & Glossa. Hic dicitur Ecclesia Episcopus, aliquando Ecclesiastici viri. c Mr. Tyndal, What the Church is. Harmony of Confessions, sect. 10. Articles of Religion, Art. 19, 20. f Acts 20, 23.

d See here, p. 44, 55. e See Summa Angelica, Rosella. Tit. Clericus & Laicus, &c. Bellarmin de Clericis. and the Texts forecited. Here p. 54, 54. g Ephes. 5. 24, 25. 1 Cor. 12. 12, 13, 14.

^a Acts 9. 13. 40 (and so Church-men, Ecclesiastical persons, as well as Bishops, Priests) (a) Saints, 51. 1. Cor. 1. 3. (b) sanctified, holy, consecrated persons, yea an holy Priesthood, being made such by their ² Cor. 1. 1. c. 13 very calling, the Sacrament of Baptism and the Lords Supper, their internal sanctification 13. Eph. 1. 1. by Gods holy Spirit, and washing away of their sins by the blood of Christ, (far nobler 1. Phil. 1. 1. Col. consecrations then their bare Clerical Orders, which no Protestants esteem a Sa- 1. 2. 4. 12. crament) and (c) St. Peter himself defines them to be Gods Clergy, Heritage, as well, b Acts 20. 32. as much as any Popes, Prelates, Priests, how great soever. 2ly. They have forged 1 Pet. 2. 9. two (d) distinct, incompatible Swords, Jurisdictions; The one Ecclesiastical, peculiar to 1 Cor. 6. 11. Popes, Bishops, Priests, and those they stile Ecclesiastical persons, not belonging to Emperors, Rom. 15. 16. Kings, or secular Princes: The other Temporal, exercised about secular things and Heb. 10. 10, 14. affairs, belonging only or principally to Emperors, Kings, and Secular powers; yet sub- 15. c. 13. 11. ordinate to the command of Ecclesiastical persons when they shall require or desire its pro- 1 Thess. 5. 23. tection or assistance to enforce their Ecclesiastical censures. 3dly. That every (e) Pope, 1 Cor. 3. 17. Bishop, Priest, as he is an ecclesiastical person, is as far above all Emperors, Kings, Se- c. 7. 14. 34. Col. 3. 12. cular persons, of what quality or dignity soever, as the soul is above the body; heaven a- 1 Thess. 5. 27. bove the earth; gold above dross; the Sun above the Moon; and God himself above man. Heb. 3. 1. 1 Pet. 1. 15, 16. 4ly. That the (f) Ecclesiastical Sword, Jurisdiction, Lawes and Constitutions are para- c 1 Pet. 2. 9. 5. 3. mount, and may controll the Temporal; not the Temporal command or restrain the Ecclesi- 10. Jer. 12. 2. astical. 5ly. That (g) Popes, Prelates, Priests, may interdict, excommunicate, judge, 8. Joel 2. 17. Deut. 32. 9. censure, depose, dethrone Emperors, Kings, Princes, and all Secular powers, persons; but d Gratian Dist. 10. Alvarus Pelagius De Planctu Eccles. lib. 1. Artic. 13. 59. l. 3. Art. 37. See here, p. 63, 64, 65. e See here, p. 35 to 40. Alvarus Pelagius l. 1. Artic. 13. & 27. to 67. l. 2. Art. 57. f Gratian Distinctio 10. Here, p. 35, to 40. Alvarus Pelagius l. 1. Artic. 13, 37, 22. g Gratian Distinctio 10. caus. 1. qu. 3. caus. 23. qu. 4. Alvarus Pelagius lib. 1. c. 13, 21, 37, 64, 74. Summa Angelica & Rosella, & Hostiensis, Tit. Clericus, Bellarmin de Clericis. b Alvarus Pelagius l. 1. Art. 22. Bellarminus de Conciliis, Gratian Dist. 36. i Johannes Paris. de Potestate Regali & Papali, c. 25. Bishop Jewels Defence of the Apology, 6 part. ch. 25. divis. 1. p. 557. Petrus de Palude, de Potestate Curat. Artic. 6. k Stanislaus Orichonius in Chymera, p. 97, 98. l Gratian Dist. 11. 40. caus. 12. qu. 2. Alvarus Pelagius, l. 1. Artic. 4. 5, 6, 34. m Alvarus Pelagius l. 1. Artic. 37, 38. Gratian Distinct. 22. caus. 4. qu. 6. Alvarus Pelagius de Planctu Eccles. lib. 1. Artic. 37, 38.

The clearing of this Proposition will give a fatal and final overthrow to all these Papal, Pontifical Sacerdotal Paradoxes, and Pretences; In Order thereunto, I shall desire you to take special notice of what (n) Alvarus Pelagius confesseth, asserteth; ⁿ Alvarus Pelagius, l. 1. Artic. 40. *Quod Politia unius Civitatis est Politia unius Principatus, nec possunt esse plures Principes Regentes in una Civitate. Quod omnes illi qui eodem signo & charactere, consignantur, & eisdem legibus eiusdem Legislatoris subijciuntur, ad eundem Principem pertinent. Quod omnes Christiana Religio, sunt eiusdem Principatus, &c. Quod Principatus civilis non distinguitur a Principatu Ecclesiastico, sicut una species ab alia, sed sicut partes integrales unius Principatus, &c. Nec potest dici, quod Christiani sunt unius principatus quantum ad spiritualia, & alterius quantum ad corporalia & temporalia, quia nullus Princeps vel Subditus Christianus potest aliquid licite possidere vel acquirere nisi in eo qui militat sub Principatu Christiano. Et quo liquido patet, quod civilitas Christiana et politia et quantum ad spiritualia, et quantum ad temporalia ad eundem Principatum pertinet. Et hoc clamat tota sacra scriptura, quod sumus omnes*

omnes Chisti fideles una communitas et unus populus, nos et nostri profecto qui nos sectantur; una enim fides, unus Principatus, et una Ecclesia collectio fidelium, Eph. 4. *Viso aut in quod politia Ecclesiastica sit simpliciter una, tunc facile est videre, quod unus est Princeps regens et dirigens eam, quia pluralitas Principatum non est bona, ut dicitur 13 Metaphysic. In una ergo politia, unus Princeps, ut patet in apibus, quia diversitas Principatum, divisio regni et politia est, et materia guerra et divisionis, Mat. 12. Lu. 11. Omne regnum, &c. Caus. 25. qu. 2. Si ea: Nec potest dici quid sit unus Princeps in ratione huius, & plures in ratione agentis et moventis: quia sicut declaratur 2 Metaphysic. in quolibet genere cause oportet unum primum dare ad quod omnia posteriora reducuntur: Et ita oportet in Principatu Chistiano esse unum priorem Principem regentem et moventem sive gubernantem totam politiam. Præterea ponere plures Principes non subalternos regentes et moventes eosdem subditos, unum videlicet ratione spiritualium, et alium ratione temporalium, est facere ordinem illius politia inconnexum, et non stabilem; quia interdum contingit Principem corporaliū præcipere pugnare, & Principem spiritualium prohibere illam pugnam, ut tota die contingit inter Christianos. Ista ratio optime probatur 19. Dist. ita Dominus. Contingit etiam illos duos Dominos et Principes eodem tempore præcipere diversa; ut unus præcipiat ire ad agrum, alius ad ecclesiam, quæ in eodem tempore non possunt fieri; quia nemo potest duobus dominis servire, Mat. 6. & Luc. 16. Subaudi contrariis. Quare sequitur ordinem, talis politia esse inconnexum et non stabilem, quod est inconveniens. Hoc etiam potest manifestari ex unitate finis: Omnes enim de civitate Chistiana ad eundem finem, et sub eadem ratione ordinantur, scilicet ad gratiam, charitatem & unitatem, quæ sunt vincula perfectionis in via, Col. 3. Eph. 4. Et ad finalem beatitudinem in patria ubi est illa unitas de qua Psal. 121. de qua Augustinus; non erit ibi aliqua interdicta disparis claritatis, ubi in omnibus regnat unitas charitatis: & de qua Gregorius, Tanta vis charitatis omnes fidei ibi afficiat, ut bonum quod quisque in se non accepit, in alio se gaudeat accepisse: Sed cuilibet uni fini correspondet, unum agentem dirigens in finem illum; plura enim agentia distincta specie et natura, non habentia ordinem ad unum, non possunt dirigere ad unum finem sub una ratione. Ergo in civitate Chistiana debet esse unus primus Princeps, dirigens omnes ejusdem politia ad finem proprium ejus. Et sicut unus homo (secundum Augustinum) primo creatus est, ut in eo et ex eo constitueretur una creatura, ut Caus. 33. qu. 5. Ita unus rector principalis totius illius nature, qui eam deducat ad unum Deum qui creavit eum, Gen. 1. Thus far his reasons are solid, evidencing the supreme Government of Christ over the whole Church, whereof he, not the Pope, is the head, to be incommunicable, & the government of every particular visible Church on earth in each kingdom, to be vested only in one King, & Sovereign Prince, not in the Pope, Prelats, Clergy, nor divided between them both, and quite subverts his conclusion thence: Quod iste primus & supremus Princeps est Summus Pontifex; especially if compared with his Passages in another Article, defining the greatest good, eternal happiness and beatitude, not worldly glory, wealth, greatness, to be the chiefest end, aim and reward of all good Kings; where he thus describes the duty, office of a King: Quid sit Regis officium? & qualis oportet esse Regem? Quantum ad officium, ita sit Rex in Regno, sicut ratio in corpore et anima, et sicut Deus in mundo: quæ si diligenter consideret Rex, ex altero in eo iustitia accenditur, dum considerat ad hoc se posuit, ut loco Dei iudicium in regno exerceat (Caus. 24. qu. 5. Regum) ex altero vero clementia & mansuetudinis lenitatem acquirit, dum per a singulos qui suis subsunt regimini sicut propria membra. Hæc Augustinus ad Marcellinum Comitem, Imple Christiane iudex pii Patris officium, sic succensere iniquitati memineris, ut non in peccatorum atrocitatibus exerceas ulciscendi libidinem, sed peccatorum vulneribus curandi adhibeas voluntatem: noli perdere*

* De Placito Ecclesiæ, lib. 1. c. 62.

Nota.

dere paternam diligentiam quam in ipsa inquisitione servasti. **Officium autem principale Regum est (mark it) dirigere suum regimen in finem bonum, qui est beatitudo æterna : Unde sic debent suos subditos in hoc mundo peregrinos regere, ut efficiantur Cives et Domestici Dei, Eph. 2.** Quia quando sumus in corpore peregrinamur a Domino, 2 Cor. 5. *Sed quia finem fructus divini homo non consequitur per virtutem humanam sed divinam, quia gratia Dei vita æterna, Rom. 6. perducere ad illum ultimum finem, non est humani per se regimini, sed divini.* Ad illum ergo Regem hoc pertinet principaliter, qui non solum est homo, sed etiam Deus, scilicet Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, qui homines Dei filios faciens, in cœlestem gloriam introducit, propter quod non solum Sacerdos sed et Rex in sacro eloquio nominatur. Hier. 23. This then being the principal end, office of Kings, according to my Proposition, I now proceed to evidence the truth thereof, which will appear,

1. By Col. 1. 16. *For by him (Jesus Christ) were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be Thrones, or Dominions, or Principalities or Powers, all things were created by him, and for him, that is, to promote his honor, glory, kingdom, Gospel, worship, interest.* Compared with Rom. 11. 36. *For of him, and through him, and to him are all things.* Rev. 4. 11. *Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honour, and power, for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure (or service) they are and were created.* Prov. 16. 4. *The Lord hath made all things for himself* (that is, to set forth his glory, service, worship, praise, Isay 43. 7. 21. Pl. 95. 6, 7.) Therefore much more Kings: who as they reign by him, Prov. 8. 15. upon that account they should and ought principally to reign and rule for him, his glory, worship, service, & their subjects salvation.

2ly. By Rom. 13. 1, 2, 3, 4. *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers: for there is no power but of God: the powers that are are ordained of God, &c. Do that which is good and thou shalt have praise of the same. For he is the Minister of God to thee for good,* (that is, for thy eternal good and salvation, as well as temporal good,) but if thou doest that which is evil, be afraid, for he beareth not the sword in vain; for he is the Minister of God, an avenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil, (to reclaim him from his evil, and others by his punishment) thereby to bring him and others to repentance, and save their souls; as Chrysostom, Haymo, Theophylact, Paraus, Willet, Grotius, Soto, with other Commentators on the Text, and Grotius, De Jure Belli & Pacis, lib. 2. cap. 20. de Pœnis, resolve:

3. By 1 Tim. 2. 1, 2, 3, 4. *Text here therefore, that first of all supplications, prayers, intercessions, thanksgivings be made, for Kings, and for all that are in authority, that we may live a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty; for this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour, who would have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth.* The chief end of Kings and Magistrates institution by God, being to advance godliness in and among all their subjects in the first place, and then quietness, peace, honesty in the second.

4ly. By Rev. 21. 24. Where St. John describing the glory and beauty of the heavenly Jerusalem, to wit, of Christs Church and its glory under the Gospel; subjoyns, *And the Nations of them that are saved shall walk in the light of it; and the Kings of the Earth do bring their Glory and Honor to it:* this being the principal end for which they were made Kings, to contribute all their Regal Honor, Power to enlarge the bounds of Christs Church, kingdom; promote Gods honour, worship, glory, and salvation of the Nations, people committed to their Government.

* Deutr. 6. 7.
c. 11. 19, 20,
21. c. 32, 46.

5ly. *Natural Parents*, as well under the Gospel as * Law, are enjoined, *to bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, and knowledge of the Scriptures,* Ephes. 6. 4. 1. 2 Tim. 3. 15. And natural Husbands are obliged, *to instruct and sanctify, as well as love and nourish their wives,* 1 Cor. 7. 14. c. 14. 35. Therefore Kings and supream Christian Magistrates, (the Politick Fathers and Husbands of the Commonwealth) are also obliged to bring up their Children, Wives, Subjects in the fear and admonition of the Lord, to see them instructed in Gods word, and endeavour their real sanctification and salvation. To these Arguments, evidences out of the New Testament, I shall accumulate many more out of the Old.

6ly. That memorable Speech of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon, 2 Chron. 9. 8. (most punctual and observable to our purpose;) *And she said to the King, Blessed be the Lord thy God which delighted in thee, to set thee on his Throne, to be*

be King for the Lord thy God: because thy God loved Israel, to establish them for ever, therefore made he thee a King over Israel, to do judgement and justice. In which speech (even of an Heathen Queen from the very light of Nature) there are these memorable particulars: 1. That the Thrones of all Kings, are not their own, but Gods alone. 2ly. That it is God himself who sets Kings upon his throne. 3ly. That the grand end thereof is, To be Kings for the Lord their God, who hath set them on his own throne to be his Viceroyes; to promote his Glory, worship, honour, kingdom, interest in the world, (as Solomon did) and suppress what ever is opposite thereunto. 4ly. To establish their Subjects, people for ever by setting up, establishing Gods true Worship, Ordinances, Statutes, Gospel amongst them, for their eternal salvation, and by executing Judgement and Justice over them, to the (a) encouraging piety, holiness, virtue, godliness, all good works, and cutting off all the wicked of the Land from the City of God, lest they should corrupt others, and dishonor God by impunity. a Psal. 101. 3. to the end.

7ly. This is most apparent by Gods primitive instituting the (b) First-born of every Family, and Kings themselves before the Law, to be not only Kings, but Priests too, as Melchisedech and others were: And the very Romans, Grecians, with other Pagan Nations creating their Kings, Emperors (by the very light of Nature) to be their high Priests likewise, as I have (b) formerly proved by sundry Testimonies; and (c) Alvarius Pelagius, Lyrain Gen. 14. Numb. 3. 12. & 8. 16. Bellarmin De Romano Pontifice, with other Romanists; (d) Bishop Carlton, and sundry Protestants attest with one consent. Because the care of Religion and Gods worship, the instruction, edification, salvation and eternal felicity of all their Subjects souls, did principally belong to them, as a part of, or appendant to their Regal dignity. b Here, p. 3, 4. c De Planctu Eccles. lib. 1. Artic. 13. 62. 63 d His Jurisdiction Regal, Episcopal, Papal, ch. 2. e Here, p. 8. to 18.

8ly. This truth is at large demonstrated by all the particulars I have (e) formerly insisted on in the Second Chapter, relating to Moses, Joshua, David, Solomon, Asa, Jehoshaphat and Josiah; as likewise, of the Kings of Assyria, Cyrus, Darius, Artaxerxes, Nebuchadnezzar, and the King of Nimveh, which I shall not repeat. All Kings and supreme Magistrates under the Gospel, having the self-same authority, charge, trust, to promote, preserve the purity, sincerity of Gods worship, suppress Idolatry, Blasphemy, Heresy, all sorts of sins against the first and second Tables; and endeavour the instruction, salvation, and eternal welfare of their Subjects, as they had under the Law; the ends, uses, grounds of Kingly and Magistratical institution, Government under the Gospel, continuing full the same as they were before and under the Law, and being all moral, perpetual, not ceremonial. f Psal. 2. 14y

9ly. This is most perspicuous by this precept given to all Kings by the King of Kings, Psal. 2. 10, 11, 12. Be wise now therefore, O ye Kings, be instructed ye Judges of the earth; Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice unto him with trembling; Kisse the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the right way. (Which they cannot do as Kings, unless they command their Subjects to do it likewise;) Compared with these prophecies concerning Christian Kings under the Gospel, Psalm 72. 2, 10. The Kings of Tarshish and of the Isles shall bring presents, the Kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts, Yea all Kings shall fall down before him; (and then by their example and Regal authority) all Nations shall serve him. Psal. 138. 4, 5. All the Kings of the earth shall praise thee, O Lord, when they shall hear the words of thy mouth, yea they shall sing in the praises of the Lord, for great is the glory of the Lord. Isay 49. 22, 23. Behold I will lift up my hand to the Gentiles, and set up my standard to the people, &c. And Kings shall be thy Nursing-Fathers, and Queens thy Nursing mothers; they shall bow to thee with their faces toward the earth, and lick up the dust of thy feet: Kings shall see and arise, Princes also shall worship: Compared with Isay 41. 1, 2. c. 52. 15, c. 60. 1, 10, 11, 16. c. 62. 5. The Gentiles shall come to thy Light, and Kings to the brightness of thy rising: The Kings of the sons of Strangers shall come unto thee, unto thee the rulers of the Gentiles and their Kings shall be brought, &c. And Psal. 148. 11, 12. Praise the Lord from the earth, ye Kings of the earth (in the first place, and then by their examples and edicts) Princes and all Judges of the earth, both young men and maidens, old men and children, let them praise the name of the Lord, this being the prime end of their creation, and Gods instituting Kings, Princes and Judges in the earth, both before and under the Gospel. 10ly

10ly. This is most perspicuous by the example of *Jesus Christ himself, the King of Kings*, of whom as *David, Solomon*, and other forecited *Kings of Judah* were types, under the Law, so himself is the president, pattern for all *Christian Kings* under the Gospel: Now the principal end, scope of the *Kingly Authority*, power, scepter of *Jesus Christ*, is the propagation (a) of *Gods Kingdom*, Gospel, worship, glory; the destruction of the *Kingdoms of Satan, sinne, and all kind of wickednesse, error, heresie, Idolatry, and the conversion, sanctification, salvation, eternal beatitude of his Subjects souls*, that they may *reign for ever with him in his heavenly kingdom in endlesse felicity*: Therefore it is and ought to be the principal end, aym, office, duty of all *Christian Kings*, who are his *Viceroyes*, and ought to imitate his example.

11ly. This I shall more specially and peculiarly evidence by some few texts and examples: 1. By *Gen. 18. 18, 19.* *Abraham shall surely become a great and mighty Nation, and all the Nations of the earth shall be blessed in him; For I know him, that he will command his children and household after him, that they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do Justice and Judgement*; that the Lord may bring upon *Abraham* that which he hath spoken. *Abrahams* chieft care (being then a (b) *mighty Prince* over his great and numerous family; and to become a great and mighty Nation) was, to instruct and command his children and household after him to keep the way of the Lord, that so they and all the Nations of the earth might be blessed in him.

2ly. By the whole Book of *Deuteronomy*, especially ch. 4. & 5. & 6. & 26. & 28, to 34. where *Moses*, (the supream Governour of *Gods* own people *Israel*) with all earnestnesse, exhorts and presseth them to keep, do and observe all *Gods commandements, judgements and statutes*, that they might fear the Lord their God, and love and serve him with all their heart, and with all their soul, and with all their might, they and their sons, and their sons sons, all the dayes of their life; that it might be well with them, and their children after them for ever, &c. This day the Lord thy God hath commanded thee to do these statutes and judgements; thou shalt therefore keep and do them with all thy heart, and with all thy soul; thou hast avouched the Lord this day to be thy God, and to walk in his wayes, and to keep his statutes and his commandements, and his judgements, and to hearken unto his voice; And the Lord hath avouched thee to be his people, and that thou shouldst keep all his commandements; and to make thee high above all Nations which he hath made, in praise, and in name, and in honor, and that thou mayest be an holy people unto the Lord thy God, as he hath spoken. This is the chief end of *Gods* instituting Kings and Magistrats in the earth, to make their subjects an holy people to the Lord their God.

3ly. By *Joshua* his last Speech and Exhortation to the children of *Israel* and their chief Heads and Officers before God, *Josh. 23. 24.* where he severally charges them, To fear the Lord, and to serve him in sincerity and truth; to put away the gods which their fathers served on the other side of Jordan, and in Egypt, and to serve the Lord their God which brought them and their fathers out of the land of Egypt, &c. Whereupon all the people resolved and answered again and again, The Lord our God will we serve, and his voice will we obey, and they made a statute, ordinance, and covenant before the Lord to perform it: compared with *Joshua 22. 11. to 34.* 4ly. By *King Davids* manifold exhortations and precepts to his Subjects to this purpose throughout the *Psalms*: especially *Psalms 34. & 37.* O magnifie the Lord with me, and let us exalt his name together: O taste and see that the Lord is good; blessed is the man that trusteth in him. O fear the Lord ye his Saints. Come ye children and hearken unto me, I will teach you the fear of the Lord. Depart from evil and do good; seek peace and pursue it, & dwell for evermore, &c. And by his charge to his son *Solomon*, all his Princes, Officers, and Congregation of *Israel*, *1 Chron. 28. 9, 10.* Now therefore in the sight of all *Israel*, the congregation of the Lord, and in the audience of our God, keep and search for all the commandements of the Lord your God, that ye may possess this good land, and leave it for an inheritance for your children after you for ever. And thou *Solomon* my sonne, know thou the God of thy Fathers, and serve him with a perfect heart, and with a willing mind; for the Lord searcheth all hearts, and understandeth the imagination of the thoughts: if thou seek him, he will be found of thee; but if thou shalt forsake him, he will cast thee off for ever. Seconded with this his publike prayer to God for them, *1 Chron. 29. 18, 19, 20.* O Lord God of Abraham, Isaac, and *Israel* our Fathers, keep this for ever in the thoughts of the heart of thy people, and prepare their heart unto thee; And give unto *Solomon* my Son an understanding heart to keep thy commandements, thy testimonies and statutes, and to do all these things, and to build the house for which I have

a *May 9. 2, 6, 7.*

c. 32. 1. to 6.

Psal. 2. & 110.

Mat. 25. 34.

Col. 1. 13.

1 Tim. 4. 18.

Hebr. 12. 28.

1. Rev. 12. 10.

Jam. 2. 5. Eph.

2. 1. to 22.

c. 4. 10. to 19.

* *1 John 2. 6.*

b *Gen. 23. 6.*

have made provision: Which ended, David said to all the Congregation, Now blesse the Lord your God. And all the congregation blessed the Lord God of their fathers, and bowed down their heads and worshipped the Lord and the King. 5ly. By Ecclesiastes 1. 12: c. 12. 9, 10, 11. recording, that Solomon King of Israel was also a Preacher, and taught the people knowledge, and that which was upright, even words of truth, for their everlasting welfare. 6ly. By 2 Chron. 15. 12. to 19. Where King Asa made the people to enter into a covenant, to seek the Lord God of their fathers with all their heart, and with all their soul: and that whosoever would not seek the Lord God of Israel should be put to death whether great or small, whether man or woman.

To omit all other particular examples of this nature already touched: From these Texts it is apparent, That the primary office, duty, end of Kings, (especially Christian) is to promote the honour, worship, service, fear, love of God, true religion, eternal salvation of their Subjects souls, and suppress what ever is repugnant thereto.

12ly. That which was Gods principal end, design in creating the World it self, redeeming mankind by the blood of Jesus Christ, and the King of Kings giving both the Law and Gospel to men, must certainly be Gods chief end, design in instituting Kings, Princes and Supream Civil Governors, the eminentest, chiefest of men, to be his Vice-royes to rule over men of inferiour rank or quality; and the most essential, real considerable part of their Regal or Magistratical office, duty. Now Gods principal end and design in creating the world, and men, (the Lords of all other Creatures) redeeming mankind by the blood of Christ, and giving both the Law and Gospel to them, was only this, that all (a) mankind might worship, adore, fear, honor, praise, blesse, obey, love and glorify him according to his word and will, whiles they live on earth, that Jesus Christ might rule in, and reign over them, as his kingdom, Church, Saints, and they might reign with, and enjoy perpetual felicity in, by, under him in his heavenly kingdom for all eternity, as the Scripture resolves: Therefore it must necessarily be Gods chief end, design, in instituting Kings, Princes, and Supream Civil Magistrates (the eminentest, choicest of all men) to rule over those of inferiour quality, and the most essential, real, considerable part of their Regal or Magisterial office, trust, duty, upon which Account, among others, God specially enjoined the Kings of Israel, to have a (b) Copy of the Book of his Law alwayes in their custody, and to read therein all the dayes of their lives, the better to observe it themselves, and to enjoyn all their subjects to observe, obey, and do nought against it; yea God himself with greatest majesty enacted this Royal Law by King Davids own mouth, for all Kings, Rulers to square their Government by; * He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God; which he can never do, without taking special care to maintain, promote the true Worship, service, fear, love, obedience of God according to his word, among all his Subjects, for Gods glory, and their temporal and eternal felicity, as David did.

13ly. This I shall evidence even from the very light of nature, and practice among the Heathen Nations. Plato in his Book *De Regno*, asserts, That the King hath *Universae humane Societatis curam*; that *Regia cura, ut qua principalis, in omnes homines ars est*; consisting not only in this, that *Rex est humanus Curator*, but also *Divinus Pastor* over all his Subjects: That the chief care of Religion, Worship of the Gods and feeding of the people belongs to Kings, they being a kind of Priests: *Quare in Egypto neque imperare licet Regi absque Sacerdotio. Sed si quis ex alio genere per vim Regnum invasit, postea tamen necesse est cum hoc genere initiari.* Quin et in multis locis apud Græcos Summis Magistratibus maxima sacrificia demandata esse, quis compererit, et sane etiam apud nos non minus clarum est quod dico. Ei enim qui Rex forte creatus est, augustissima et maxima patria vetera sacrificia, huic attributa esse tradunt. Hos itaque forte creatos Reges, simulque Sacerdotes considerare convenit, &c. (d) Aristotle his Scholar resolves us, that in the heroical times, Reges provinciam habebant & bellorum et sacrorum, nisi forte apud Sacerdotes attinerent: Postea autem partim quidem ipsis Regibus omittendis, partim vero populis recusantibus; apud quasdam Civitates sacra solis Regibus relicta sunt. Rex autem et Dux belli, et Iudex, erat rerum divinarum moderatoz.

And

a 1say 43. 41.
Pl. 95, & 100.
Rev. 1. 5, 6.
c. 4. 10, 11. c.
5. 9, to 14.
1 Tim. 2. 1, 2, 3.

b Deut. 17. 18,
19, 20. c. 30. 10.
Joth. 1. 7, 8, 9.
c. 23. 2. 6. c. 24
2. 1, to 29 Neh.
8. 1, to 18.
Bishop Jewels
Defence of the
Apology, 6 part
ch. 11. divif. 3.
p. 709, 710,
717.

* 2 Sam. 23. 1,
2, 3.

* Politic. l. 3.
cap. 10. & 11.

^a See here p. 4.

^b Genialium
Dierum, l. 3. c.
27.

^{*} See Cicero,
Oratio pro Do-
mo sua ad Pon-
tifices.

And among the Romans themselves, as their *Historians*, and others relate; their antient Kings, and after that their Emperors, were both Kings and Priests, and had the chiefest hand in performing the Rites and Ceremonies of their Religion, as I have proved, and shall further evidence by this passage of *Cicero* de Divinatione, lib. 1. *Apud veteres qui rerum potiebantur, iid. in auguria ferebant; ut enim sapere, sic divinare Regale ducebant; ut testis est nostra Civitas, in qua et Reges augures, et postea privati eodem Sacerdotio pradii rem religionum auctoritate rererunt: eaque divinationum ratio, nec in barbaris quidem gentibus neglecta est.* To which I shall subjoyn this observation of ^(b) *Alexander ab Alexandro*, Cum a principio urbis multa et magna sacra Reges obirent, ad quos de religione, deque sacrificiis et ceremoniis deorum Sacerdotes sæpe consultum ibant, qui etiam rem divinam facientibus aderant, ne bonis auspiciis cceptum confirmatumq; regium nomen post exterminatos Reges aboleretur penitus: neve de relictis sacris, regium nomen expeterent, longe antiquissimum rati, sacra quæ penes Reges erant, alicui demandare; *Regem sacrificulum crearunt, qui sacrorum Rex dictus, sine regio imperio, solo nomine rex, sacra quæ penes reges erant obiret ac Ceremoniis præset, quem creatum aut in locum decedentis suffectum, sicut reliquos sacerdotes, inaugurari oportebat. Eratque non annuum sed perpetuum sacerdotium, immune ab omni belli tumultu, Neque enim Rex sacrorum militare, stipendia facere, aut castris et Legionibus præesse poterat, propter suspectum invisumque regium nomen; neque magistratum gerere; aut concionem habere; vel cum populo agere. Namq; eius potestas sola religione et templis tenebatur. Primus enim *Manlius Papyrius* ex Patriciis, *Bruto* Consule rex creatus fuit, cui jus sacrificandi & de sacris decernendi reliquerunt, eumque Pontifici maximo subjecerunt; ideo in sacris epulis, post maximum Pontificem supra Flaminem Dialem Martialem Quirinalem accumbebat. Atque licet a principio a populo crearetur ex patriciis & multis honoribus functis, post aliquot ætates a minore parte populi selectis, relictisque comitiis (quibus fiunt Sacerdotes) ex plebe creari cœpit, tunc cum Maximus Curio plebeius homo rex sacrorum fuit, cujus uxor regina sacrorum hoc habet proprium, ut quoties sacra facit, ex malo punico virgulam quam in arcum dicunt pro insula deferat, quæ omnibus cal. Junonis sacram faceret eique porcum vel agnum mactare debet in regia. Ad quem vestales virgines die constituta annis singulis ventitare, & ne sacra negligerentur, quæ suæ fidei tutelæque credita erant, præmonere solebant. Erat ergo regis sacrorum munus quinto Idus Jan: Jano arietem immolare, diesque fastos prædicere, & nefastos, sacra procurare, & quæ sacrificia, sui essent ministrare. Ideo sacra facturi lanam, farra & fruges, lauros & verbenas, quæque sacrificio opportuna sunt, regem petunt: Adeoque tam intra quam extra pomarium populi civesque, quique in agris agunt imperiti morum civilium, atque una agricolæ, de sacris festisque diebus, consultum vadunt, & sacra postulant. Ipseque feriarum causas, & quid quoque mense faciendum, a quibusque cavendum esset, prædicebat præmonebatque. Cui hoc proprium dicunt fuisse, ut sacrificium in comitio peragat, quo perfecto nulla cunctatione vel mora se ex foro proripiat: quando vero divinis rebus perfectis in Comitium venit in fastis notabatur, utque Cal: Martiis fores regis sacrorum, Flaminis & Pontificis maximi nova exornentur lauro, sicut Palatinæ ædes & Augustæ quercus virides nunquam lauros habuere. Cujus filia ad sacerdotium Vestæ invitæ eligi nequeunt, nam privilegio honoris ab hoc onere immunes erant, volentes vero non vetantur. Quæ autem ejusmodi sacra fuerint solis Regibus credita.

This was the power, trust the antient Kings amongst the Romans had in all matters of Religion and worship of their Gods, which their Pagan Emperors enjoyed as High Priests, till they became Christians. The like power we read of in other Pagan Kings in *Diodorus Siculus*, *Boetius* de Moribus Gentium, *Strabo*, and *Purchas* his Pilgrimage, among other Nations; Hence *Theodorus Gaza* Thessalonienfis, (ad *Alphonsum* Regem Præfat: in Orationes de Incomprehensibili Dei Natura, D. Johannis Chrysostomi, quas e Græco in Latinum vertit: Operum Tom. 5. Parisiis, 1588. p. 360.) asserts, Eundem Regem et Pontificem olim fuisse accepimus, tanquam

tanquam Regis officio is fungi non posse, qui minus jura et rationes rerum sacrarum teneret, quas nosse Pontifices certe interest. Which he proves to be the practice among the *Grecians, Athenians, Romans, Egyptians, Jewes*, (out of *Josephus* contra Apionem;) and likewise adds, *Atque etiam Persos, Medos, Indos, gentes nominis magni, suos Reges vel ex Sacerdotium ordine facere, vel maxima familiaritate Sacerdotibus devinctos habere solitos legimus*: And he thereupon concludes, that though of later times the offices of Kings and Priests are distinguished, for the better discharge of both, being over-burdenfom for one person to manage; and thereupon *Quod etsi Rex minus divinam rem facit, minusque Iudex constitutus est rerum sacrarum, quas Ecclesia suo vocabulo spirituales appellat, Rationes tamen nosse earum rerum, et quemadmodum singula Christianæ religionis debeant, minime ignorare, proculdubio pulchrum est, et Majestati Regiæ consentaneum*; since Kings themselves ought to observe them, and to take special care that all their subjects do the like, (as he there proves at large) *quo plus apud eos (as it did apud te, Alphonsum) Religionis Charitas, quam civile negotium valet*.

14ly. Because (a) *Popes*, with other ambitious Prelates, Priests and Clergy-men deny this truth, together with Emperors and Kings Supremacy in Ecclesiastical affairs, to avoid mistakes, I shall briefly inform you, 1. Wherein the Supream Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction belonging to all, especially to Christian Emperors, Kings, (exercised by them in all ages, as part of their regal Office) consists; and then 2dly. evidence the truth of my Proposition by the resolutions of *Fathers, Councils, Popes themselves*, Popish and Protestant Divines of chiefest note, in a Chronological manner. For the First, This their Supream Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction is reducible to these short Heads.

a Baronius Annal. Anno 553. num. 237. Anno 528. n. 2. Clemens Romanus Constit. Apostol. l. 2. c. 38.

1. *By their royal Lawes, Edicts, (as well as examples) to maintain, establish, propagate, encourage, protect the publike sincere worship, orthodox faith, service, honour, glory, religion of the true and only God throughout their Dominions, according to the holy Scriptures: to encourage, defend, love all the Ministers and Professors hereof; to preserve peace, unity, concord in all Churches under them; and prevent, suppress, all Atheism, Heresie, Blasphemy, Idolatry, false or superstitious Worship, Heresies, Errors, Schisms, Profaness, Impiety, repugnant to Gods Word.

* See Centur. Magd. 6. c. 7. col. 440. to 452. Cent. 7. c. 7. col. 236, 237, &c.

2. To preserve inviolable all the Commandements of the first, as well as of the second Table, and punish all violations of them by Bishops, Priests or Deacons, as well as others of their subjects.

3ly. Though not to intrude, like *Uzziah*, on the Priests, Ministers, Bishops office, in administering the Sacraments, or constant publike Preaching the Gospel, yet strictly to command all Bishops, Clergy-men of what degree soever, within their Realms, diligently, faithfully, constantly to discharge their Pastoral duties, by frequent preaching, Catechising, Administring the Sacraments, & living answerably to their professions; And to enjoin all other their Subjects to frequent Gods publike Ordinances, embrace the true Religion, live as becomes the Gospel; and to punish all their negligences, extravagances, and scandalous offences, against their respective trusts, and Christian profession.

4. To summon General, National, Provincial Councils, Synods, to make, ratifie Ecclesiastical Lawes, Canons, and constitute Courts, Commissions, Officers under them for the examination, suppression of Errors, Heresies, Schisms, and better Government of the Church and Church affairs, when and where there is occasion.

5. To erect new Churches, Parishes, Bishopricks, divide or unite old, place godly Bishops, Pastors in them for Gods publike worship; the better edification, instruction, salvation of the souls of their subjects, and to provide competent maintenance for them.

6. To receive Complaints, decide Controversies, Differences in Religious or Ecclesiastical matters by way of final Appeal to them; to restrain, redress all Incroachments, exactions, usurpations of Popes, Bishops, or other Clergymen, upon their Ecclesiastical or Civil Jurisdictions, Courts, Rights, or Subjects Liberties, by Prohibitions or other means; and promote (as much as in them lies) as well the spiri-

tual and eternal, as temporal felicity of all their subjects.

This Supream Jurisdiction of Emperors, Kings, in and over all Ecclesiastical causes, persons, as well as Secular for their spiritual good, together with Christians professed acknowledgement of and submission to it, as well under Pagan as Christian Emperors, Kings, Governors, I shall evidence by these ensuing Authorities.

Anno 10.
a Bibliotheca
Patrum, Tom. 1
Colon. 1618
p. 8, 9, 10

(a) *Aristas ad Philocratem fratrem*, informs us; That King *Protholomeus Philadelphus* before Christs Nativity, demanding of *Eleazar* and other of the 70. Interpreters, *Quonam pacto regnum incolumis in finem usque à Rege conservetur? Et quemadmodum singula iuste perficere possit? & quomodo recte omnia servans & illasa, eundem filiis saluum tradat? &c.* Received these answers, *Si Dei mansuetudinem Rex in omnibus imitatur. Si considerat omnem sensum à Deo esse, proponatque ante omnia Dei timorem. Si non potentia sua fidat, sed Deum semper imploret, ut iuste sibi agendi consilia dirigat. Si Deum assidue imploraverit, ut rectos sibi sensus ad ea quæ in posterum peragenda sunt tribuat, & filiis imperaverit, ne gloria divitiisque superbiant, sed arbitrentur Dei benignitate sua cuncta illis elargiri, neque per sese alicujus rei substantiam possidere; ut omnem virtutis & sermonis sui pulchritudinem principum a Deo deducat.* And to this question, *Quid sit in gloria Regis potissimum?* He received this answer, *Deum venerari, non sacris, neque muneribus, ac cum animi puritate ac fide candida ejus voluntatem sequi.* All this they must do not only in their own private persons, as men, but as Kings and Sovereign Rulers, by inducing, commanding their subjects to imitate their piety, examples, that they may both arrive at the same ends, temporal and eternal felicity.

Anno Christi,
100.
a Epistola 10.
ad Smyrneneses,
Bibl. Patrum,
Colon. Agrip.
1618. Tom. 1.
p. 88.

(b) *Ignatius Bishop of Antioch*, (St. *Johns* disciple, and contemporary with the Apostles) writes thus. *Honozare oportet et Regem; nec enim Rege quisquam præstantior, nec quisquam similis ei in rebus omnibus creatis,* (therefore not the Pope or Bishops, being creatures) *nec Episcopo qui Deo consecratus est pro totius mundi salute, quicquam majus in Ecclesiâ.* (The Emperors being then Pagans.) *Nec inter Principes quisquam similis Regi qui in pace & optimis legibus subditos moderatur.*

Anno 120.
b Bibl. Patrum
Tom. 1. p. 96 g.

(c) *Polycarpus Bishop of Smyrna*, and all the Elders with him, in their Epistle to the *Philippians* thus exhort them. *Orate pro Regibus, & Potestatibus & Principibus* (as supream Governours, though then enemies to the crosse of Christ) *ut fructus vester manifestus sit in omnibus, & sitis in illo perfecti.*

Anno 150.
c Bibl. Patrum,
Tom. 2. p. 43.
G. H.

(d) *Iustin Martyr*, in his *Apologia secunda pro Christianis* (as well Bishops and Presbyters, as believers,) ad Antoninum Pium Imperatorem; styles him and the Senate: *Ii quæ præsumunt, qui non vi, vel tyrannide, sed religione & sapientia ducti ferant sententiam;* of Christians and their Religion: the grounds, principles, and summary whereof he relates, and refers unto his and the Senates judgements, consciences, Subjoyning, *Tributa vero & census iis qui a vobis constituti sunt Ubique in primis conamur pendere, quemadmodum a Christo instituti sumus, &c.* *Deum solum adoramus, vobis autem in aliis rebus læti servimus, Regesq; vos et Principes hominum esse profiteamur, rogamusque ut vos cum Regali potestate sanam bonamque mentem habere inveniamini.* And he concludes his second Apology in defence of the Christians and their Religion, (which he submits to the Emperors and Senates Judgements) thus; *Hæc vobis quoque considerata permittimus, ac si vobis rationi, veritati, que consentanea videntur, comprobate; si nuge vobis videntur, ut verba nugarum plena contemnitis, non in eos qui nullam injuriam inferunt, nec scelus admittunt, ut in hostes mortem statuatis.* And ends his first Apology with these words, *Quæ vestrum quoque erit pro Religione, Philosophiaque dignitate, quod ius & æquum est secundum nos (Christianos) iudicare.*

Anno 180.
d Ad Autolium,
Tom. 1. i. Bibl.
Patrum, Tom. 1
p. 158. D.

(e) *Theophilus Patriarch of Antioch* living about the year 180. under the Emperors *Marcus Aurelius* and *Commodus*, writes thus of himself (and all Christians too) in that age, *Contra Christiana Religionis calumniatores. Simulacra & Dii Gentium, opera sunt quæ confecit manus humana, & demonia impurissima, &c.* *Quæ cum ita sint, magis honorabo Regem sive Cæsarem, non tamen eum adorabo, verum pro eo orabo. Deum qui verè Deus est adorabo, sciens Cæsarem ab ipso esse ordinatum. Dico ergo, Quare Regem sive Cæsarem adorare recusas? Quia non ad id institutus est ut adoretur, sed ut legitimo, qui ipsi congruit honoretur honore. Rex enim sive Cæsar, Deus non est, sed nimirum se esse hominem, a Deo in hanc dignitatem promotum*

tum, non ut adoretur, sed ut iuste, quemadmodum iustitia erigit; iudicet. Nam Regnum, sive Imperium, rerumque administratio ipsi a Deo commissa et demandata est. Hinc Caesar, sive Rex, neminem subditorum aut Regem aut Casarem appellari vult. Regium enim sive Casareum nomen ipsi soli competit, nec alius id vendicare audeat. Ita adorandi cultus nemini nisi Deo soli deferendus est. Regem quidem sive Casarem honoro: honora, inquam, magna cum benevolentia, subjectus ei existens, et orans pro eo. hæc faciens Dei voluntatem exequeris; Nam divitiarum legis hic tenor est: * Honora fili mi Deum, & Regem; nec unquam eorū inobediens sis, subito enim hostes suos ulcisci possunt.

(f) Irenæus Bishop of Lyons in France, resolves and proves from Prov. 8. & Rom. 13. Non Diabolus determinavit huius mundi Regna, sed Deus: Regis enim cor in manu Dei est: & per Solomonem, ait verbum, Per me Reges regnant, &c. Ad utilitatem ergo Gentilium positum est a Deo, sed non a Diabolo, ut timentes regnum humanum, non alterutrum se homines vice piscium confundant, sed per legum positiones repercutiant multiplicem Gentilium iniustitiam. Et secundum hoc Dei Ministri sunt, qui tributa exigunt a nobis, in hoc ipsum servientes; Quæ sunt potestates a Deo ordinatæ sunt. Cuius enim iussu homines nascuntur, huius iussu et Reges constituuntur, apti his qui in illo tempore ab ipsis regantur. And elsewhere he writes thus to the Roman Emperors, (b) Know ye, O Emperors, what is committed to you; totus orbis sub manum vestram subditus est. Therefore the Pope and all Bishops, Prelates whatsoever, are under their power.

(c) Athenagoras a famous Christian Philosopher, thus begins his *Apologia*, sive pro Christianis Legatio, dedicated to the Pagan Roman Emperors Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and Aurelius Commodus; Qui vestrum Imperium, maximi Reges, longe lateque per orbem terrarum agnoverunt, moribus & legibus inter se diversis degunt, &c. (worshipping their several Gods, and retaining the religions and ceremonies received from their ancestors without any restraints or penalties, under them, as he proves at large) Quid multis? Gentes & Nationes hominum passim iis, quæ approbaverunt quæque, sacris & mysteriis addita sunt. Atque hæc per vos omnibus licent, hæc leges concedunt; ea nimirum ratione, quod nimen omnino tollere, scelus et impietas videatur; Deorum autem quod sibi quisque delegerit cultus, res necessaria, ut divinæ iustitiæ metu, a malefactis abstinere mortales. Denique universus hic terrarum orbis, vestræ prudentiæ beneficio altissima pace, (& Deorum suorum cultu) perfruitur: Nostri tantum qui Christiani vocamur; nulla vobis cura est; finitis enim nos, qui nihil mali patramus, imo omnium piissimè iustissimèque cum erga Deum, tum Imperium vestrum nos gerimus, erarari, rapi, fugari, &c. Proinde vos obsecramus, ut nostri aliquam curam suscipiatis, quo aliquando tandem ab huiusmodi calumniatoribus jugulari desinamus; Then declaring at large the innocence, purity, allegiance, loyalty and obedience of the Christians, the truth, purity of the Deity they worshipped, and Christian Religion they professed; The vanity, impurity of the Images and Idol-gods the Gentiles worshipped, he concludes thus; Vos vero undequaque in omnibus natura simul & disciplina boni, moderati, benigni, & imperio digni Principes, mihi (obsecro) qui crimina nobis obiecta dissolvi, et insuper nos esse pios erga Deum, vita et moribus honestos, animo sobrios et temperantes ostendi, capitibus Regis annuite: Ecqui enim consequentur æquius ea quæ petunt, quam nos adeo vobis devoti addictique? Nos enim pro Imperio vestro preces ad Deum fundimus, et ut filius (quod iustissimum est) in regno olim parenti cedat, utque Imperium vestrum augeatur; denique omnia ex animi sententia eveniant, oramus, quod et nobis salutare fuerit, ut quietam tranquillamque vitam agentes, vobis interim ad quælibet Imperata promptè inserviamus.

* Prov. 24. 21, 22.

Anno 180.
a Adversus Hæreses l. 5. p. 599, 600, 601.

b Jacobus Langus Notæ ad Justin Martyris Oratio ad Anton: p. 117.

Anno 190.
c Bibliotheca Patrum, Tom. 2. p. 129, 139, 140.

Anno 200.
a Ad Scapulum
l. 1 p. 162, 163.

* Cap. 30, 31.

* He answers
this cavil.

* Matth. 5. 44,
45. Lu. 6. 27,
28.

† 1 Tim. 2. 1, 2

(a) *Tertullian*, who flourished about 200. years after Christs Nativity, brings in all the Christians of his age, in his Apology for them, thus acknowledging the Emperors Supremacy over them, as well Clergy as Laity; and their Loyalty, obedience, subjection to, and prayers for him. *Christianus nullius est hostis, ne dum Imperatoris, quem sciens a Deo suo constitui, necesse est ut et ipsum diligat, et revereatur, et honoret, et saluum velit cum toto Romano Imperio, quousq; seculum stabit: tandiu enim stabit &c. Colimus ergo et Imperatorem sic quomodo, et nobis licet, et ipsi ex pedit, ut hominem a Deo secundum, et quicquid est a Deo consecutum solo Deo minorem. Sic enim omnibus maior est dum Deo vero minor est. Sic et ipsis Diis maior est, dum et ipsi in potestate sunt ejus. Itaque et sacrificamus pro salute Imp. sed Deo nostro et ipsius, sed quomodo precepit Deus, pura prece; Ita nos oramus magis pro salute Imperatoris, ab eo eam postulantes qui prestare potest. Which* he thus seconds in his most Elegant * *Apologetic. adversus Gentes*; who amongst other slanders, charged them with high Treason against the Emperor, and as publike Enemies to him; whereunto he returned this answer. *Ventum est ad secundum titulum lasa Augustioris Majestatis, &c. Propterea igitur publici hostes Christiani, quia Imperatoribus neque vatos neque mentientes, neque temerarios honores dicant; quia vera Religionis homines sollemnia eorum conscientia potius quam lascivia celebrant, &c. Insuper eos debellatis qui salutem Imperatorum sciunt petere, qui etiam possint impetrare dum sciunt petere. Nos enim pro salute Imperatorum Deum invocamus æternum, Deum verum, et Deum vivum, quem et ipsi Imperatores propitium sibi præter ceteros malunt. Sciunt quis illis dederit imperium, sciunt quis homines, quis et animas. Sentiant Deum esse solum, in cujus solius potestate sunt, a quo sunt secundi, post quem primi, ante omnes et super omnes Deos, homines, &c. Inde est Imperator, unde et homo antiquam Imperator: inde potestas ei, unde et Spiritus. Illuc sufficientes Christiani manibus expansis, quia innocuis, capite nudo, quia non erubescimus, Denique sine monitore, quia de pectore oramus, precantes sumus semper pro omnibus Imperatoribus, vitam illis proliam, imperium securum, domum tutam, Exercitus fortes, Senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum, quæcunque hominis et Cæsaris vota sunt. Hæc ab alio orare non possum, quam a quo sciam me consecuturum, quoniam & ipse est qui solus prestat, &c. Sic itaque nos ad Deum expansos, ungula fodiant, cruces suffendant, ignes lambant, gladii guttura detrucent, bestie insiliant; paratus est ad omne supplicium ipse habitus orantis Christiani. Hoc agite, boni Imperatores, ertorquete animam Deo supplicantem pro Imperatore. Hoc erit crimen ubi veritas & Dei devotio est. Adeo lati nunc sumus Imperatori, & mentiti vota quæ diximus ad evadendum scilicet. Plane proficit ista fallacia. Admittitis enim nos probare quodcunque defendimus. Qui ergo putas, nihil nos de salute Cæsarium curare. Inspecte Dei voces, literas nostras quas neque ipsi suppressi omnes & plerique casus ad extraneos transferent. Scitote ex illis præceptum esse nobis, ad reducantiam benignitatis, * etiam pro inimicis Deum orare, & persecutoribus nostris bene precari. Qui magis inimici & persecutores Christianorum quam de quorum Majestate convenimus in crimen? Sed etiam nominatim & manifeste † Orate, inquit, pro Regibus, & pro Principibus & Potestatibus, ut omnia tranquilla sint. Vobiscum enim concutitur imperium, concussis etiam ceteris membris ejus, utique & nos (licet extranei a turbis aestimemur) in aliquo loco invenimur. Est et alia major necessitas nobis orandi pro Imperatoribus, etiam pro omni statu imperii rebusque Romanis, quod vini maximam Universalis Orbis imminentem, ipsamque Clausuram seculi acerbitates horrendas comminantem, Romani Imperii commeatu scimus retardari. Itaque nolumus experiri, et dum precamur differri. Romanæ diuturnitati favemus. Sed quid ego amplius de Religione et pietate*

pietate Christiana in Imperatorem? quem necesse est suspiciamus, ut eum quem Dominus noster elegerit, ut merito dixerim, noster est magis Cæsar, ut a nostro Deo constitutus. Itaque ut plus meo, plus ego illi operor in salutem, &c. Idem sumus Imperatoribus, qui et vicinis nostris. Male enim velle, male facere, male dicere, male cogitare de quoquam ex æquo vetatur; quodcumque non licet in Imperatorem, id nec in quempiam; quod in neminem, forsitan magis nec in ipsum, qui per Deum tantus est. And *Adversus Marcionem*, l. 1. (who maintained two distinct Gods, and Principles of equal power) He thus determines; *Summum magnum par non habere. Par autem non habere uni competit, in duobus esse nullo modo possit.* Rer enim etsi summum magnum est in suo solio usque ad Deum; tamen infra Deum; comparatus autem ad Deum, excidit jam de summo magno translato in Deum. Nec inter Reges plurimum videre potest summum magnum, sed unicum & singulare, apud eum scilicet qui Rex Regum, ob summam magnitudinem, & subjectionem ceterorum gradum quasi culmen dominationis excipitur. It being an impossibility and contradiction (as he there proves at large) to have two Supreme heads in one kingdom, or any equal to the King, who is only inferior to God, the King of Kings when compared with him.

* *Clement Alexandrinus*, describing the offices and parts of a King both in times of Warre and Peace, addes, *Regnandi autem scientia una pars quidem fuerit divina, cuiusmodi est quæ est ex Deo, et Sancto eius filio, a quibus et quæ ex terra bona sunt, et quæ externa et perfecta suppedantur felicitas, &c. Finem ad pietatem Deique cultum referens: sic enim virtute, utentibus prudentia est quæ orinat; Divina autem, sapientia; politica, seu regendorum Civitatum, scientia. Rex itaque is est, qui imperat ex legibus, qui est prælitus scientia imperandi volentibus, cuiusmodi est Dominus, qui eos qui in ipsum et per ipsum credunt admittit. Omnia enim tradidit Deus, et omnia Christo subiecit, Regi nostro, &c.*

(a) *Origen* flourishing within 230. years after Christ, thus answers *Celsus* his objection against the Christians; Postremo hortetur nos *Celsus*, ut opem feramus Imperatori totis viribus, & geramus ejus auspiciis iusta pique bella, neque detractemus militiam si res ita postulat. Respondemus: feremus Imperatori auxilia suo tempore, sed divina, ut ita loquar, nimirum armatura fretos non humana. Itaque facimus Apostoli monitis obediens, cuius hæc verba sunt: Obsecro vos primum ut faciatis deprecationes, orationes, interpellationes, gratiarum actiones, pro omnibus hominibus, pro Regibus & omnibus in potestate collocatis. Et quicujusq; est pietas major, eo majorem opem Imperatori fert, magis quam stantes in procinctu milites et occidentes quotquot possunt ex hostibus. Possumus etiam sic respondere alienis a nostra fide, & ad militiam pro Republica cædesque hominum nos urgentibus. Ecce vestrum quoque numinum Sacerdotes & delubrorum custodes dexteras servant puras a sanguine, causa sacrorum, ut incruentis, in pollutisque eade manibus victimas offerant solenniter iis quos habetis pro Diis, nec ullo bello doctos habetis e sacrificiorum ordine. Hujus moris si vobis constat ratio, quanto magis ceteris militantibus, non contemnenda est nostrorum hominum militia, manus quidem puras servantium, desertantium autem fufis ad Deum precibus pro legitimo Imperatore, et pium justumque bellum gerente milite, ut destruat quicquid est iuste facientibus adversarium? Itaque precibus nostris profligantes omnes bellosum excitatores Dæmones ac perturbatores pacis ac fæderum, plus conferimus Regibus quam qui arma gestant pro Republica. Laboramus autem pro imperio Romano, dum in se viventes, vota pro eo facimus, exercentes jus in contemnendis voluptatibus, nec sinentes nos ab eis quovis pertrahi; sic nos præ aliis pugnamus pro Imperatore, et licet cum ipso non militemus, habemus tamen Castra propria pietatis auspiciis, & rem deprecationibus gerimus. Et plus beneficiorum a Christianis confertur in Patriam quam a reliquis hominibus, dum Cives erudunt ad pietatem erga Deum, tutelarem Patriæ presidem, ejusque viam ad cælestem quandam Civitatem Dei muniant, mo lo recte vivant vel in exiguis Civitatibus. Which holy life he concludes to be the chief end of Governors & Governments, as well as of private

Anno Christi, 180.
a Stromatum, l. 1. Opera Græco-Latina, Lutetiae Paris. 1641. p. 346, 347.
Phil. 2.

Anno 290.
a Contra Celsum l. 8. Opera, Basileæ, 1571. Tom. 2. p. 809.

a Ad Demetri-
anum Procon-
sulem p. 161.
b Euseb. Ecclef.
Hist. l. 7. c. 19.
c Adversus
Gentes l. 4.
Anno 300.
d De Vero cul-
tu, l. 7. c. 5, 6.

vate Christians. And in Epist. ad Romanos, c. 13. l. 9. He asserts, that God will have all *crimes whatsoever* temporally punished, *Non per Antistites, & Principes Ecclesie, sed per mundi Judices*; to whom he hath delegated the sword, as the *higher powers* ordained by him, to which every soul must submit: Therefore Popes and Prelates, as well as others.

To passe by (a) St. Cyprians, (b) Dionysius, and (c) Arnobius, their passages, of Christians constant Prayers even for their Pagan Kings, Emperors, and their kingdoms as constituted by God: (d) Celsus Lactantius, treating of the end of the world, and mans creation resolves: "Quid plenius argumentum proferri potest, et mundum hominis, et hominem sua causa Deum fecisse, quam quod ex omnibus animantibus solus ita formatus est, ut oculi ejus ad cælum directi, facies ad Deum spectans, vultus cum suo parente communis sit, quasi porrecta manu allevatum ex humo, ad contemplationem sui excitasse? Propterea igitur coli se Deus expetit, & honorari ab homine tanquam Pater, ut virtutem et sapientiam teneat, quæ sola immortalitatem parit. Idcirco mundus factus est, ut nascatur; ideo nascimur, ut agnoscamus factorem mundi ac nostri Deum; ideo agnoscimus, ut colamus; ideo colimus, ut immortalitatem pro mercede capiamus, quoniam maximis laboribus cultus constat: ideo præmio immortalitatis afficimur, ut similes Angelis effecti, summo Patri ac Domino in perpetuum serviamus, **et sumus æternum Deo Regnum. Haec summa rerum est, hoc arcantum Dei, hoc mysterium mundi:** Yea this is the sum, mylterie, of all the Kings and kingdoms in the world, instituted by God for these only ends, that all the *kingdoms of the world might thereby become the temporal kingdoms of God, and of his Christ, on earth, and his eternal kingdom in heaven.*

† Rev. 10. 55.

All these recited Fathers lived under Heathen, not Christian Emperors, Kings, to whom they Addressed their Apologies, Appeals, Defences of the substance, truth of the Christian Religion they professed under them; as the highest powers on earth, the properest Judges of Religion, and bound in duty to protest both it and them in the true profession thereof.

When the Roman Emperors, and other Kings became Professors, Protectors, and Propagators of Christianity, the Fathers, Councils, Bishops, Clergy and Christians under them, thus set forth their Supremacy in and over all Ecclesiastical and Religious affairs, persons, as well as temporal.

Anno 340.
e Apologia ad
Constantium
Imperatorem.

To premit the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction attributed to, and exercised by Constantine the Great, the first Christian Emperor, which I shall insist on in the First Chapter of the 2d. Book; (e) Athanasius Bishop of Alexandria, as he constantly prayed to God in publike for Constantius the Emperor, though an Arrian, with all expressions of Loyalty, duty, and dedicated a special *Apology* to him, in Justification both of his faith and loyalty; useth this expression therein; *If I were accused to others, I would appeal to your Majesty as Paul did to Cesar; but seeing they accuse me unto you, ad quem a te appellare potero nisi ad Deum?* There being none paramount the Emperour to Appeal to, (neither Pope, nor Council) but God alone. How this Emperor Constantius, twice removed and banished Athanasius Bishop of Alexandria, and Paulus Bishop of Constantinople from their Bishopricks, and placed Gregory and George (two Arrian Bishops) in their Sees; and how upon their Complaints and Appeals to his Brother the Emperor Constans, reigning in the West, who summoned their accusers to appear before him, (which they did) they were restored to their Bishopricks by the advice and decree of the Council of Sardis (Anno 350) **Summoned by both these Emperors Edicts, at the requests of Athanasius and Paulus, to hear and decide their cause, referred to them by the Emperors;** and the special Letters of Constantius sent to Athanasius: What Creeds, or forms of Christian faith both the Arrian and Orthodox Bishops compiled in the Councils of Antioch, Sardis, Jerusalem, Smyrna, Millain, Arimino, and Seleucia, (all summoned by the Emperors Edicts presented to the Emperors for their approbations and ratifications, as Supreme Judges, Moderators in such cases, are at large recorded in Socrates Scholasticus Ecclesiast. Hist. l. 2. cap. 7, to 44. Nicephorus Calixtus Ecclef. Hist. l. 9. c. 20. to 44. Sozomen Ecclef. hist. l. 2. Cent. Magd. 4. cap. 8. and sundry others, to whom I refer the Readers for brevity sake. Only I shall recite the memorable requests of the Orthodox Bishops in the Council of Arimino to the Emperor Constantius in their second Epistle to him, *Wherefore we humbly request your Majesty of*

your gracious Favour, and wonted Clemency to accept this our Message; * That you admit no novelty to creep into the Church of God, to the contumely of such as are already departed this life; but that you grant us your license and lawfull favoz, firmly to persevere in those things which our Ancestors have decreed, in as much as it is evident to all men, that whatsoever they did, it was through well advised counsel, prudent consideration, and the aid of the holy Ghost. Also, We humbly request, that the exiled Bishops which wander in farre and foraign Regions, grievously afflicted by reason of great years, and the misery of want and necessity, may by your late conduct return home from exile, to the end the Churches remain not desolate, and desolate of their Bishops being thus farre asunder. Last of all, Our humble sute is to your Majesty, that nothing may be diminished from, or added to the Old and Ancient Decrees, but that all whatsoever have been observed unto this day, through the godly procurement of your Father, may henceforth be of force, strength and virtue, and that hereafter there may arise no molestation to us about those things, and that you suffer us not to be banished our Churches, &c.

(f) Saint Hillary Bishop of Poitiers wrote thus to this Arrian Emperour Constantius, not long after Athanasius, in the Orthodox Christians behalf. We beseech your Clemency to permit, that the people may have such teachers as they like, such as they think well of, such as they chuse, and let them solemnize the divine mysteries, and make prayers for your safety and prosperity. In which Book to this Emperour, he acknowledgeth his Supremacy in and over all Ecclesiastical persons, causes, though he justly censures his force imposed on them in their Councils, to make them vote against their wills, and the Orthodox faith, in behalf of the Arrian Hereticks.

The Godly Western Bishops assembled by this Arrian Emperour Constantius his Edict to the Council of Ariminum, and there long detained by him from their Cures, wrote two supplicatory Epistles to him from thence, to dismiss them to their Bishops, before the cold Winter approached. In the first they thus petitioned them, We beseech your Majesty that you cause us not to be banished, nor stayed from our Churches, but that the Bishops, together with the people, may live in peace and tranquillity, and may humbly pray for your health, kingdom and safety, in which the Divine Majesty long preserve you; Pro tua salute, Imperio prolixo. So Nicephorus renders it, but others thus. Supplices Deo pro pace tui Imperii pariter et salutis, quam tibi Dominus in perpetuum largiatur. They concluded their second Letter to him with this Supplication; For this cause we beseech your Clemency the second time, most religious Lord and Emperour, that you command us to depart to our Churches, if it so please your Godliness, before the sharpness of Winter come. That we may make our accustomed prayers together with the people to the Almighty God, and our Lord and Saviour Christ for your Empire (or Reign) as we have alwayes accustomed in times past, and yet cease not to doe, and now wish to continue: Not daring to depart from this Council without his License.

Gregory Nazianzen. Oratio 17. informs the Prince and Governour, Cum Christo Imperium geris, cum Christo munus hoc administras, Ab illo gladium accepisti, non tam ut eo utaris quam ut mineris, ut teneas. Quare tibi videndum est ut illi tanquam donarium quoddam purum & integrum ei qui dedit, serves. Imago Dei es; verum imaginem quoque Dei Regis, qua quidem hic certa dispensatione gubernaretur, ad aliam autem vitam migrat, ad quam omnes quoque concedemus. Moneat te exemplar tuum; ad Deum te reijunge, non ad mundum, ad benignum Dominum, non ad acerbum tyrannum. Oratio 27. He thus describeth the Supremacy, office of Kings. Orbis universus manui vestrae subiectus est, diademate parvo, atque exiguo panno retentus. Supra solius Dei sunt, infera autem, Vestra etiam sunt. Subditis vestris Deos vos praebeate, liceat enim audacius aliquid dicere; Cor Regis in manu Dei est, ut ex Scripturis audimus & credimus. Hic imperium vestrum sit, non autem in auro et exercitibus. Aulici proceres fidem Imperatoribus servate, sed prius Deo, propter quem his etiam quibus commisi & traditi estis. And Oratio 46.

Socrates Scholast. Eccles. hist. l. 2. c. 36 in the Greek, but 22 in Meredith Hamner his English Translation

Anno 356. f Ad Constantium, lib. 2.

Anno 359. g Socrates Scholast. Eccles. hist. l. 2. c. 37. Cassiodorus Tripart. hist. l. 5. c. 22. Sozomen Eccles. hist. l. 2. c. 18. Niceph. Eccles. hist. l. 9. c. 47. Theodoret Eccles. Hist. l. 7. c. 20.

Anno 370.

Prov. 21. 1.

to *Nellarius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, he exhorts him to stir up the Emperor to suppress the *Apollinarian* hereticks, concluding thus; *ut potentissimum Imperatorem doceat, nihil et reliquo ipsius erga Ecclesias studio rebiturum esse utilitatis, si tale malum ad fidei sanæ eversionem per eorum libertatem, licentiamque prævaleat.*

St. *Basil* the Great, Bishop of *Cæsarea*, Homil. in Psal. 32. *Non servatur Rex per multam virtutem; descant* thus: *Non exercitus militaris quantavis munitione, non civitatum mœnia, non peditum phalanx, non equestris turma, non navalis munimins præparatio Regi salutem parit. Dominus enim Reges constituit, et destituit, sive transfert, & nulla est potestas, nisi a Deo constituta. Servatur ergo Rex non per multam virtutem, sed per Dei gratiam.* Therefore it should be his principal care to serve, please, obey, honor God, promote his glory; and make his kingdom, *Regnum supra omnes Principatum, peccato minime obnoxium*, as he there defines a kingdom.

St. *Optatus Milevetanus* resolves, **Super Imperatorem non est, nisi solus Deus qui fecit Imperatorem.** And justifies his authority to suppress and punish the *Donatists* with death it self, for their heresie, schism and sedition.

St. *Ambrose* resolves, "That Kings are exempted from human punishment, *Tuti Imperii potestate*, as having no Superiors to punish them. And in his Oration, *De Exitu, Vita & Virtutibus Theodosii Imperatoris*, he gives him this applause. Quis splendidus Pascha celebravit, quam qui sacrilegos removit errores, clausit templa simulacra destruxit? In hoc *Josias* Rex superioribus antelatus est. Manet ergo in lumine *Theodosius*, & sanctorum cœtibus gloriatur. *Constantinus* quod primus Imperatorum credidit, & post se hæreditatem fidei Principibus dereliquit, magni meriti locum reperit, cujus temporibus completum est illud Propheticum, *In illo die erit quod supra frenum est, sanctum Domino omnipotenti, &c.* Then turning his Speech to the Emperor *Honorius*, he adds, Denique ideo te Imperatorem pater fecit, Dominus confirmavit, ut non solum militares Patri, sed omnibus imperares; styling him, *Totius orbis Imperatorem.* In his 29. Epistle to *Theodosius*, he hath this passage of his suppressing the *Valentinian* Hereticks. Quis habet *Valentinorum* hæresin vindicare? quam pietas tua quomodo vindicat, cum eos excludi jusserit, nec conveniendi usurpare copiam? Si *Josiam* tibi objiciam, regem Deo probatum, hoc in illis damnabis quod in illo probatum est. And in his 30. Epistle to the Emperour *Valentinian*, beseeching him not to suffer the destroyed Altars of the Gentiles (upon their Petition to him) to be repaired by his decree. He resolves, Cum omnes homines qui sub ditione Romana sunt militent Imperatoribus timorem atq; Principibus, tam ipsi vos Omnipotenti Deo et sacræ fidei militatis, aliter enim salus tuta esse non poterit, nisi unusquisq; Deum unum, hoc est Deum Christianorum, a quo cuncta reguntur veraciter colat. Ipse enim solus verus est Deus; Dii autem Gentium demonia. Huic igitur Deo vero quisq; militat, & qui intimo colendum recipit affectu, non dissimulationem, non irreverentiam, sed fidei studium, et devotionis impendit. Postremo, si non ista consensum saltem aliquem non debet colendis Idolis & prophanis Cæremoni- arum cultibus exhibere. Hæc si jam sublata non essent, auferenda suo imperio comprobarem. At cum per totum fere orbem a pluribus retro Principibus inhibita interdictaq; sint, Romæ autem a fratre clementiæ tuæ augustæ memoriæ *Gratiano* fidei vera ratione sublata sunt, et datis antiquata rescryptis, ne quælo vel fideliter statuta convelles, vel fraterna præcepta rescindas. De negotiis omnibus quod statutum, nemo putat esse temerandum, & præceptum de religione calcatur.

He likewise presseth the necessity of all Christian Bishops, Churches, Peoples *publike prayers for Kings*, and chief Temporal Magistrates, as well Pagans as Christians; then generally used in all Churches. And although he hath two or three Passages seeming to oppose the Emperors Supreme Jurisdiction in causes Ecclesiastical; in the case between *Auxentius* the Arrian Bishop, and himself, at whose request the Emperor willed the case in difference might be heard in an Ecclesiastical Assembly, and that the Emperour himself might be Judge, whether St. *Ambrose* ought to yield up his Church to this Arrian Bishop upon the Emperors command? * *Ambrose* utterly refused it, and wrote thus to the Emperor. * Quando audisti, clementissime Imperator, in causa fidei Laicos de Episcopo judicasse? Si vel Scripturarum seriem divinarum, vel cætera tempora retractemus, quis eo qui abnegat in causa fidei, in causa inquam fidei, Episcopo + solere de Imperatoribus Christianis, non

* De Vocatione Gentium l. 1. & in 1 Tim: 2.

* Epistolar. l. 4. Epist. 32. Gratian caus. 23. qu. 8.

† He produceth not, nor can produce any one president for this pretended usage.

non * Imperatores de Episcopo judicare. Volens nunquam jus de-
seram in Ecclesia (which he would not resign up to the Arrians upon the Em-
perors command, as being *Gods*, not *his*) coactus repugnare non novi: Ea quæ
divina sunt Imperatoris potestati non sunt subjecta. In consistorio non solet
Christus reus esse sed Judex. Causam fidei agendam in Ecclesia quis abnuat, &c? Alle-
gatur, Imperatori, licere omnia; ipsius esse universa. *Respondeo.* Noli gravare te
Imperator, ut putes te in ea quæ divina sunt Imperiale aliquid jus ha-
bere. Noli te extollere, sed si vis diutius imperare, esto Deus sub-
jectus. Scriptum est enim; Quæ Dei Deo, quæ Cæsaris Cæsari. Ad
Imperatores Palatia pertinent; ad Sacerdotes Ecclesiæ: Publi-
corum tibi moenium jus commissum est, non sacrorum, &c. Si Na-
bothe vineam nec tradidit suam, nos trademus Ecclesiam Christi?
Diri conventus, Absit a me ut tradam hereditatem Christi; non tra-
didit Naboth suam, et ego tradam Christi hereditatem? Quod Sa-
cerdotis est faciam; quod Imperatoris est faciat Imperator; prius est ut animam mihi
quam fidem auferat. Tributum Cæsaris est, non negatur, Ecclesia Dei est, Cæsa-
ri utique non debetur; quia jus Cæsaris esse non potest, templum Dei, &c. Id
quod juris esset libenter offerem; Templo Domini nihil possum nec decerpere,
nec tradere, cum illud custodiendum, non tradendum acciperem. Deinde consulere
etiam me Imperatoris saluti oportet; quia nec mihi expediret tradere, nec illi acci-
pere. Accipiat vocem Liberi Sacerdotis. Si vult esse consultum, recedat a Christi in-
juria. Hæc plena humilitatis sunt (ut arbitror:) plena affectus ejus quem Imperatori
debet Sacerdos.] These passages (if understood in St. Ambrose his sense;) That
Emperors have no Power to judge Heresie to be Faith, or make *what they please*
to be *Orthodox*, against the Scriptures and Churches Orthodox faith; * That we
ought to obey God rather than Emperors in the things of God, when their com-
mands are contrary to Gods word, truth, glory, good of their own or subjects souls;
(as in this case) That he an Orthodox Bishop should voluntarily; without compul-
sion deliver up his Church to an *Arrian*, denying the Deity of Christ, to Gods, Christs
dishonour, and the prejudice of his own, his peoples, and the very Emperors own
soul, upon his Imperial command, may be orthodox, and solid. In which * sense he
only writ thus. But to extend it as Popes, † Popish Canonists, and others since have
done; to exclude Emperors from having ought to do in matters of Faith; or Wor-
ship; approbation or examination of Councils Decrees, suppressing Idolaters, Jews,
Hereticks, & disposing their Churches to Orthodox Ministers, collating to Bishopricks
when vacant, or punishing scandalous, schismatical, heretical Bishops or Clergymen;
is contrary both to his meaning, forementioned (d) passages, and to his own vote in
the Councils of *Ariminum* and of (e) *Aquileia* here ensuing.

Prudentius in his Poems writes thus of the Roman Emperors Supremacy. *Thou O*
Christ hast placed *Rome*, in vertice *Rerum*. *Thou* hast ordained that the
world should be subject to the Successors of *Romulus* (not of *Peter*)
Et omne sub Regno Remi (not Petri) mortale concessit genus.
Therefore the Pope with all his Prelates, Clergy, as well as others.

The (a) 150. Godly Bishops vocati a *Theodosio*, pietatis ac Religionis
studiosissimo Imperatore by his Letters, to the first General Council of *Constan-*
tinople, Anno 381. write thus in their Epistle to him, wherein they render him an
account of their Proceedings, and desire his ratification of them as Supream Gover-
nor. *Initio quidem nostri ad tuam Pietatem scripti, Gratias agimus Deo, qui*
tua pietatis Imperium constituit ad communem pacem Ecclesiarum,
et sanæ fidei confirmationem. Agentes autem Deo debitas grati-
as, necessaria quoque ea, quæ acta sunt in Sancto Concilio ad tuam
referrimus pietatem, Nempe quod ex quo tempore et mandato tua pietatis
Constantinopoli convenimus, primum quidem mutuam inter nos concordiam reno-
vavimus: deinde vero breves etiam præscripsimus ac pronuntiavimus quosdam quasi ter-
minos regulasse, quibus, et Patrum qui Nicææ congregati fuerunt, fidelem confirmavimus
comprobavimusque, & quæ adversus eam abortiva sunt, perversas Hereses ac pravæ opinio-
nes extrema cum execratione ac detestatione reprobavimus. Præterea etiam ad recte con-
stituen-

* See the con-
trary in the fol-
lowing Coun-
cils, p. 98. to
116.

* Act. 4, 19, 20;
c. 5, 28, 29. Ex-
od. 1. 17, 18.
Dan. 2. 5. to 17
c. 6. to 26. c. 3.
5. to 30. 1 Sam
22. 17, 18.

* See Bp. Jewels
Defence of the
Apology, part 6.
c. 14. div. 1. p.
70.
† Gratian dist.
96. & caus. 23.
qu. 8. & the
Glosse.
d Lib. 5. Epist.
3.

c Here, p. 98.
Anno 380
Petrus Steph:
Hymno 2

Anno 381
Sozomen. Ecc.
Hist. l. 4. c. 13.
Surius Concil.
Tom. 1. p. 617.
Cent. Magd. 4
Col. 351.

stituendum et ordinandum statum, et disciplinam Ecclesiarum, certos Canones statuimus ac præscripsimus, quæ omnia huic nostro scripto subjecimus. Rogamus etiam tuam Clementiam, ut per litteras tuæ pietatis ratum esse jubeas confirmesq; Concilii decretum, et sicuti literis quibus nos convocasti Ecclesiam honore prosecutus es, ita etiam summam eorum, quæ decreta sunt conclusionum, sententia atque Sigillo tuo corroboras: (Without which they were meer Nullities.) Dominus autem Imperium tuum in Pace & Justitia stabiliat, transmittatque & producat in multas et infinitas usque Generationes, atque ad terrenam potentiam cælestis quoque Regni gaudium & fructum adjiciat. Gratificetur Deus ordi terzarum, ut qui revera pietatis studiosissimus, Deique amantissimus Imperator es, valentem omnibusque præclaris rebus, florentem et excellentem videat, id quod sancti etiam ab illo precibus et votis petunt et orant. This being the usual prayer of all Bishops, Saints, Christians for him under his Empire, both in their Councils, Churches, Closets, and Epistles.

Anno 383
a Cent. Magd.
4. Col. 864.
Surius Concil.
Tom. 7. 472.
4^{to} 3. Theodor.
rec. Hist. l. 5.
cap. 9.

The (a) Bishops assembled in the Council of Aquileia (whereof Saint Ambrose was one) thus begin their Epistle to Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius the Emperors who summoned them: *Benedictus Deus Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi qui vobis Romanum Imperium dedit. Et Benedictus dominus noster Jesus Christus Unigenitus Dei filius, qui regnum vestrum sua pietate custodit, apud quem gratias agimus vobis Clementissimi Principes quod et fidei vestre studium probavistis, qui ad removendas altercationes congregare studuistis Sacerdotale Concilium.* Then rendring them an account of their proceedings therein, and relating the Impiety of the *Arrian Heretick*, whom they decreed worthy to be put from their Sacerdotal offices. They adde this petition; *Vestram fidem, vestramq; gloriam deprecamur, Impietatis assertores & adulteros veritatis, datis apicibus Clementia vestra ad judicia competentia, ab Ecclesia arcendos esse limitibus, ut in damnatorum locum per nostra parvitas Legatos sancti subrogentur Sacerdotes, &c.* Petimus igitur ut Legatos concilii sanctos viros, a que clementia vestra audire dignetur, & cum effectu eorum qua poscimus maturius redire præcipiat, ut mercedem accipiat a Domino Deo Christo, cujus Ecclesias ab omni sacrilegorum labe purgavistis: Photinianos quoque, quos et superiori lege censuistis nullos facere debere conventus, et ea quæ de concilio Sacerdotum data est congregando, removistis, petimus, ut quoniam in Sirmienti oppido adhuc conventus tentare cognovimus, Clementia vestra interdicta etiam nunc cõsione reverentiam primum Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, dein de etiam legibus vestris deferre jubeatis, ut et vos, Deo præstante, triumphetis, qui paci Ecclesiarum quietique consulatis.

Anno 400
a Hom. 8. ad
Popul. Antioch.
b Hom. 6. in 1
Tim. 2. & Hom.
33. in 1 Epist.
ad Corint. c. 13
c Tom. 5.
col. 1145,
1157, 1140.

S. Chrysostom writes of the Emperor, that he is, a *Summitas et Caput omnium hominum super terram* (Therefore of the Pope and Bishops.) *Pacem non habet ullum super terram:* b That the Church poured out prayers morning and evening to God for Kings and Emperors by Gods command, 1 Tim. 2. In his *Liturgy* he hath special Collects *Pro Augustissimis et Deo-debitis Regibus nostris.* And he gives us this account of the duty of a King, c Nam is demum vere Rex est, qui iram, qui invidiam, qui voluptatem colibens omnia sub Dei Lege agit, mentem liberam servans, neque patiens voluptatum dominationem animo suo imperitare. Talem equidem Regem libens viderem, et populis, et terræ, et mari, et Civitatibus, et exercitibus jura dantem. Quisquis enim animi affectibus rationem Magistram præfecerit, is parvo admodum negotio ex hominibus, una cum divinis legibus præfeci possit, ut eundem patris loco subditi habeant, cum omni mansuetudine Civitatibus consuetudinis suæ copiam facientem. Qui vero hominibus imperare quum videatur, iræ tamen avaritiæ, voluptus servit, hic primum subditis suis ridiculus videri possit, hoc ipso quod Coronam quidem gestat gemmis auroque intertextam, temperantiæ vero corona minime insignis est, & purpureo quidem paludamento toto corpore fulget, animum autem inornatum habet.

Anno 410
De Regno ad
Arcadium, Imperatorem, p. 8,
2, 19, 20.

Symeus, in his Book *De Regno*, dedicated to Arcadius the Emperor, Resolves; *Religio autem et pietas firma imperatoris et regis basis subjiciatur, in qua stabile atque inconcussum simulacrum perstet, nec unquam basi firmiter*

firmiter insidens ulla vis tempestatibus excutiat. Illa vero una et ascendet, et pluribus in locis apparebit, potissimumque in vertice residebit. Inde sermonem exorsus, primum omnium Regem, duce et principe Deo, ipsum sui ipsius Regem censeo esse oportere. Rex autem id exspectatum habet, Deum sibi sufficere. Regia dignitas Monarchiam amabilem fecit, eamque divinum inter homines bonum Plato appellat. Idem autem ipse quod divina sortis est particeps, omni fastu docet arrogantiaque vacare oportere. Neque enim Deus quasi scena seipsum ostentans, aut prodigiis monstruosus editis, sed tacita quasi via gradatim intendens, iuste humanas res moderatur, iisque omnibus adesse paratus, qua natura sunt ad participandum idonea. Hoc modo Regem sentio commune omnibus bonum, nec insolentem esse debere.

St. (a) *Augustine* Bishop of Hippo records; That the *Donatists* being condemned by an Assembly of Bishops in *Africa*, appealed for relief to the Emperor (*Constantine*) who by special Commission appointed *Miltiades* then Bishop of Rome, and others, to be Judges of the Controversy: Who being condemned before the Pope and other Delegates, they appealed again from their sentence to the Emperor; who thereupon turned them over to be judged by the Bishop of Arle in France with others. Who passing sentence of condemnation against them likewise; they thereupon appealed in the last place, to the Emperors own person, complaining of the partiality of the Bishop of Rome, and of Arle in their former sentences, at whose hands they could find no Justice; In the end, they were heard and condemned by the Emperor himself, & then found themselves also grieved with his definitive Imperial sentence, condemning his judgement as they had done the former. Hereupon St. *Augustine* thus replied upon and answered them; An forte de Religione non est ut dicat Imperator, vel quos miserit Imperator? Cur ergo ad Imperatorem Legati Vestri venerunt? Iudex eligitur Imperator? Iudicans contemnitur Imperator. Therefore St. *Augustine* condemned them (as did the Emperor and all others) for impudent, perverse Wranglers, who would not submit to any Judgement or order, crying out against them: *Quid amplius vultis homines? quid vultis amplius?* In which passages there are sundry memorable particulars: 1. That the schismatical *Donatists* themselves appealed to the Emperor *Constantine* against the sentence of an whole Assembly and Council of *African* Bishops, as paramount them. 2ly. That the Emperor by his Commission made Pope *Miltiades*, not alone, but with other Bishops, joyned Commissioners, to hear and judge this Cause by vertue of his Commission only, (not of his Papal or their Episcopal Jurisdiction) which they accordingly pursued. 3ly. That they appealed against the sentence of the Pope himself, and these Bishops as unjust, to the Emperor, as paramount them. 4ly. That he on the 2d. Appeal delegated the Examination of this Popes and his Colleagues Judgement, to the Bishop of Arle and others; which they confirmed. 5ly. That thereupon they appealed to the Emperors own personal and final Judicature, who passed Judgement against them. 6ly. That though they disliked his Judgement, yet they appealed not from it, there being no Superior Judge in Ecclesiastical causes above the Emperor, but God himself. 7ly. That both St. *Augustine* and the *Donatists* by their appeal, reputed the Emperor the properest, yea highest Judge in all Ecclesiastical causes & controversies. b St. *Aug.* further relates: That *Felix* Bishop of *Apringita* (a *Donatist*) ad *Constantini* iussionem Proconsularibus gestis fuisse purgatum: whereupon, ait quidam (of the *Donatist* Hereticks,) non debuit Episcopus Proconsulario iudicio purgari; quasi vero ipse hoc comparaverit, ac non Imperator ita queri iusserat, ad cuius Curiam, de qua rationem Deo redditurus esset, res ea maxime pertinebat. To which St. *Augustine* replied, Si criminis non est probocare ad Imperatorem, non est criminis audiri ab Imperatore: Ergo nec ab illo cui causam delegaverit Imperator, &c. His resolution therefore was, that the purgation of a Bishop belonged specially to the Emperors charge, though a meer Ecclesiastical matter. The same Father informs us, c That this Emperor made se-

Anno 420.
a Contra Epistolam Parmeniani l. 1. c. 7.
& Epistola 16a
Bishop Jewels Defence of the Apology against Harding, part 6. ch. 9. divis. 1, 2. p. 635, 636, 637.

b Epist. 162.

c Contra Perilianum Don. l. 1. c. 83, 84. Gratian caus. 23. qu. 4. Contra Donatistas & Celsionem, c. 17. Contra Cresconium Grammaticum, l. 2. c. 42, 43, 44 Epist. 48. & 50 Retractatio vere num. l. 5. c. 2.

vere *Lawes* against these heretical and schismatical Donatists, to suppress their errors, schisms, meetings: which being duly executed, reclaimed many of them from their heresie and schism. Upon which experience S. *Augustin* altered his opinion, concerning the unlawfulness of punishing Hereticks with corporal punishments, or death, to reclaim them. In his *a Enarratio* in Psal. 134. He resolves, **Rex in omni gente prior est: quoniam Rex ducit, populus sequitur.** & De Civitate Dei lib. 19. c. 26. Ad *Paulinum* Episcopum, lib. & *Enarratio* in Psal. 118. He proves at large from Mat. 22. 17. Luke 13. 1. Tim. 2. That all Christians whatsoever ought to be subject to Kings, to pay tribute to, and pray for them, though heathens and persecutors. In his *Enarratio* in Psal. 137. on these words. Confiteantur tibi Domine omnes Reges terræ, Sed & ipsi cum tibi consentient cum laudant te, non terrena desiderant à te. Quid enim Reges terræ desiderant sunt? Nonne jam habent ipsius imperium? Quid amplius potest? Altior sublimitas necessaria est. Sed fortasse quanto altior, tanto periculosior est. Ideoque reges quanto sunt in maiore felicitate terrena, tanto magis humiliari Deo debent. Ut quid faciant? Quoniam audierunt omnia verba oris tui, & cantent in viis Domini, quoniam magna est gloria Domini. Cantent in viis Domini Reges terræ. In quibus Domini viis cantant? De quibus supradictum est: In misericordia tua & veritate tua, quoniam universa via Domini misericordia & veritas. Non ergo sint Reges terra superbi, sed humiles sint. Tunc cantent in viis Domini, si humiles sint, amant & cantant. Canticum novum pertinet ad hominem novum. Ambulent ergo & Reges terra in viis tuis, ambulent & cantent in viis tuis. Quid cantent? Quoniam magna est gloria Domini, non Regum. Vide quomodo Reges voluit cantare humiliter in viis Domini, non se extolentes adversus Dominum. He elsewhere resolves how Kings do serve the Lord even in taking care of things belonging to God and Religion. (b) In hoc Reges Deo servant, sicut eis Divinitus precipitur, in quantum sunt Reges, si in suo regno bona jubeant, mala prohibeant: non solum qua pertinent ad humanam societatem, verum etiam qua ad divinam Religionem. Quomodo ergo Reges Domino servant in timore, nisi ea quæ contra iussa Domini fiant religiosa severitate prohibendo atque plectendo? Aliter enim servit quia homo est, aliter etiam quia Rex est. Quia homo est, ei servit vivendo fideliter; quia vero etiam Rex est servit leges iustas precipientes, et contraria prohibentes, autoritate sanciendo. Servit Deum ut *Ezechias*, & templum restituyendo, &c. and as King *Josiah* and *Nebuchadnezzar* after his restitution, and *Darius* did, &c. Quicunque ergo legibus Imperatorum qua pro Dei veritate feruntur, attemperare non vult, acquirit grande supplicium. Nam à temporibus Prophetarum omnes Reges qui in populo Dei non prohibuerunt, nec everterunt, qua contra præcepta Dei fuerunt instituta, culpantur, & qui prohibuerunt & everterunt, super aliorum merita laudantur. Quando autem Imperatores pro veritate contra falsitatem constituunt bonas leges, tenentur servientes, & corrigentur intelligentes, &c. And, De questionibus Novi & Veteris Testamenti, cap. 13. Non nescivit David divinam esse traditionem in officio ordinis Regalis. In eo Saul in eadem adhuc traditione positum honorificat, ne Deo injuriam facere videretur, qui his ordinibus honorem creavit. Dei enim imaginem habet Rex, ut Episcopus Christi: Whence our English Apottle, *a John Wickliff*, thus argued the Kings superiority above the Popes or Bishops, Quod Episcopus est Vicarius Christi secundum humanitatem, REX AUTEM EST DEI VICARIUS: Dignior ergo Vicariatus incumbet Regi quam Episcopo. Christus ordinavit seculare brachium per potentiam coactivam; esse Divinitatis Vicarium, dando ei gladium corporalem: & ordinavit Sacerdotium esse humanitatis Christi Vicarium, patiendo, et ipsum in humilitate et tribulationibus imitando, ut docet *Augustinus* in loco multiplici. To which *Thomas Waldensis* replies, Ecce jam habes Regem imaginem Deitatis, sed ut per gladium quem accepit. Solum Dei servis humana ministrat. Ecce habes quod Rex sit Divinitatis imago, non tantum qualiter omnis homo est imago Dei, a primordialis creationis effectus, sed speciali etiam prærogativa potestatis acceptæ, et Regiæ dignitatis intuitu. Ad quid putas? ad dispensandum humana, ut supra dixit *Gregorius*. Regnas regno Christi quæ sunt humana dispensare. Sacerdos est imago Christi, et cujus Christi? Nonne Dei et hominis? et quid efficiens? nonne divina dispensans? Pluris ergo est, ut nulli est dubium, imago Christi Episcopus dispensans divina, quam Deitatis Vicarius, vel Imago Rex dispensans humana. As if God himself, whose Image and Vicar a King

a Tom: 8. pars
2. p. 819. 637,
638, 85a.

b Contra Cref-
conium, lib. 3.
c. 9.

c Ad Bonifacium
Tom: 2.
30 Epist. Gra-
dian Distinctio,
9.

d In Theatro
Milantis Ec-
clesiæ cap. 33.
Thomas Wal-
densis Doctri-
nale fidei, Tom
1. lib. 2. Artic.
3. c. 75.

is, were only and principally employed about human affairs, not divine: Now if God himself doth most of all, in the (a) very first place mind, intend, command, promote his own worship, service, glory, divine things, and the salvation of mens souls; then certainly Kings, who are his Image, Vicars, must do so too, or else they were neither his Image, nor Vicars, but most unlike unto him: Wherefore God called David from the Sheepfold to the Throne for this very end, (b) To feed Jacob his people, and Israel his inheritance; as well as Peter or Bishops to feed his sheep and flock; who thereupon fed them according to the integrity of his heart, especially with heavenly instructions, exhortations, prayers, precepts, Psalms; and guided them by the skilfulnesse of his hands, by setting up Gods publike worship, Ark, Temple, amongst them, as the * premises evidence; to which St. Augustine here principally refers; and so Waldensis his evasion, conclusion is most absurd, and Wickliffs position orthodox.

The Bishops convened in the Council of Aphric, (wherof St. Augustine was one) cap. 25. to 35. 42, 51, 59, 60. resolved, That the Emperors Honorius & Theodosius should be petitioned and requested by them 1. A Religiosis Imperatoribus postulandum, ut Reliquias Idolorum per omnem Aphricam subeant penitus amputari, & templa eorum subeant omni modo destrui. 2. A religiosissimis Imperatoribus postulandum, Petendum etiam, ut statuere dignentur, ut nullum ad testimonium dandum Ecclesiastica cuiuslibet persona pulsatur. 3. Illud etiam petendum, ut quæ contra præcepta divina convivia multis in locis exercentur, quæ ab errore Gentilium astracta sunt, &c. prohibeantur. 4. Nec non et illud petendum, ut spectacula Theatrorum cæterorumque ludorum die Dominica, vel cæteris religionis Christianæ diebus celeberrimis amoveantur. 5. Et illud petendum est, ut statuere dignentur, ut si quis cuiuslibet hominis Clericus Iudicio Episcoporum quocunque crimine fuerit damnatus; non liceat eum sive ab Ecclesiis quibus præfuit, sive a quolibet homine defensari, interposita pœna damni, pecunie atque honoris, quo nec etatem, nec sexum excusandum esse præcipiant. 6. Et de his etiam petendum, ut si quis ex qualibet ludicra arte ad Christianitatis gratiam venire voluit, ac liber ab illa macula permanere, non eum liceat, a quoquam iterum ad eadem exercenda reduci, vel cogi. 7. Ab Imperatoribus unyberlis visum est postulandum, propter afflictionem pauperum, quorum molestiis sine intermissione saugatur Ecclesia, ut defensores eis adversus potentias divitum cum Episcoporum provisione delegentur. 8. Simul etiam petendum, ut illam legem quæ a religiosæ memoriæ eorum Patre Theodosio, de auri Libris Decem in ordinatores, vel ordinatos Hæreticos, seu etiam in possessores; (ubi eorum congregatio deprehenditur) promulgata est, ita deinceps confirmari præcipiant, ut in eos valeat, contra quos propter eorum insidias Catholici provocati contestatione a deo uerunt. Ut hoc saltem Terrore Schismaticæ vel Hæreticæ pravitate desistant, qui Consideratione æterni supplicii emendari corrigique dissimulant. 9. Petendum etiam, ut Lex quæ Hæreticis vel ex Donationibus, vel ex Testamentis aliquid capiendi vel relinquendi denegat facultatem; ab eorum quoque pietate hæcenus repetatur, ut eis relinquendi vel sumendi jus adiuvet qui pertinacis furore cæcati in Donationum errore perseverare voluerint. Cæterum illis qui consideratione Unitatis et pacis se corrigere voluerint, absque Interdicto huius Legis capiendæ Hereditatis alitus pateat, si adhuc in Erroris Hæretico constitutis aliquid ante donationis vel hereditatis obvenit his sane exceptis qui lite pulsati, putaverunt ad Catholicam transeundum: quia de talibus credibile est, non metu cælestis Iudicii, potius quam terreni commodi aviditate, unitatem Catholicam præoptasse.

To obtain all which Petitions and Lawes, this Council dispatched their particular Legates to these Pious Emperors, with these their joynt requests; for most of which they published particular Laws, recorded in the Codes of * Justinian and † Theodosius.

Theodoret, Bishop of Cyprus informs us; Romanum Imperium (everso Macedonico) orbis terrarum claves tenet (not St. Peter, or the Pope.) Romanum Imperium non periisse cum Salvatoris ortu; siquidem Augusto regnante, Dominus in lucem editus est; secundus quidem ille regnavit. Omnes autem, (ut ita dixerim) homines suæ ditioris subnixit, omnemque terrarum orbem (ut evangelii testantur) descripsit, tributumque imperavit. Regnum igitur Romanorum, quod illo obtinente viguit, usque adhuc permansit. Therefore the Pope and Romish Prelates were then all subject to, not paramount the Emperor, as he resolves in his Interpretatio in Epist. ad Romanos, c. 13. Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit, Sive est Sacer-

a Mat. 6. 25, 26
34. Psal. 78. 70,
71, 72.
b Pl. 78. 70, 71,
72. 2 Sam. 5. 2.
1 Chron. 11. 2.
& cap. 29.
John 21. 15, 16
17. Acts 20. 28
* Here, p. 123
13.

Anno 418.
a Surius Concil.
Tom. 1. p. 577,
578, 579, 581,
582. Crab &
Binus.

* Lib. 1. Cod.
Tit. 4. &c.
† Lib. 16. Cod.
Tit. 1, to 8.

Anno 430.
In Danielum
Oratio 2. Ope-
Tom. 1. p. 394.

Luc. 2.
Tom. 2. p. 27.

dos aliquis, sive Antistes, sive monasticam vitam professus, iis cedat quibus sunt mandati Magistratus. Clarum est autem si cum pietate, non autem si Dei præceptis repugnet. Magistratibus parere præcipitur. Potestates enim à Dei providentia acpendent. Ipse enim communis ordinis curam gerens, efficit, ut hi quidem imperarent, illi vero parerent, veluti quoddam fructum iis qui se injustè gerunt, Magistratum timorem incutiens. Porro autem sciendum est, quod et Magistratum gerere, eique parere a divina providentia pendere: for the ends mentioned by the Apostle. And in his Expositio in 1 Tim. 2. & Tit. 3. 1. He presseth praying for Heathen and wicked Kings, Magistrates, that they may become Christians; and obedience to all their lawfull commands by all sorts of Christians.

Anno 430.
Operum Tom:
2. Parisiis 1608
p. 673.

St. Cyrill, the famous Bishop of Alexandria, begins his Book (ad Theodosium Regem pientissimum, Devota in Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum fide) thus, A Deo, cujus est summa Celsitudo, Vobis, Christianissimi Reges, humanæ claritudinis fastigium, incomparabilibus excellentiis præ omnibus aliis exurgens et exaltatum, eximiaque & excelsa fors sunt data, dignus nimirum super terram honor. Etenim illi quidem omni genu flectunt, thronique & Principatus, dominationesque ac potestates servam submitunt cervicem, & decentibus illum semper colentes glorificationibus, plenum esse dicunt calum & terram gloria ejus. Ciderit autem quis et in vestra Serenitate decorum et evidentem tam illustri et omnium summæ Nobilitatis Typum. Vos enim estis (not the Pope) et summorum dignitatum fontes, et supra omnem eminentiam, humanæque felicitatis principium et origo. Et vestra quidem Majestatis clementissimis nutibus, quicquid Regni solis substractum est, ut vitam legitimam et admirabilem agat, gubernatur; at qui jugum non ferunt, facile a vestro roboze victi, cadunt, &c. vel Regis genibus misericordiam quaerunt. Ea propter vobis mundum subjecit, &c. Tam pii et præclari Imperii summum præsidium est Dominus noster Jesus Christus. Nam, per illum Reges regnant, & potentes scribunt justitiam. Distribuit autem prompte diligentibus se omnia quæ laudabilia, & admirabilia, ac eximia. Ad hæc quæ dixi demonstranda, sufficiunt, vel ea quæ vestra Majestati donata sunt, & adhuc danda, ut credimus. Quod autem gloriosa in Deum pietas Regis honoribus immobile sit fundamentum, etiam ex ipsa sancta divinaque Scriptura dicere attentabo; which there he doth: Therefore to advance Religion, piety, and Gods glory, the unmoveable foundation and stability of kingdoms, is, and ought to be the principal part, care of Kings and their Kingly office, as he inferrs.

Picv 8.

Anno 431.
Cyrilli Opera
Tom. 2. p. 22.
epistola. 17.

These most great and most religious Emperors, Theodosius and Valentinian in their Epistle to this St. Cyril, wherein they summoned him to the Council of Ephesus, confirm this truth. A pietate quæ in Deum est, reipublicæ nostræ constitutio pendet, et multa utrinque est cognatio, et societas. Coherent enim inter se, et altera alterius crescit incremento, ita ut vera religio justitiæ studio, reipublica vero ab utrisque adjuncta, resplendeat. In regnum itaque a Deo constituti, et connerio pietatis ac prosperitatis subditorum existentes, societatem horum perpetuo indivulsam custodimus, ac providentia nostra pacem inter homines procurantes, hactenus quidem reipublicæ augendæ ministramus: per omnia vero subditis, ut ita dicamus servientes, ut pie vivant et converfentur, sicut pios decet, adornamus, utriusque ut convenit, curam gerentes. Neque enim fieri potest ut alteri studentes, non similiter ut alteri us curam geramus. Pre cæteris in hoc incumbimus, ut Ecclesiasticus status, et qui Deum deceat et nostris temporibus conveniat, firmus permaneat, tranquillitatemque ex omnium consensu retineat, sitque per Ecclesiasticarum rerum pacem quietus, et pia religio servetur irreprehensibilis; eorumque vita qui ad clericatum et magnum Sacerdotium delecti sunt, ab omni sit culpa libera. Cum autem

Nota.

tem ista intelligeremus cum per dilectionem erga Deum, tum per animum, veritatis amantem in iis qui pii sunt, obtinere posse jam quidem septennumero eorum gratia quæ commodum inciderunt Deo dilectissimam omnium eorum qui ubique sunt sanctissimorum Episcoporum Synodum necessariam esse durimus, verum cunctatores per molestiam pietatis ipsorum improbitatem facti sumus. At urgens jam necessitatem cum Ecclesiasticarum tum publicarum disceptatio, et summe profuturam et irrecusabilem illam esse ostendit. Quapropter ne quæ tam utilium rerum questionem concernunt, si negligantur in pejus dilabantur, id quod a temporum nostrorum est pietate alienum, curabit pietas tua ut post imminens sanctum Pascha volente Deo, circa Pentecostes diem ad Ephesorum Asiæ Civitatem adveniat; et paucos, et quos probaverit ex Provincia sibi subjecta sanctissimos Episcopos, ad eandem Civitatem convenire faciat, ut nec qui sanctissimis Provinciæ tuæ Ecclesiis sufficiant nec qui concilio sint accomodi, desint. Sunt enim Exemplaria a nostra Majestate de prædicta sanctissima Synodo Dilectis per Universas Metropolitæ Episcopis, scripta, ut hoc facto, et perturbatio quæ ex controversiis istis, accidit, secundum Ecclesiasticos Canones dissolvatur, et quæ indecenter committuntur corrigantur, sitque et pietati erga Deum, et publicis rebus commoda firmitudo; nec aliquid quacunque in re ante Sanctissimam Synodum, et futuram illius communem sententiam, a quoquam sepe ratim innobetur. Et persuasi quidem sumus unumquemque Deo Dilectissimorum Sacerdotum ubi resciverint, cum Ecclesiasticarum, tum Publicarum rerum gratia hac nostra Sanctione percitum, ad Sanctissimam Synodum diligenti studio properanter accursurum, & rebus ita necessariis atque ad beneplacitum Dei pertinentibus pro viribus consulturum. Nos autem multam harum rerum curam gerentes neminem desiderari leviter patiemur, nec ullam sive apud Deum, sive apud Nos excusationem habebit, si quisquam non confestim ad prædictum tempus loco determinato sedulus comparuerit. Quisquis enim ad Sacerdotalem vocatus Synodum non prompte accurrit, esse se Conscientia non bona Declarat. Deus te multo tempore custodiat Pater Sanctissime ac Religiosissime. A most pregnant Testimony, that Emperors have, and ought to have a principal care of Religion, to preserve its purity, suppress all Heresie contrary thereunto; to convene Synods when there is occasion, to enjoin all Bishops to resort to them, and to examin, ratifie their Votes when approved by their Edicts; all which the Epistles written to these Emperors from the Bishops assembled in this Synod will more fully demonstrate.

The famous General Council of *Ephesus*, (a) thus summoned by the most Religious Emperors *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*, to suppress the Heresie of *Nestorius*, then infesting the Church, writ several *Epistles* to them, wherein they render them an account of all their proceedings therein, clear the scandalous reports raised of them, extoll those Emperors Zeal and Pietie for Defence of Religion; desire their Confirmation of their Votes, Suppression of Heresies, hæreticks, and powr out prayers for, and Petitions to them. The Titles of their Epistles to them are: *Pientissimis, Religiosisissimis, ac Deo dilectissimis Theodosio & Valentiniano Augustis, triumphatoribus ac semper Augustis*, Sancta Synodus per gratiam Dei, et Dominationis vestre nutum, *Ephesi congregata*. The 1. Epistle to them begins thus, (b) Jam inde a progenitoribus pietas vestra Christi amantes ac pientissimi Reges rectam est consecuta fidem, et hanc quotidie evehit multumq; curarum veritatis impendit dogmatibus. Quorum gratia cum perturbatio non solum in magna illa Civitate, sed & in universo terrarum orbe per ea dogmata fieret quæ a Nestorio sunt predicata, de Sanctorum Patrum, sanctorumque Apostolorum & Evan-

Anno 431
a SURIUS CONCIL.
Tom: 1. p. 655
to 694, & 660,
601, 602, &c.

b SURIUS, ibid.
p. 685.

& Evangelistarum traditione, non contempsit vestra Dominatio perturbatas Ecclesias, et adulterata fidei ac veræ pietatis dogmata; sed ex universo orbe pietas vestra Metropolitanos pientissimos, et aliorum quoque quarundam Civitatum Episcopos congregari iussit, sufficiens ad eam rem temporis determinato spacio. After which they render them an Account of their proceedings in the Synod. Among other things they relate, Commentariis actorum, auctoritatis gratia, pientissimos pietatis vestræ literas præmiserunt; post quas fidei expositionem subsecimus, *proposita primum ea qua a sanctis est tradita Apostolus deinde et ea qua per sanctos trecentos decem et octo Patres Niceæ quondam a beatæ memoriæ Constantino congregatos, est facta expositio: cuius fidem dominatio vestra illustriorem reddidit.* And concludes it thus; *Oramus autem vestram Dominationem ut universam ipsius (Nestoris) doctrinam ex sanctis Ecclesiis tolli, et libros ejus ubicunque inventi fuerint, igni tradi jubeat, quibus gratiam Dei, qui benevolentie gratia homo factus est, reprobare conatur. Quod si quis sancita vestra contempserit, denunciatur illi, timendam ipsi esse dominationis vestræ indignationem: not their Anathema.*

* Surius Ibid.
p. 688.

They thus begin their Fourth Epistle: * Dominatio quidem vestra ad confirmandam pietatem sanctæ Synodo diligentiorum dogmatum examinationem facere præcepit, quam et fecimus, veteri Patrum, imo et sanctorum Apostolorum et Evangelistarum, et trecentorum decem et octo qui Niceæ congregati fuerunt, traditioni obtemperantes, quam et concorditer interpretati sumus, et animo uno vestræ pietati manifestam in Commentariis actorum exhibuimus, et in quibus et Nestorium diversa sentire deprehensum deposuimus. After which

* Ibid. p. 689. they inform the Emperors of *Candidianus his favouring Nestorius, and indirect proceedings in the Council (of which the Emperors made him President) desiring the Emperors to send for him, and what Bishops they pleased, qui res gestas coram vestra sancta pietate, tueantur.* In the beginning of their 5. Epistle, they write: * *Quæ sanctæ sunt Synodo a dominatione vestra mandata, ad competentem deducta sunt effectum, id quod pietati vestræ notum fecimus: Relating the particulars at large, they conclude & pray, Quæ*

† Ibid. p. 689,
690.

a sancta æcumenica Synodo ad pietatis subsidium contra Nestorium, et impium illius scripta sunt dogmata, suum habere robur, per pietatis vestræ nutum et assensum confirmata. Their 6. Epistle to them thus begins. * *Deus ille omnium Christi amantes Imperatores, qui curam vestram ac diligentiam quam pietati impenditis gratam ac acceptam habet, etiam Episcoporum qui per occidentem sunt animos zelo, ad vindicandum Christum, contumelia affectum excitavit, &c.*

* Ibid. p. 691.

And thus concludes, *Quoniam itaque causa hæc finem consecuta est, cum Dominationi vestræ optatum, tum Ecclesiis omnibus securissimum, & qui fidei suam adferat similitudinem, Pietatem vestram oramus, ut jam nos, alios paupertate obrutos, alios morbis detentos, alios senio gravatos, et peregrinationem hanc amplius ferre non valentes, ita ut et aliqui ex nobis Episcopi et Clerici jam sint mortui, ab hac cura, et perigrinatione liberet, ut ista sedata sollicitudine, magnæ Civitatis Ecclesiæ curam geramus. Supplicamus etiam ut ad eos, qui singulis sint locis, literas comminatorias mittat, ne denuo alia suscitetur Ecclesiis molestia, ac perturbatio sanctissimis Episcopis in ipsorum regionibus oriatur: Etenim facta jam pietatis declaratione & Universo Orbe consonum de illa sententiam ferente, paucis demptis, Nestorii amicitiam pietate*

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re præferentibus gratiam hanc haud immeritam, petimus, dominationi vestræ supplicantes, ut nos cura ista deinceps liberet, ut ordinationi futuri Episcopi incumbamus, et in fide jam et Pietate confirmata nos Oblectemus, purasque ac synceras pro dominatione vestra Preces omnium Domino Christo destinemus.

Their 8. Epistle to them is thus prefaced. * Regia quidem vestra et Christi amans Majestas, Pientissimi Reges, a pueris Jesum circa fidem et Canones declarabit, cujus etiam gratia, Vobis Episcopos ad Ephesiorum Civitatem concurrere pia Sanctione præcepit, verum literæ Serenitatis vestræ jam nobis per magnificentissimum et Gloriosissimum Comitem Johannem lectæ, haud modicam attulere perturbationem, innuentes imposturam quandam et mendacium pro veracibus quosdam vestris auribus objecisse, &c. And thus they conclude it; Sublimitati vestræ supplicamus, ut a sancta Synodo, quos dominatio vestra probaverit vocentur, ut coram regia vestra, et Christi amans Majestas de omnibus certius instruatur.

* Ibid. p. 663.

Their 9. Epistle hath this Exordium, and Progress: * Non est quidem Dominatio vestra passa rectam fidem quasi cuniculis quibusdam suffodi per Nestorii doctrinam, &c. Ob hanc causam, Universi ad pietatis vestræ dominationem confugimus supplicantes, ut quæ contra Nestorium et illi consentientes sunt gesta, robur suum habeant; quæ vero ab illis, qui Nestorium vindicant, eo quod cum illo sentiunt, contra Synodi nostræ Duces illegitime facta sunt, inefficacia et irrita maneant, ut neque convenienter, neque canonice, sed contra eos qui de nullo sunt delicto convicti, sola ulciscendi libidine ab illis sunt gesta, qui contra sanctam Synodum cum Nestorio sentiunt. All depending upon their Imperial Edicts, Orders, Ratifications.

* Ibid. p. 663.

* St. Cyril and Memnon begin their Book against Nestorius presented to this Council, in this manner: Vobis Imperatorum decretum, et nos et vestram Sanctitatem in Ephesiorum Metropoli convenire iussit, ut et rectam Apostolicæ fidei determinationem communi sententia confirmemus, et hæresim a Nestorio recens inductam probemus.

* Ibid. 670.

These Emperors commanded all the Bishops summoned to appear in this Council, not to depart thence til all things were concluded: And because the Bishops there assembled were incensed against each other, each of them endeavouring to maintain his opinion, party by indirect means, the Emperors declared all things thus obtained to be nulled, & sent his Secretary of State, & some of his own Palace, together with the most famous Earl Candidianus, to this Council to preside therein, & see they acted nothing but what they by their Letters enjoined them, & not to depart thence: as this clause in the Emperors Letters to the Council evidenceth. * Et ob eam causam quisquam è nostro palatio, una cum præclarissimo Comite Candidiano missus fuerit, qui quæ gesta sunt, secundum nostram iussione[m] cognoscat, et quæ sunt inconvenientia prohibeat, neq; abscedat quisquam congregatorum Episcoporum ab Ephesiorum Civitate, neque ad Majestatis nostræ veniat exercitum, nec in Patriam suam revertatur, ita ut ista nemini, quacunque spe ducto, transgredi liceat. Sufficiant quidem istæ literæ ad denunciandum vestræ pietati, ne quid aliud præter nostram iussione[m] iis quæ facta sunt adjiciatis. Sciat tamen Sanctitas vestra, etiam illustrissimis provinciarum primoribus esse scriptum, ut neminem prozsus sine nostra iussione in patriam ac civitatem suam revertisse recipi sinant. Oportet enim, ut omnia primum juxta id quod Deo placitum est, sine contentione.

* See the Ibid. p. 687, 694.

tentione et cum veritate examinata, tum demum a nostra pietate corroborantur; neque enim Majestas nostra hominum jam aliquorum, neque sanctissimi ac piensissimi Nestorii, neque cujusquam alterius, sed ipsius Doctrinæ ac veritatis * curam gerit.

* Nota.

Finally, these Emperours made their chief Secretary of State, and privy Counsellor *Register* in this Synod; in their Epistles to the Bishops in this Council, expresse their great care of Religion; and towards the cloze thereof, sent the most glorious *John*, Count of Sacred Things, to know what they had done concerning the Faith, that they might do what he should deem profitable for that end.

* Ibid. p. 691, 692.

* Judiciis.

* Celestino, Ruffo, Augustiniano, & reliquis religiosissimis Episcopis: Quantum zeli circa pietatem, et progenitorum nostrorum fidem ostenderimus, multis quidem (ut arbitramur) præcedentibus * Judiciis perspicue declaratum est: non minus autem illud et in eo, quod Synodum vestram nuper convocavimus, Univerſo Orbi manifestatum esse credimus, &c. Sciatis etiam Sanctitas vestra, quod præclarissimum et Gloriosissimum Johannem Comitem Sacrorum ob eam causam misimus, ut ubi ille pietatis vestræ circa fidem scopum cognoverit, quæ ipsi videbuntur utilis faciatis.

By all which passages of this famous General Council, the Emperours Supream Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, Judicature, care of the true Faith and Religion is most fully and clearly demonstrated beyond contradiction. Pope *Cælestine* himself was summoned to it, and excused his absence, but did not substitute * *St. Cyril* to supply his place therein, as some Romanists fable.

* See Dr. James Bastardy of the Fathers, part 2 p. 90, 91.

* Suius Ibidem P. 618, 619.

The Oriental Bishops assembled in this Council favouring *Arrius* and *Nestorius*, by faction opposed *Cyril* and *Memnon*, making a Relation of their proceedings therein to * *Callimor* King of *Persia*, (who commanded the Bishops under him to appear at this Council) to incense him against them, thus praying his assistance against their actions. Pietas vestra, quæ benefaciendo orbi et Ecclesiis Dei clarescit, jussit nos in Ephesio congregari, ita ut inde lucrum et pax Ecclesiæ accresceret, non ut omnia confusione et deordinatione implerentur; et hæc vestræ Majestatis edicta aperte et manifestè piam vestram et pacificam pro Ecclesiis Dei indicabant mentem. Atqui *Cyrillus Alexandrinus*, ad perniciem Ecclesiarum (ut videtur) & natus & educatus, assumpto cooperatore *Memnonis* Ephesiorum audacia; primum quidem placidum et pium vestrum edictum transgressus est, per omnia se illi non subditum declarans. Nam cum vestra Majestas præceperit, de fide diligens examen et inquisitionem haberi, &c. assumpta sibi auctoritate propria, neque a Canonibus, neque vestris edictis sibi concessa, convertit ad omne deordinationis, et iniquitatis genus, &c. Proinde obsecramus et oramus, ut vestra Majestas quamprimum religioni quæ impugnatur subsidium ferat, et celerem correctionem imponat illozū insanix et tyrannidi, quæ quasi turbo ad hæreticam perfidiam audaciores corripit. Justum enim est, ut vestra pietas, Perfidis et earum quæ inter Barbaros sunt, Ecclesiarum * curam gerens, Ecclesias etiam quæ sub Romanorum principatu turbantur, non despiciat. The Orthodox Bishops on the contrary, writ for the restitution, vindication of *St. Cyril* and *Memnon* to these Emperours; Supplicamus igitur Regiæ vestræ Deoq; dicatæ Majestati, ut sanctissimos et Deo dilectissimos Episcopos *Cyrillum* & *Memnonem* Sanctæ Synodo restituatis, nequaquam a Canonibus condemnatos, &c. et ut patrocinium orthodoxæ fidei, quam hætenus et semper custodire satagistis. So that both

* Nota.

* Suius Concil. Tom 1. p. 692.

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the Orthodox and Heretical Bishops in this Council acknowledged this Supream Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction (by all these passages,) to be in the Emperors and Kings, not them.

In the year 433. (a) Pope Sixtus the 3d. was accused to the Emperor Valentinian, for defiling Chryfogonia, a consecrated Virgin, by one Bassus a Presbyter; who thereupon commanded a Synod to be summoned to examine the accusation; where this Pope appearing, cum cozam Synodo; 56. Presbyterorum, causam dirisset, cum magna examinatione (in the presence of Valentinian) iudicio Synodico purgatus est, et condemnatus Bassus a Synodo; Bassus Valentiniani iussu in exilium pulsus est. Lo here this Pope himself is 1. accused to the Emperor for Ecclesiastical offences by a Priest, as the Supream Ecclesiastical Judge. 2. The Emperor causeth a Synod to be summoned to hear and examine the cause, which he refers unto them. 3ly. This Pope thereupon appears before this Synod, and in the Emperors presence pleads his cause, purgeth himself, and is acquitted by their Sentence. 4ly. His accuser is condemned and banished by the Emperor, who approved their Sentence. I find in (b) *Sirius* De purgatione Sixti Papæ 3. this Narrative, That when the business was fully examined in the Synod, Leuavit se Augustus, ac dedit in arbitrio Sexu Episcopi, iudicare iudicium suum: Et discesserunt cum Augusto omnes. An Argument of his Supream Judicature even in Synods. There is extant a Letter of this Popes in (c) *Gratian*, directed *Omnibus Episcopis*, requiring an account of this difference, and the proceedings therein: to whom he returned this answer. *Mandastis ut scriberem, &c. Scitote me criminari a quodam Basso, & injustè me prosequi: quod audiens Valentinianus Augustus, nostra (instead of sua) auctoritate Synodum congregari iussit, et facto Concilio cum magna examinatione, satisfaciens omnibus, licet evadere aliter satis potuissemus, suspensionem tamen fugiens, cozam omnibus me purgabi, scilicet a suspitione et emulatione me liberans. Sed non aliis qui noluerint, aus sponte hoc non eligerint, faciendi formam dans.* On which *Bartholomæus Buxiensis*, and *Dr. Thierry*, to extenuate the matter, and exempt Popes from all Judicatures, make this Glosse. *Valentinianus Synodum congregabit, in qua Papa sponte se purgabit, non dans formam cæteris successoribus suis sic se purgandi si noluerint. Mandastis, Mandat hic minor majori, nam præcarium verbum est. Potuissem (aliter evadere) Quia Papa a nullo potest iudicari, nec etiam ab universali Concilio, præterquam in hæresi.* But whether these proceedings and Historians do not directly contradict this Glosse, and Popes extenuation of his trial; let all men judge: Finally, these very d Glossers propound this question, *Nunquid Papa potest Imperatori potestatem dare, ut deponeret ipsum?* Resolving it affirmatively. *Sic, in Hæresi: & de consensu Cardinalium, imo in omnibus se potest subicere se:* And if the Pope himself may give the Emperor such a power, why may not the Emperor exercise it without his gift, by his inherent Imperial Jurisdiction, as Gods Supream Vicegerent upon earth, as here he did, especially in case of heresie, into which some Popes have fallen. It is storied, that Pope (e) *Liberius* was summoned to come from Rome, and appear at Constantinople before the Emperor *Constantinus* for defending *Athanasius*, condemned and excommunicated by the Council of Tyre, and the whole world; who thereupon appearing accordingly, after a large discourse; *Liberius* refusing to renounce his communion and justifying *Athanasius* his cause, was by the Emperors sentence, banished to Berea in Thrace, after three dayes respite given him to advise, whether he would subscribe against his communion, and so return to Rome, or go into exile? In this conference he used these expressions to the Emperour; *Judicia quidem Ecclesiastica, O Imperator, summa cum equitate fieri debent. Quapropter si tuæ Clementiæ ita visum sit, iudicium haberi iubeto. &c.* Then speaking for the Orthodox Bishops that were deprived; he added. *Quapropter, si placet, iube Episcopos ad proprias sedes restitui:* (though deprived by the Arrian Bishops in three Councils) hereby acknowledging the Supream Ecclesiastical Judicature, and power of depriving, restoring Bishops for matters of Faith, to be in the Emperor. *Liberius* after two years exile (upon the Petition of the Roman Matrons to this Emperor) was restored to his See of Rome, which *Felix* governed during his absence: but with this direction

Anno 433
a Platina, Onu-
phius, Luit-
prandius, Lye-
us in Saxo 3.
Baronius Anno
433. Sabellicus
Centur. Magd.
5. col. col. 905.
Sirius Concil.
Tom. 1. p. 698.
701, 702, 703,
704.

b Concil. Tom.
1. p. 703.

c Causa 2. qu.
4.

d Gratian D.
dist. 62.
cap. Apostoli-
cum.

Anno 355.
e Theodoret Ec-
cles. Hist. l. 2.
c. 16, 17. Ni-
cephorus Eccl.
Hist. l. 9. c. 35.
37. Tripartita
Hist. l. 5. c. 16,
17. Cent. Mag.
4. col. 107, 174
1283, 1284.

in this Emperors Letters, *Utrosque communiter inter se Ecclesiam illam regere. Itaque lectis Imperatoris in Circo literis, plebs clamat, æquam esse Imperatoris sententiam*: Hereupon, *Ambobus porro & Felici & Liberio permissum est communiter sacra curare, et munus Apostolicum administrare. Qui quidem concordēs fuere, & quicquid medio tempore accedat, rerum adversarum & tristium, per amnestiam & oblivionem absolvere. Sed paulo post, Felix mortuus est, & solus Liberius Episcopatum administravit. Quod sic Deus, recte providit Ecclesia, ita ut decebat rebus consulens, ne primaria Apostolorum sedes foedam illam et incommodam a duobus gubernata ducibus contraheret notam: quæ res ab Ecclesiæ constitutionibus est aliena: discordiamque ut plurimum conciliare solet, write (a) Nicephorus, Sozomen, and others. This Pope Liberius before his return to Rome, (b) tædio exilii fractus et Imperatoris beneficio illectus, Arrianis subscripsit, et in omnibus cum Arrianus sensit, præterquam quod cum Catholicis sentiret, hæreticos ad fidem redeuntes non esse rebaptizandos: which Baronius in vain denies. This Pope, no doubt might be more justly removed, banished, deposed for his Heresie by the Emperor after his subscription and Apostacy, than he was at first for his orthodoxy, and friendship to Athanasius: unlesse the Pontificians will conclude with (c) Ennodius his censure of them; Successores Petri, una cum Sedis privilegiis, peccandi quoque licentiam accepisse.*

a Eccles. hist. l. 9
c. 37. Centur.
Magd. 4. col.
493. 553. So-
zomen. l. 4. c. 35
b Platina, Onu-
phrius, Luit-
prandius, Lydi-
us, Barnes, in
Vita Liberii.
Sozomen. l. 4.
c. 11. Athana-
si Epist. ad So-
litarium Vitam
agentes. Cent.
Magd. 4. col.
325. 1283.
1284.
c Surius Concl.
Tom. 2. p. 337.
Sec. Bp. Jewels
Defence of the
Apology, p. 699.

Anno 440.
d De Vocatione
Gentium, l. 2.
c. 16.

It is the memorable saying of d Prosper Aquitanicus, That as it was the will of God, ut Evangelium Christi totus mundus audiret, & in eas gentes quæ remotiores sunt, longe lateque percurreret: To effect this design, Ad cujus rei effectum credimus providentia Dei, Romani regni latitudinem præparatam, ut Nationes vocatæ ad Unitatem corporis Christi, prius jure unius consociarentur Imperii: (most of them turning Christians when Constantine the Great and other Emperors embraced and propagated the Christian faith) quamvis gratia Christiana non contenta sit eosdem limites habere quos Roma, multosque jam populos sceptro Crucis Christi illa subdiderit, quos armis suis ista non donavit. Qua tamen per Sacerdotii Apostolici principatum amplior facta est arce religionis, quam Solio Potestatis.

e Epigram. 34.

And (e) elsewhere, De Obsequiis Debitis Principi, he thus determines,

*Mitibus et Sanctis, nulla est Spernanda Potestas,
Æquum servire est Regibus, ac Dominis:
Ut Christi famulis ad veram profuit honorem,
Dilexisse bonos, & tolerasse malos.*

Anno 440.
e Ecclesiast.
Hist. l. 5. Pro-
emio.

(e) Socrates Scholasticus, his Contemporary, hath this passage; thus Englished by Bishop Haumer his Translator. We have therefore throughout our History made mention of the Emperours, because that since they began to embrace the Christian Religion, the Ecclesiastical affairs seemed much to depend of them; so that the chiefest Councils were in times past, and are at this day summoned by their consent and procurement (not the Popes.) And he there further observes, how when the Commonwealth hath been tossed and turmoyled with troublesome dissention and discord, the Church of God likewise (as infected with the same contagious disease) hath been altogether out of quiet. For whosoever with diligent observation will remember the aforesaid times, without doubt he shall perceive (as our selves have lately done) that when the Commonwealth was in an hurlyburly, the Church in like sort was shaken with the storms of aduersity: for either he shall find, that both at one time, were out of quiet, or that the ones misery ensued immediately after the others misfortune: and sometimes when the Church began to vary about Religion, the Commonwealth immediately followed after with Rebellion; and some other times on the contrary. Therefore Godly Christian Emperours are the principal means, under God, to preserve the peace, and advance the felicity of

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of Church and State, by having the Supream Jurisdiction in and over both, and endeavouring the defence, propagation of the true orthodox faith, and spiritual as well as temporal happinesse of their Subjects, as he proves throughout his Ecclesiastical History; and *Socrumenus* too his coetanean and fellow Historian in his *History*.

Pope *Leo* the 1. flourishing about the year of Christ 450. with all the *Churches*, *Clergy* under him, earnestly besought the Emperor *Theodosius the younger* with *Epistles* and *Tears*, **That he would command the General Council to be held within Italy**; which he would not grant, but summoned the Council at *Ephesus*, and them to appear thereat. A clear confession of the Emperors, and disclaimer of his own Ecclesiastical Superiority: especially if compared with his 24. & 25. *Epistles* to the Emperor *Theodosius*, where he writes thus, *Ecce ego, Christianissime Imperator, consecratoribus meis implens erga reverentiam Clementia vestra sinceri amoris officium, cupiensq; vos per omnia placere Deo, cui pro vobis ab Ecclesia supplicatur, &c.* In his 59. *Epistle* to the Emperor *Martian*, he writes thus, *Unde ineffabiliter Deo gratias ago, qui eo tempore quo obozitura Hæreticorum scandala præsciebat Vos in Imperii fastigio collocavit, in quibus ad totius mundi salutem, et regia potentia, et Sacerdotalis vigeret industria.* *Epistle* 60. to the Empress *Pulcheria* he thus expresseth himself, *Per quam significationem Clementia vestra, ab olutè me gaudere, et incessabilibus, a Deo precibus postulare, ut vos et Romanæ Reipublicæ, et Catholice Ecclesiæ in omni prosperitate conserbet.* In his *Epistle* 74. to the Emperour *Leo*, he writes; *Non desinimus gratias agere, et providentiam Dei, in fidei vestræ serboze benedicere, qui sancto et Catholico Spiritu, ita Hæreticorum impudentiæ resistitis.* In his 78. *Epistle* to the same Emperor, he begins thus. *Multo gaudio mens mea exultat in Domino, et magna mihi est ratio gloriandi, cum Clementiæ vestræ excellentissimam fidem augeri per omnia donis gratiæ celestis agnosco, &c.* *Epistle* 99. to the same Emperor *Leo* he writes thus: *Sciat igitur Clementia vestra omnes Ecclesias Dei cum laude vestra exultare pariter et lætari. Inveniemur impares in gratiarum actione si nostri tantum oris angustiis Universalis Ecclesiæ gaudia celebremus, &c.* Yea this Pope himself in these and other his *Epistles*, exhorts all these Emperors, to defend the Christian faith against Hereticks defined in the Councils of *Nice*, *Ephesus*, and *Chalcedon*, against all Hereticks that opposed their *Credo*s; by their Imperial Edicts to disannull all Constitutions of heretical Councils, Bishops; and repress all Hereticks or Heresies contrary to them, and not suffer them to reëlate the Articles of faith established in them.

The same Pope *Leo* in his 7. *Epistle* highly commends *Theodosius* the Emperor, for his most pious care of the true Christian faith and religion, **Ne scilicet in populo Dei, aut Schismata, aut Hæreses, aut ulla scandala convalescant.** And *Epistola* 33. writing of the *Priscillianists* and their Heresies first breaking out in the world; he thus relates the zeal and Edicts of Princes then made against them. **Quando mundi Principes ita hanc sacrilegam amentiam detestati sunt, ut Authorem ejus, ac plerosque discipulos legum publicarum ense prosternebant.** Videbant enim omnem curam honestatis auferri, simulque divinum jus humanumque subruï, si hujusmodi hominibus vivere, cum tali professione licuisset. Et profuit diu ista districtio Ecclesiæ lenitati; quæ etsi Sacerdotali contenta iudicio, et cruentas refugit ultiones, severis tamen Christianorum Principum constitutionibus adjuvatur, ut ad spirituale nunquam recurrant remedium, qui timent corporale supplicium. What stronger, clearer evidence then these of this Pope *Leo* can we desire, to prove the Supremacy of Christian Emperors, Princes in divine and Ecclesiastical affairs, and over Popes themselves, and that they ought to take speciall care to preserve, propagate the true Christian faith, and suppress all Heresies, Schisms, and scandalous crimes repugnant thereunto.

Anno 450

Primasius Bishop of *Utica* in *Africa*, in his Commentary on 1 Tim. 2. *Ora pro Regibus*, &c. thus descants; *ut cognoscant Deum, sive ut subiectas habeant Gentes; in illorum enim pace quies nostra consistit; si enim Christiani sunt, cessabit persequioris impetus.* Hoc enim bonum est, & acceptum coram salvatore nostro, **Ut et vos** (especially if Christian Kings) **sicut et ille, omnes homines salvati cupiatis**, And Com: l. 2. in Apoc. c. 17. p. 101, 102. He thus describes the Sovereign power of the Roman Emperors typified by St. John: *Proprie autem septem capita, septem montes, ut Romam, quæ super septem montes præsidet significans, omni quod orbe Monarchiæ præfuit Dominatu, ad istorum Regum similitudinem adduxisset, & in Roma inveniri totius Regni potentiam figuraret.* *Septenario autem numero voluit universalitatem ipsius Dominationis ostendere,* as well over Popes, as others within their Territories.

Anno 450
Surius Concil.
Tom. 1. p. 8, 10,
11, 21, 16, 31,
102, 103, 106,
129, 142, 157,
158, 162.

The General Council of *Chalcedon* Anno 451. consisting of no lesse then 630. Bishops and Fathers of the Church, was summoned by the Emperors *Martian* & *Valentinian*, *facta est Synodus ex decreto piissimorum Imp. Martiani et Valentiniani.* *Martianus* in his Epistle to Pope *Leo* concerning its summons, writes thus; *De studio & oratione nostra, Sanctitas tua non dubitat, quoniam Christianorum religionem et Catholicam fidem firmiter volumus permanere, et ab omni populo pia mente servari. Denique sollicitudinem nostræ potentie, ex recta religione et propiciatione Salvatoris nostri consistere, non ambigunt.* These Emperors *Valentinianus* and *Martianus* in their Letters to this Council (first convened by them at *Nice*) to remove to *Chalcedon*, since by reason of their other affairs they could not repair to *Nice*, and their presence was necessary in this Council, use this memorable expression; *Illud enim præcavimus, licet Nos hic publicæ causæ retineant, quoniam quæ prosunt veræ et orthodoxæ fidei, et paci et discipline sanctarum Ecclesiarum, OMNIBUS ARBITRAMUR ESSE PRÆPONENDA, nec dubitamus quia etiam vestre sanctitati hoc placebit. Nos enim propter ferventissimum Dei zelum, publicarum rerum necessarias utilitates in præsentî distulimus, multum desiderantes ea; quæ et orthodoxæ et veræ sunt fidei, tranquillitatis nostræ præsentia confirmari. Quare ergo dignemini pro nostro Imperio, quatenus et hostes Nobis subditis efficiantur, et par in Universo orbe firmetur, et Romane res secure consistant; quod etiam nunc vos facere indicamus.* In their Epistle to *Dioscorus* Patriarch of *Antioch* they write, *Cunctis constitit manifestum, quia nostra reipublicæ statum, & omnia humana, divina pietate moderantur atque firmantur. Deo enim propicio constituto, prospere & secundum vota nostra gubernari res & proficere solent. Imperium ergo divino nutu sortiti, subditis pro pietate et mansuetudine similiter necessaria plurimam sollicitudinem impartimus, quatenus et vera religio, et nostra respublica, cultu Dei purissimo, et pietate firma præfulgeat.* When the Council met at *Chalcedon* by their Summons, the Emperor *Martianus*, accompanied with his Empress, and Senators, made a most pious Oration to them; with this memorable Exordium. Cum primum per electionem in regnum de secreto Dei proveci sumus, inter tantas publicas utilitates, nullum magis Nos constrinxit negotium quam rectam et veram fidem Christianorum, quæ sancta et veneranda consistit, indubitatam omnibus declarare. Then taxing those Bishops and Clergymen who out of avarice and vainglory had broached Heresies, to the prejudice of the Orthodox faith, and Churches peace, which he had summoned them to settle by his authority. He subjoyns, *Nobis autem omne studium adhibendum est, ut populus propter veram sanctamque doctrinam ipsum sentiant uni rectæ applicare Ecclesiæ.* And therefore he exhorts them to addresse themselves with all expedition and sincerity, truly to expound the Catholick faith, and disperse the cloud of Error in this Synod;

ut

ut semper serventur quæ statuta sunt. Erit quidem divina providentia, quod pie fieri volumus, in seculo hoc confirmare firmissima. Et post Regis hæc verba, omnes Episcopi clamaverunt: Martiano nobis Constantino multi anni: Orthodoxis multi anni; Martiano amatori Christi, Regnum vestrum in perpetuum permaneat, digni Orthodoxæ fidei amatoris.

In this Council, the Emperor, & Gloriosissimi Judices, & amplissimus Senatus, are first named in every Session, sate in the midst and chiefest place, and were the Presidents, Moderators, chief Judges in this Council, as the frequent repetitions of, Gloriosissimi Judices & amplissimi Senatus, dixerunt, through all the Acts and Sessions of this Council, resolve; and these oft repeated acclamations of the Bishops approving their decisions and resolves: * Multi anni Imperatoribus, Deus qui hoc fecit.

* Sarius Tom.
2. p. 164, 165,
186, 188.

Multi anni Imperatorum, Magnorum Imperatorum multi anni, multi anni Senatus, multi anni Iudicum, Orthodoxorum multi anni, hæc integra ab initio; hæc par Ecclesiarum. Piissimis et Christi Amantibus nostris, nostris Imperatoribus Flavio Valentiniano, et Flavio Martiano, Victoribus et Triumphatoribus semper Augustis, multi anni. Hence they with divers other Archimandritæ, or Abbots in their Epistle to the Emperour Martianus pray thus for him. *Ut iterum per sanctos Patres sancta fide confirmata, possimus reliquum tempus vite nostræ castè & piè vivere, & in pace incessanter consuevas orationes offerre Domino nostro Christo pro diuturnitate æterni vestri Imperii, qui et sua bona voluntate invisibiliter, nobis donabit Imperium Divinissimæ Augusti.* After this, Actio 6. Martianus the Emperor making two Orations to the Council, the one in Latin, the other in Greek, (Recorded in the Acts thereof.) All the whole Council at the end of both his Orations cried out, * Multi anni Imperatori, multi anni Augusta, Orthodoxis multos annos, Imperatori multos Annos, Augusta Orthodoxa multos annos, Martiano Amatori Christi, vestrum nobis daret Imperium, semper nobis Imperatris, digne et Orthodoxa fide, Amatoribus Christi procul invidia.

* Sarius Tom.
2. p. 137, 138,

After which these Bishops having tendered a Confession of their Faith to the Emperour, Omnes clamaverunt, Omnes sic credimus, &c. Martiano nobis Constantino, nobis Paulo, nobis David, multos Annos, David Imperatori pro Domino, vitam ei, Nobis Constantino, Nobis Martiano. Nos fides nostra; Christus quem honoras, ipse te custodiet, Orthodoxam fidem tu roborasti. Sicut Apostolici ita creditis, Augustæ multos annos. Nos lumina Orthodoxæ fidei, propter hæc ubique Pax est, lumina Pacis. Domine tu custodi Luminaria mundi, Domine tu custodi. Perpetua memoria Nobis Constantino. Quæ ex genere Orthodoxa est, Deus eam custodiat. Eam quæ semper pia est, Deus custodiat. Pia, Orthodoxa quæ contraria est hæreticis, Deus eam Custodiat. Omnes hæreticos tu fugasti, Nestorium et Eutichen tu persecuta es. Absit invidia a vestro Imperio, fideles Imperatores sic honorantur. Deus custodiat potestatem vestram, Deus pacificet imperium vestrum. Martianus nobis Constantinus, Pulcheria nobis Helena. Zelum Helenæ tu sectaris, vestra vita munimen cunctorum est, vestra fides Ecclesiarum Gloria est. Afterwards the Emperor rendring publique thanks to God for Composing the manifold discords of those who had erred concerning the Faith, and that now in unam eandemque Religionem omnes nunc una voluntate convenerimus, sperantes celerrimam vestris ad divinitatem Precibus et cura omnem pacem Nobis a Deo donari; Omnes Clamaverunt, hæc digna vestro Imperio, hæc propria vestri regni, &c. Cœlestis Rex terrenum custodi. Per te fides firmata est Cœlestis, Augustam custodi. Per te fides firmata est. Unus Deus qui hoc fecit, Cœlestis Rex Augustam custodi dignam

* Sarius, p.
142, 145, 161,
197, 198.

nam paci, &c. Per vos Fides, per vos Pax. Hæc Oratio Ecclesiasticorum. Hæc Oratio Pastorum. Again. Omnes clamaverunt, Multos annos Imperatori, Multos annos Augustis, Pæ et Christianæ Augustæ Orthodoxæ multi anni. Multos annos piæ et Patriæ Christi, Imperium vestrum Deus custodiat. In perpetuum maneat vestrum Imperium.

^a Surius, Tom. 2. p. 25, 38, 55, 58, 66, 67, 95, 109.

In this * Council Actio 1. when some would have added an explanation to the Canon of the Council of Nice, the Egyptian, Oriental and other Bishops cried out, *Nemo suscepit adjectionem, nemo diminutionem. Quæ in Nicea constituta sunt, teneant*; Catholicus Imperator hoc iussit. Quod Imperialis præcipit auctoritas, omnibus modis observandum est; Iustum est quæ a piissimo Principe præcepta erant effectui mancipari. Et necesse nobis erit in omnibus Imperatoris Christi amore cedere iustioni. Omnia referantur ad cognitionem Clementiæ, &c. Iustum est a Domino orbis terræ, ut Synodus de Flaviano prius iudicaret. Actio 11. Bassianus Bishop of Ephesus humbly petitioned the Emperours Valentinian and Martian, to be restored to his Bishoprick, and goods, of which he was forcibly dispossessed by Souldiers, without hearing *ut iis petitis consuetas Orationes referam, incessanter Deo pro vestra Potestatis Imperio*. In this Council, there are frequent recitals of *Sancta & magna & Universalis Synodus quæ gratia Dei secundum Sanctionem piissimorum, et Deo amantissimorum Imperatorum immaculata collecta est in Chalcedonen- si Civitate. Imperator Episcopos vocavit. Placuit et nunc piissimis et Christianissimis Imperatoribus nostris sancire, sanctam et magnam vestram Synodum huc concurrere. quatenus quæ nuper emerferunt de catholica & immaculata nostra fide quærantur; et ea radicibus evellantur; & ne fortè trahentia & retrahentia, simplicissimos aliquos in foveam perfidie et erroris impingent, quia tanta eis est de pietate sollicitudo, et ut ea custodiantur in perpetuum, inconcussa et immaculata quæ de Orthodoxa Religione nostra pridem quidem a beatissimis patribus quæ in Nicea convenerunt sunt exposita. Their Letters of Summons sent to Dioscorus Bishop of Alexandria, and other Bishops, begin thus. Imperatores Cæsares, &c. Omnibus constat manifestum, quia nostræ reipublicæ dispositio et universa humana per pietatem circa Deum continentur et confirmantur. When this General Council, by the Emperors Judges and Senators approbation, had finished their determinations concerning the Christian faith, the Emperors ratified them by their Imperial Lawes, Edicts, prohibiting all *Conventicles, Disputations, Heresies, and Bookes* against them, as their Lawes recorded in (c) Surius, (d) Justinian, and others (over tedious to relate) demonstrate: wherein they declare, *Tandem aliquando quod summis votis atque studiis optabamus, evenit. Remota est de Orthodoxa Christianorum lege contentio; tandem remedia culpabilis erroris inventa sunt, et discors populorum sententia in unum consensum concordiamque convenit. Cessat igitur jam prophana contentio. Nam in contemptores huius Legis poena non deerit, quia non solum contra fidem bene compositam veniunt, sed etiam Judæis et Paganis ex huiusmodi certamine prophanan- veneranda mysteria. Sacro nostræ Serenitatis Edicto venerandam Synodum confirmantes, admonuimus Univerfos, ut de religione disputare desinant, &c.* In this General Council of Chalcedon, I shall observe these three Passages relating to the Glorious Lay-Judges, and Senate presiding therein by the Emperors appointment. 1. That when the (e) Bishops in the Synods first Session, were divided against each other, in the Cases of Theodoretus and Dioscorus, some crying out against the one, that he should be thrust out of the Synod; others, that he should sit, and the other side excluded. *Impugnatores Dei foras mittere, Judæum foras mittere, Seditiosos foras mittere, &c. Multos annos Au-**

^b Surius, Tom. 2. p. 11, 20, 21, 27, 132, 133, 102, 103, 106, 210.

^c Surius, Tom. 2. p. 133, 134 &c.
^d Codicis, lib. 1. Tit. 4. Lex 3, 4.

^e Surius Concil. Tom. 2. p. 17.

gusta,

gusta, Catholico Imperatori multos annos. Thereupon **Gloriosissimi Iudices et amplissimus Senatus dixerunt**, *Acclamationes ista populares neque Episcopos decet, neque partes juvant.* 2. That in the debates concerning the Orthodox faith, (f) **Gloriosissimi Iudices et amplissimus Senatus dixerunt**, *in iudicio fidei non est ista a defensione.* *De Recta quidem & Catholica fide, perfectius sequenti die convenienti Concilio, diligentem Examinationem fieri oportere perficimus.* Nunc autem hoc querendum & studendum & iudicandum est, ut vera fides contineatur, pro qua maximè & Concilium factum est, &c. directing the Bishops how to proceed therein, and informing them of the Emperors resolution and their own concerning it, in these words; *Scire enim vos velimus quia tam divinissimus & piissimus Orbis terrarum Dominus, quam Nos, Catholicam fidem à 318. & à 150. necnon etiam a ceteris sanctissimis & gloriosissimis patribus traditam, custodimus, & secundum ipsam credimus;* Whereupon, Reverendissimi Episcopi clamant; **Expositionem alteram nullus facit, neque tentamus, neque audemus exponere.** *Docuerunt eam Patres, & in scriptis custodiantur quæ ab eis sunt exposita, & citra ea dicere non possumus.* Sufficiunt quæ exposita sunt, alteram expositionem non licet fieri. **Gloriosissimi Iudices & amplissimus Senatus dixerunt**, *Recitentur quæ exposita sunt a Sanctis 318 Patribus in Nicea congregatis.* Whereupon the Nicene Creed was read, with the Epistle of Leo, and other Treatises in defence thereof: then voted by the Judges, Senate, Council, and ratified by the Emperors Edicts. 3ly. That when the complaints of the Orthodox Bishops unjustly deprived in a former Council at Ephesus by Dioscorus and others, were there fully heard, the former proceedings against them read, and Witnesses examined by the Judges with those who deposed them; the Judges and Senate, not the Council, gave thus final sentence therein; **Gloriosissimi Iudices, et amplissimus Senatus, dixerunt:** *Quoniam verò Flavianus religiosa memoria, & Eutychius reverendus Episcopus ex gestorum & cognitionum scrutatione, & ipsa voce quorundam qui huic Synodo præsuerint, confitentium se errasse, & frustra eos damnasse; quia nihil circa fidem monstrantur errasse, ostenduntur injuste depositi, Videtur nobis (secundum quod Deo placitum est) Iustum esse (si placuerit divinissimis et piissimis Dominis nostris) eidem pænæ Dioscorum reverend. Episcopum Alexandria, & Juvenalem reverendum Episcopum Hierosolymorum, & Thalassium reverend. Episcopum Cæsariæ Cappadociæ, & Eusebium reverend. Episcopum Ancyra, & Eustathium reverend. Episcopum Beryti, & Basileum reverend. Episcopum Seleuciæ Isauriæ, qui potestatem et principatum Synodi tenuerunt, subiacere, et a sancto Concilio secundum regulas, ab Episcopali dignitate fieri alienos, omnibus quæ acta sunt, ad sacrum Apicem (the Emperors) referendis.* Hereupon Orientales, & qui cum ipsis reverendi Episcopi, clamaverunt, **Hoc iustum Iudicium: Multos annos Senatus, multos annos Imperatoribus.** *Impius semper fugit, Dioscorum Christum deposuit; Homicidam Christus deposuit: Hæc iusta sententia; Hoc iustum concilium: Iustus Senatus, Iustum Concilium;* which they oft repeated. On the other side, *Illyriani Episcopi dixerunt; Omnes erravimus, omnes veniam increamur. Has preces Concilio Catholico, has preces Augusto; Omnes peccavimus, omnibus indulgeatur precamur; omnes peccavimus, omnium miseremini. Omnes peccavimus, omnibus indulgete.* Dioscorum in Synodo, Dioscorum in Ecclesiis. These Interlocutions ended, **Magnificentissimi, et gloriosissimi, et amplissimus Senatus et Iudices dixerunt**, *Quæ interlocuta sunt, effectui mancipantur.* After this judgement Dioscorus, was deprived and banished accordingly by the Emperor, and Proterus substituted in his place. 4ly. It is observable what (d) Meliphongus spake in this Council & debate, *Quoniam igitur piissimus Imperator ex abita traditione consuevit orthodoxam continere fidem. Et in nullas sanctas regulas irumpere, postulamus ejus referri Clementiæ. Et si iusserit in criminali causa alterum pro altero decertare, et hoc suscipimus, præcipue quia universalem præcepit fieri Synodum.* All which irrefragable Passages infallibly demonstrate these Emperors Supremacy in all religious and Ecclesiastical affairs in that age; and that they reputed the maintenance, propa-

a Ibid. p. 102, 103, 106.

b Ibidem, p. 102, 103, 106. Cent. Magd. s. ccl. 934, 235.

c Nicephorus, Eccles. Hist. l. 45. c. 4. 8. Cent. Magd. s. col. 55.

d Surius, lb. d. p. 55.

gation of the true Orthodox faith, and their peoples spiritual Welfare; the principal part of their Regal care, and Imperial office.

Anno 451
* Justin. Cod.
lib. 1. Tit. 4.
Lex 2, 3.

These Religious zealous Emperors, as they ratified the Decrees for the Orthodox Faith made in this General Council of *Chalcedon*, so they did by this their Edict confirm those of the Council of *Nice*, summoned and formerly ratified by *Constantine* the Great, * *Unius et summi Dei nomen ubique celebretur: Nicenæ fidei dudum a maioribus tradita, et divine Religionis testimonio atque assertione firmata observantia semper mansura teneat. Nullus hæreticis ministeriorum locus, nullam ad exercendam animi obstinatiois dementiam pateat occasio, &c.*

Anno 451
* Sarius, Tom.
2. p. 180, 181, 182
185.

In the General Council of *Chalcedon*, Actio 11. I find this Supplicatory Letter and Petition of *Bassianus* to the Emperors *Valentinianus* and *Martianus*, beginning thus; * *Terræ, marisque, et totius humani generis Dominis* (therefore of all Popes certainly) *Flavius Valentiniano et Martiano perpetuis Augustis*, Supplicatio & deprecatio, a *Bassiano* humili & pusillo Episcopo. *Omnis salus violentiam patientium post Deum vestra tranquillitas est, præcipue autem Sacerdotum Christi.* Quapropter et ego ad has preces veni, provolutus vestigiis vestris, ut mei misereamini. Then relating his case and grievance in being forcibly thrust out of the Bishoprick of *Ephesus* to which he was elected, of which he had 4. years possession, by *Stephanus* then Bishop; He adds, *Supplico vestræ pietati, et vobis divinis vestris sacratis vestigiis, quatenus sancire dignetur vestra cælestis potestas, sacra vestra subnotatione missa ad sanctum Concilium, ut cognitio fiat inter me miserimum et eos qui in me talia præsumpserint, &c.* Whereupon the Emperors referred his cause to the examination of the Council; where both parties are heard, *Et gloriosissimi Iudices*, appointed by the Emperors to preside in this Council, not the Bishops, directed the proceedings, examine the cause, and pronounce the Sentence, that both of them should be removed, as unduly elected and ordained, but retain the name of Bishops, that *Bassianus* should have an annual pension out of it during his life, and restitution to all goods taken from him, upon due proof thereof.

* Sarius, Tom.
2. p. 186.

In the (b) same General Council, Actio 13. *Eunomius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, and all his Clergy, exhibited the like Petition to these Emperors, beginning as the former, *Terræ, marisque, et totius gentis hominum Dominis, &c.* *Deus vobis Imperium, ut omnes gubernetis* (therefore Popes, as well as others) *ad salutem orbis terrarum, et pacem sanctarum Ecclesiarum iuste donavit: Quapropter ante omnia, et per omnia* (mark it) *pissimi et Christi amantissimi Principes pro orthodoxæ et saluberrimæ fidei dogmatibus cogitatis, tam hereticorum fremitus extinguentes, quam pia ad lucem dogmata deducentes. Unde profferimus nos Majestatis vestræ vestigiis, ut jubeatis arceri injustitiam quæ adversum nos a reverendissimo Episcopo Niceno Anastasio est præsumpta, quatenus valeamus congrua pace fruantes sine intermissione divina mysteria perficere, et consuetas orationes Domino Deo pro æterna vestra potestate solvamus.* Their complaint was, that *Anastasio*, neque honorem Dei præ oculis sumens, neque leges vestræ pietatis reveritus, had invaded their rights, *quas nobis pietatis vestris legibus & Ecclesiasticis sanctionibus sunt collata, quæ nullus aliquando præcessorum ejus jubere aut movere tentavit.* Both parties are heard, and their case examined as the former, by the *Gloriosissimi Iudices*; not Bishops.

d Sarius, ibid.
188, 189.

* In the 14th Action of this Council, I meet with this memorable Petition of *Salvinianus*, *Paros Episcopi*, somewhat varying from the former, *Pissimis et Christo amantissimis, et digne a Deo omnium honoratis Augustis Valentiniano & Martiano, preces & supplicatio, a Salviniano Episcopo, Dominus omnium videns Apostolicam et Orthodoxam fidem a dissimulatozibus interim fatigari, et omnem mundum seditionibus verari,*

ri, et suscitabit vestram pietatem universum mundum regere atque gubernare, et tumultus qui a nefandis exorti sunt, sanctorum doctrina reprimere, et claritatem atque soliditatem recti dogmate confirmare. Unde iuste vestra tranquillitati ac de vobis dicit Deus, Exaltavi electum de plebe mea, Inveni David servum meum, &c. Credens itaque nutu divino super omnem principatum ac dominationem consistere vestrum Principatum (therefore above the Popes, and Councils) adsum supplicans et rogans vestram pietatem, ut mei pro videntiam fieri, et causam meam examinari præcipiatis; Ego enim a puero eram in Monasterio dispensator omnium rerum, nihil de Episcopatu cogitans, neque rogans quemquam huius gratia dignitatis. Dum ergo essem in Monachorum providentia constitutus, adfuit mihi repente illius temporis Metropolitanus Episcopus cum provincialibus Episcopis, & me Paros ordinavit Episcopum, de qua in scriptis decessit est Athanasius, ex gravissimis capitibus accusatus, nec volens pro illis sibi criminibus reddere rationem, qui aliquando quidem Episcopatum repudiabat. Frequenter vero citationes vocantium eum ad Synodorum iudicium, declinabat. Is enim in Ephesina Synodo ex præcepto Alexandrini præsulis in meam Ecclesiam superingressus est, & ego, præter voluntatem meam ordinatus, expulsus sum. Et hæc quidem acta sunt habitatoribus illius civitatis dolentibus & ludentibus meam expulsionem. Supplico igitur et vestra potentia, ut jubeatis meam causam sub præsentia vestra pietatis examinari, et placitum terminum dari; ut et ego cum cunctis aliis consuetas orationes pro perpetua vestra potentia semper exoribam, Pissimi atque victores Principes. Salvianus Episcopus dictata et subscripsi et offero vestrae pietati, Baeronicianus vir devotissimus, Secretarium divini Consistorii legit. This Cause, and all the proceedings in it in two former Councils of Ephesus and Antioch, were fully heard, read and considered, and at last referred by the Judges themselves to Maximus Bishop of Antioch to settle, Salvianus in the mean time being to enjoy the Title of the Bishop of Paros, and receive maintenance out of it.

Fol. 82.

I find in * Evagrius (but not in the Acts of this Council) a like Petition from Eusebius Bishop of Dorilum; beginning thus, It becometh your Majesties (most noble and puissant Emperors) to provide carefully for the quieting of all your loving Subjects, and to defend from injuries all other men, but especially the sacred Senate of Priesthood. And herein the divine Godhead, which hath granted unto you the rule and domination of the whole world, is truly honored; wherefore seeing the Christian faith, and we our selves also have been oppressed, and unjustly molested by extreme wrong by Dioscorus, the most Reverend Bishop of the most Noble City of Alexandria, we are now come unto your wonted Clemency, to crave Justice at your hands. Then complaining of his and Flavianus Bishop of Constantinople unjust depositions from their Bishopricks in the Council of Ephesus, by the power and unjust practises of Dioscorus, and accusing him of Blasphemy and Heresie, he Petitions the Emperors on his bended knees, that his Petition might by his Letters be referred to the Council; that both their doings might therein be justly examined, and indifferently heard before them, and then certified to their Imperial Majesties, to do them right.

† Ecclesiast. Hist. l. 1. c. 18

By all which Petitions, even of these Bishops themselves, the Sovereign Authority of Christian Emperors and Kings in and over all Ecclesiastical causes; persons, and in matters of faith, religion, and final Right of Appeals to them from unjust Judgements given not only by Bishops, but General Councils in the very case of deprivation of Bishops for Heresie and Ecclesiastical offences, is so clearly set forth by words and actions, that nothing can be more full and satisfactory.

The Emperor Leo by his Letters to all Metropolitans in the very beginning of his reign, confirmed the Orthodox faith professed heretofore by his Predecessors; yet notwithstanding, the Heretical faction at Alexandria, in the absence of Dionysius Captain of the Garrison, elected Timotheus Elius (an heretick, and oppugner of the Council of Chalcedon) for their Bishop, and barbarously slew Proterius their orthodox Bishop, thrusting Timotheus into his place; whereupon all the Bishops of

Anno 458
Evagrius Ecclesiast. Hist. l. 2. c. 8, 9: Nicephorus Ecclesiast. Hist. l. 15. c. 18, &c. Sicut Concil. Tom. 2. p. 321. 225, &c.

*Aegypti and Clergy of Alexandria by a supplicatory Epistle complained to this Emperor Leo the 1. of this outrage, desiring Justice and redresse: wherein they relate, A superna gratia modo divinitus condonatus, iussu non cessas pro communi utilitate cogitare, post Deum cunctorum venerabilis Imperator. Quapropter omnis fortitudo verborum tuis vincitur actibus. Nuper enim electus a Deo et purpura exornatus optimum iudicasti propositum tuum magnum ostendere, quem ipse omnium Creator elegit, benignius iniuriis largitatem remunerando bonorum, quando repente in ipso principio voce vestra ex scripto procedente piissimo, ad Sanctissimos Metropolitano, Episcopos, inerumpibilem Ecclesiae Catholicae crepidinem roborasti, et priorum omnium, piissimorumque Principum constituta, pro Orthodoxa religione firmasti. Insuper & ea, quae nuper a sanctae memoriae Martiano, Principe nostro sancita sunt consona decernente, nihil aliud estis merati, quam pacem omnium & stabilitatem reipublicae, frangentes linguas eorum qui adversus Ecclesias consurgunt, et blasphemant Deum, aut in eum quocunque modo delinquant. Injuria namque Dei manifesta est, haereticorum ascendunt semetipsos a recta fide, licentia. Quapropter hoc optime sciens venerabilis Imperator, maligni prolem existere insidiantes quieti sanctarum Christi semper Ecclesiarum, earumque immutatam pacem consistere non scientes, recte prohibitionem tuam studuisti mox adhiberi, ei per omnia resistentem, QUOD EST OPUS PISSIMORUM PRINCIPUM (let Popes and Prelates observe it) pro orthodoxa fide pugnantium, et resistentium primis malis extrinsecus venientibus, ET ANIMABUS FIDELIUM ADVERSANTIBUS. Hunc igitur animum te possidente religiosum et tutorem humani generis tantumque circa Christum studium demonstrantem, adiuvas et nos, importabilia mala passi, licet peccatores Christi Pontifices: Then relating their grievances, the election of *Timothew*, the murder of *Proterius*, the growth of heresie, opposing the orthodox faith, and violent thrusting them out of their Churches, at large, to the Emperor, thus pray redresse from him as their only Supream Ecclesiastical Judge and Protector. Sanciri praecipite ut expulsi sine calumnia ad suas Ecclesias, in pace celebrantes, pro vestra pietate solennes orationes, cum quiete servari, urbemque pariter et in ea sanctas Ecclesias constitutas ad Christi gloriam et salutem, et perpetuitatem vestrae Christianissimae pietatis; Literas dirigentes, pro his quae poscimus ad magnificentissimum Dionysium Ducem, necnon ad singularum provinciarum Iudices (not to the Pope, or any Clergy men) quatenus ea quae a vestra mansuetudine sunt sancita, et servantur, et effectui contradantur. Hereupon this pious Emperor presently sent abroad his Letters to all the Cities, Bishops and Churches under his Empire; wherein he declares, Notum quidem meae pietatis fuit universas orthodoxorum sanctas Ecclesias, necnon et Civitates sub Romano Imperio constitutas, maxima frui quiete, nihilque contingere, quod possit earum statum tranquillitatemque turbare, &c. Then relating the tumults at *Alexandria* in electing *Timothew* their Bishop; he requires them all to summon all their Bishops and Clergy together, and examining all these things with deliberate care and fidelity, to certify him their several opinions concerning his election, and the Council of *Chalcedon* determinations. This they accordingly did, by their respective Letters returned to the Emperor collected by *Syrinus*, being 38. in number (one from Pope *Leo* the 1.) subscribed with above 500 Bishops hands, wherein they approve the Council of *Chalcedon*, desiring the Emperor to ratify it by his new Imperial Edicts, condemn *Timothew* and his election, and most lively, fully set forth and acknowledge the Emperors Supremacy in and over all Religious, Ecclesiastical persons and affairs, in preserving the Orthodox faith, peace and unity of the Church, suppressing Hereticks, Schismes, redressing all undue elections, abuses of Bishops and others, as the principal part of his Regal Office, Trust, Care; and inform him: Pietatis vestrae et Christianitatis*

*Syrinus Concil.
Tom. 2. p. 224.
Nicephorus, l.
15. c. 18, &c.

*Tom. 2. p. 224.
to 277.

tis Imperium: clarioꝝ purpura atque diademate pro fidei causa lucet. In imperio supra purpuras et diadema fidei rectitudine decoratur et coronatur. *Tha*, a Christo regalia sceptrapercipientes, compensationem rursus Deo redditis vestram Imperium conservante, dum incessabiliter cogitatis, quatenus securam ab omni hæretica tempestate Ecclesiam ejus, et sine fluctuatione servetis. Propterea siquidem vos Deus cælitus divino nutu suo munivit, ut ea quidem, quæ sacra sunt, Imperiali potestate integra semper salvaque custodiantur; quæ vero verata sunt atque corrupta, vestræ pietatis medicina curetis. Nihil itaque Deo amabilius est, nihil acceptius, quam ut illa vos sapiatis, quæ a Dei patris sapientia didicistis, et illa doceatis, quæ ab ipsis fidei vestræ incunabulis saluberrime estis eruditi. Vestræ igitur pietatis est, sanctissimum etiam in hoc agere zelum, &c. quæ legibus et sacris canonibus, et cunctis Dei Ecclesiis pacem conferre videantur. Pro Dei legibus dimicatis, velut integri custodes eorum, et sanctorum habentes curam. Then commending his care for the external peace, prosperity of his subjects, they subjoyn: *Et hæc quidem quantum ad consolationem pertineat corporalem pro ejus utilitate gerere vestra serenitas non quiescit*; potiorẽ vero habet industriam ut fidei orthodoxæ cultus in hominum animabus oriatur (Note it) quatenus vestra pietate adducentur Regi Regum, qui a Deo ut essent, plasmati sunt. *Hanc itaque devotionem possidens, apud Deum & sanctas Ecclesias multiplicare quotidie studens vestra tranquillitas, sequendo quidem reverenda memoria, & in sanctorum choro laudandum Constantinum, & tenendo vestigia pia memoriæ Martiani, pro pace Ecclesiarum maximam diligentiam gerit vestra religio, &c.* Quem alterum decebat Imperatorem talia pro talibus præcipere, et scribere nobis subjectis, et leges pro rebus divinis ponere Sacerdotibus æquo judicio puras, præter vestram solummodo pietatem, quam ipse propriæ Deus elegit, et ex totius mundi potentia coronavit, et supra reipublicæ retinacula constituit, violentia tempestatũ nullatenus imminente? *Zelatus es actibus tuis tranquillissime Imperator Constantinum illum memoriæ immortalẽ, maximum, piũ, amatorem Christi, qui Abelis vivens imaginem in animabus hominum posse*dit in æternum, qui cum David quidem sicut Rex et Propheta stat apud Deum, CUM PETRO AUTEM ET PAULO (let the Pope and Papists observe it) & tonitruĩ filiis, CUASI SIMILIS ILLIS, IN PRÆDICATIONIBUS VERITATIS EFFULGET. Ille enim, quando eum Romanorum sceptris Deus ordinavit, Ecclesiæ membris interuit, multam caliginem et tempestatem quandam imminere luci purissimæ dogmatum veritatis inspiciebat, & creaturarum adorationis munimenta, a simulatoribus pietatis, denno videns eum institui contra Christianam fidem, & Sacerdotes, qui vere filium esse Dei & de Substantia Patris ante secula natum credunt & prædicant, semetipsum per sanctum Spiritum increata Trinitatis Imperio & adoratione subjiciens, suum in terra firmavit regnum, et pietatis radios in terra mixtos omni caligine, ex illo tempore usque ad præsens per omnes terras explicuit; factus semen, et radix, et cultura, et scintilla nobis salutis inextinguibilis. Desuper sceptrum Regni suscipiens sacratissime et invidissime Principum, pro munere vestræ pietati collata. Deum vestrum Regem primitiis decentibus honoratis, Imperatorem quæ præcipue deceat. Prima enim oblatio et acceptabile sacrificium est, ut auriga mundi, et princeps totius orbis qui sub sole consistit, adorandæ Trinitatis fidem semel incolumem, ET DOCEAT, et his quæ facit et colit TIMERE ET HOMINES DEUM, & talia sectari, per quæ nostrorum servatur genus, & cogitare pro communi

Nota
Surtius, Tom. 2.
p. 245.

Nota.

*Surtius, p. 255.

* Nota.

* Dixi extensis.

communi Republicæ, et totius populi disciplina : * Vere namque Sacerdos et natura Imperator existis, Ex vestro Imperio ubique prædicatio prævalet; vestra utique mansuetudine nihil aliud præter fidem sceptræ regalia indicante. Quarum rerum testis est et præsens zelus et studium illud firmandi unde firmitas vestri accedat Imperii. A Deo namque unctus in Regem, mox ei qui unxit, ipsa principia commendasti, optime satis cogitationibus et vocibus ei deferens, et ut hæc bene consisterent, * præteritis omnibus apud cunctos pro fide Orthodoxa denotatus es, omni scilicet mala secta prorsus expulsa atque sublata. Deus, qui glorificantes se glorificat, secundum cor suum apicem vestræ tranquillitatis inveniens inerpugnabilem palmam et honorem fidei existentem, placidus præbuit vobis, Christianissime Principum SUPER OMNES HOMINES SINE PROHIBITIONE ALIQUA POTESTATEM. Bonum enim circa Dominum Deum favorem vobis habentibus, mansuetis vocibus, ad legalem et mirabilem vitam conversationemque deducitur, quicquid sub sceptro vestri Imperii gubernatur. Maximus omnium Dominus Deus, manus optimum et sanctis Dei Ecclesiis et toti orbi terrarum vestrum condonabit Imperium. Nam quando in ipso principio vestri Regni, quod à Deo in omni Orbe suscepistis, non aliunde, nisi unde decebat, Imperii fecistis initium, maximum est indicium voluntatis vestræ quod habetis circa beneficii largitorem, (in all the forementioned particulars, and others there recited.) Vobis Deus potentiam mundi commisit, ut magna intentione concordia, et indivisa recta plaque servetur fides in sanctis Dei ubique constitutis Ecclesiis. Semper divinarum rerum curam habentes. Deprecamur autem, & vestram pietatem votis omnibus exoramus, ut A. apostolicam doctrinam in quam creditis, immobilem conservetis in pace multa & tranquillitate sub vestra pietatis imperio, & in Clero & omni populo in fide saluberrima constituto, & ut eis qui inaniter alia consilia fieri desiderant, resistatis, & ut nobis vestra pietate digneris, quatenus sub quiete degentes, secundum fidem & traditionem sanctorum Patrum consistentes, in pace in violabili & disciplina servemur, orationi divinæ supplicationique vacantes, et vita atque conversatione Domino Christo placentes ad honorem orthodoxæ fidei, et fundentes Domino Deo preces pro vestra serenitate, quatenus Dominus Christus vestræ pietatis imperio suæ infundere dexteræ claritatem, quæ vos sua pace conservet, et fortitudinem vobis atque virtutem præstet, simul magnificentissimis maximisque Proceribus, et glorioso sapienti iustissimoque Senatui ad peremptionem ferocitatis malignorum. Salve fac Regem tuum & exalta cornu ejus Imperii, quod est, et erit gloria tuorum; ad unanimiorem sanctarum Christi Ecclesiarum et totius Romanæ pacis et disciplinæ. Dominus Sacerdotum simul & Ecclesiarum tuarum, Incolumem vestram pietatem multis annorum curriculum conservare Ecclesia Dei, Romano pariter optamus Imperio, religiosissime & Christo amabilis Imperator. All their Epistles are fraught with these and the like passages, expressions, prayers, then which nothing can be more demonstrative, to evidence his Ecclesiastical Supremacy, and all Princes Sovereign care of Religion and Church affairs, against all Papal or Pontifical cavils in succeeding degenerate times. After reception and perusal of these Epistles to this Emperor from all quarters of the Empire, he by his Imperial decrees ratified the Councils of Nice, Ephesus, Chalcedon; expelled, banished *Timotheus*, and suppressed Hereticks in all places, to the joy of all good Christians, and advancement of Christianity.

The

The Emperor Zeno (who succeeded Leo) to compromise the differences then in the Church about the Orthodox faith and Councils of *Nice* and *Chalcedon*, published a pacifical Edict, which he intituled *Henoticum*, with this Prologue. *Cum Imperii nostri initium et conservationem, tum autem opes et armaturam inexpugnabilem persuasum habeamus esse, Solam rectam et veram fidem quam divina inspiratione Nicææ 318. sancti Patres congregati promulgarunt, et Constantinopoli 150. iidem sancti Patres coacti confirmaverunt, die nocteque precationibus, studiis, LEGIBUSQUE NOSTRIS OMNIBUS hoc agimus, ut per eam ubique locorum sancta Dei Catholica et Apostolica Ecclesia incrementa capiat, quæ incorruptibilis et immortalis sceptrozum nostrorum mater, et pii populi nostri, in pace et religionis divinæ concordia persistentes, acceptabiles pro Imperio nostro preces, una cum Dei amantissimis Episcopis, et piissimis Clericis et Archimandritis et Monachis fundant, &c. Itaque quum fides irreprehensibilis et Nos, et Imperium sic conserbet; Scire vos volumus, neque nos, neque ubique locorum quæ sunt Ecclesias aliud symbolum, aut doctrinam aut formulam fidei, aut fidem etiam præterquam quod (sicut dictum est) a 318 editum, et 150 Patribus comprobatum est, sanctum symbolum vel habuisse, vel habere, vel habituros esse. Nam id solum Symbolum, Imperium nostrum conserbare confidimus. Quemlibet vero qui aliud quicquam sensit, aut sentit, aut nunc, aut quandocunque, vel Chalcedone, vel quacunque alia Synodo, ANATHEMATI SUBJICIMUS; præcipue vero Nestorium et Eutychen, et qui cum eis idem sentiunt. Consurgite ergo vos per unionem spiritali matri Ecclesiæ per id unum et solum 318 sanctorum Patrum professionis fidei decretum. Quod si feceritis, Domini et Servatoris et Dei nostri Jesu Christi benignitatem vobis ipsis conciliabitis, tum ab Imperiali nostra amplitudine laudem erimiam feretis.* This Imperial Edict being publicly read in *Alexandria* in the Church before all the people by *Peter Mogge* their Bishop, *Alexandriani* umversi sanctæ et Catholicæ Ecclesiæ conjuncti unitique sunt, et quæcunque in medio fuere offendicula et impedimenta sustulere, writes * *Nicephorus*. This Emperor Zeno resolved to thrust out *Timotheum Elium* Bishop of *Alexandria*, complained of to, and removed, banished by the Emperor *Leo*, (as you heard before) yet restored by the Usurping Emperor *Basiliscus* to his See after 18. years exile; but understanding he was very aged and like to die, he altered his resolution; He dying soon after, the *Alexandrians* without this Emperors license or privity, elected one *Peter Mogge*, (a man then unsound in the faith) for their Bishop, who was consecrated by two heretical Bishops. The Emperor being informed thereof, removed *Peter* by his Letters after 36. dayes possession, and by other Letters restored *Timotheum Salophaciolum* (the rightfull Bishop dispossessed by the other *Timothy*, banished by *Basiliscus*) to this See, putting those to death who elected *Peter*. After which the Clergy of *Alexandria* sending an Embassy to the Emperor, by one *John* and others; He granted them Liberty after the death of *Timothy* to elect whom they would for their Bishop, except this *John*, who took an Oath before the Emperor, *hanc unquam se Alexandria thronum accepturum esse*, and so departed. Yet after *Timothies* death, *John* forgetting and neglecting his Oath, by money procured himself to be advanced to this See by the *Alexandrians*: Of which the Emperor being informed, he commanded * *John* to be ejected, and restored *Peter Mogge* to the See by his Letters, who promised to read, publish and observe the Emperors forecited Decree *Henoticum*; which he accordingly performed. *John* being thus ejected, resorts to *Rome* to Pope *Felix* the 3d. complaining, *he was ejected only for defending the Doctrine of the Emperor Leo, and Council of Chalcedon*: who writ a Letter to *Zeno* reprehending him for *Johns* illegal ejection and desiring his restitution; who answered,

He

Anno 484.
Niceph. Eccles.
Hist. l. 16. c. 12.

* Niceph. Eccles.
Hist. l. 16. c.
12.

* Niceph. Ca-
listus Eccles.
Hist. l. 16. c. 17.
Platina,
Onuphrius,
Luitprandus,
& Lydius in
Felicis 3

He ejected him not for the cause suggested, but for his perjury. After this he exhibited a Libel of complaints to Pope Felix the 3. (about the year 483) complaining against Peter as an Heretick, and against Acacius Bishop of Constantinople for holding communion with him, and being the chief instrument of his restitution: and in a Synod at Rome procured Peter (formerly condemned, banished, and excommunicated by a Synod) to be declared an Heretick, and deprived, especially *quod quum ab hereticis consecratus est, orthodoxis præesse non potest*: and in their Sentence they blamed Acacius as guilty of a great crime, *quod ad Simplicium scribens, Petrum hereticum appellaverat, et id Imperatori non indicaberit: quum certe id si Zenonem diligeret, facere debuerit*: *Idcirco sicut apparet, commodi sui desiderio Imperatorem complectitur* (as many Bishops in all ages did) *fidem autem non complectitur*. But they continuing in their Sees notwithstanding this Sentence, so far contemned the Popes and Synods Authority, that Acacius, Pope (Felix) *nomen ex sacro albo exemit*; which Flavitas afterwards upon a difference between him and Peter of Alexandria (who condemned the Synod of Chalcedon) *suis ipse manibus in sacris tabulis Mogge nomen expunxit, & Felicis appellationem reposuit*. Peter continuing Bishop still by the Emperors restitution and protection, notwithstanding the Popes and Roman Synods sentence of deprivation; Pope Gelasius (succeeding Felix) takes upon him to declare the Emperors restitution of Peter after his deprivation by a Synod, to be void, (if the * Decrees and Epistles be his own, and not forged, as I suspect, by the stile and subject matter, improper to, and unknown in that age) upon these mistaken Papal grounds: *Imperatori tantum de humanis rebus judicare permissum est, non etiam præesse divinis: quomodo de his, per quos divina ministrantur judicare præsumant? Fuerint hæc ante adventum Christi, ut quidam figuraliter, adhuc tamen in carnalibus actionibus constituti, pariter Reges existerent et pariter Sacerdotes; quod Sanctum* Melchisedechem fuisse sacra prodit historia: Quod in suis quoque Diabolus imitatus est, utpote qui semper quæ divino cultui convenirent, sibi met tyrannico spiritu vindicare contendit, ut Paganæ Imperatores, iidem et maximi Pontifices crearentur. Sed cum ad verum ventum est eundem Regem atque Pontificem, ultra sibi nec Imperator Pontificis nomen imposuit, nec Pontifex Regale fastigium vindicavit: (In that age 'twas true, but divers *Popes since have usurped it as of right) *Quamvis enim membra ipsius veri Regis atque Pontificis, secundum participationem naturæ, magnifice utrumque in sacra generositate sumpsisse dicantur, ut simul Regale genus et Sacerdotale subsistant; attamen Christus memor fragilitatis humanæ, quod suorum saluti congruerit dispensatione magnifica temperans, sic actionibus propriis, dignitatibusque destinatis officia potestatis utriusque discrevit, suos volens medicinali humilitate salvare, non humana superbia rursus intercipi, ut et Christiani Imperatores pro æterna vita Pontificibus indigerent, (as to their doctrine, instruction, advice, not supreme inherent Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction) et Pontifices pro temporalium cursu rerum dispositionibus (yea of Ecclesiastical and divine too, as the premised and subsequent Authorities infallibly evidence, though this Pope here denies it) uterentur, quatenus spiritualis actio a carnalibus distaret incursum: Et ideo, militans Deo minime se negotiis secularibus implicaret (why then do all Popes, and most Bishops the contrary?) ac vicissim, nolle rebus divinis præsidere videatur, qui esset negotiis secularibus implicatus: (his Argument holds not, & converso, since all Christians, especially Kings, ought to meddle with divine matters, and things of faith, without which they can neither know, serve, worship God, or be saved themselves, nor govern their Christian subjects as they ought) et ut modestia utriusque ordinis conaretur, ne extolleretur utroque suffultus, et competens qualitatibus actionum, specialiter pro fessio aptaretur, (From which mistaken premises, this Pope draws this conclusion; (one of the first I meet with directly opposing the Emperors Ecclesiastical Authority, except that of St. Ambrose, in a different case, when Emperors command things directly*

Anno 588.
* See Cookes
Censura Patris,
& Dr. James
Bastardy of the
Fathers

* Surin Concil:
Tom. 2. p. 300,
to 310.

* Gen. 14. Heb.
7.

* Here, p. 34,
to 40, 79, 80.

* 1 Pet. 2.

* 2 Tim. 2.

rectly against God and the Scriptures) Quibus omnibus rite collectis, evidenter satis ostenditur a seculari potestate nec ligari potius, nec solvi posse Pontificem. Quo manifestum approbatur; Alexandrinum Petrum per Imperialem solummodo sententiam nullo modo potuisse absolvi: being condemned, deprived by the Synod at Rome & Pope Felix: ubi si Pontificum quoque sociatur assensus, quatinus utrum præcesserit, an fuerit subsecutus? Si subsecutus est, nihilominus ad id reditur, ut absolutio seculari potestate præcepta, et principaliter inchoata, valere non possit: pontificumque secutus assensus, adulationis potius fuerat, quam legitimæ sanctionis. Si præcessit, doceatur a quibus, & ubi ille sit gestus; secundum Ecclesiæ regulam celebratus; si paterna traditione profectus, si maiorum more prolatus, si competenti examinatione depromptus? Ubi proculdubio requirendum est, Si Synodali congregatione celebratus, quod in receptione damnati, & depulsionis catholici, quia nova est causa, fieri debuisse certissimum est. In fine, he concludes, that Peter and Acacius being condemned a prima sede, (by which he means the See and Council of Rome) could not be absolved nor restored by the Emperor himself, nor by a Synod of the Clergy held at Constantinople, or elsewhere, but only by the See of Rome, nec ab inferiore quolibet (præcipue cum de secunda sedis ageretur Antistite, to wit, Acacius of Constantinople) sed a prima sede iure possit absolvi. Inferior quippe potiorē absolvi non potest: sola ergo potior inferiorem convenienter absolvit. A doctrine inconsistent with the practice and proceedings of that age, as the premises, and the deprivations, restitutions of many Bishops by the Emperors, as well Orthodox as Heterodox, recorded by Eusebius, Socrates Scholasticus, Sozomen, Tripartita Historia, Nicephorus, and others, abundantly evidence. This Pope Gelasius in his (a) Commonitorium ad Faustum, his Legate sent to Constantinople, hath the like passages: Quod si dicunt, Imperator hoc fecit (that he restored Peter and Acacius) hoc ipsum quibus canonibus, quibus regulis est præceptum? As if Emperors must do nothing but what Popes and Bishops prescribe, or permit them by their Canons. In his Epistle to (b) Anastasius the Emperor about the same business; after this complement Romanus natus, Romanum Principem amo, colo, suspicio; & sicut Christianus cum eo, qui zelum Dei habet, secundum scientiam veritatis habere desidero, & qualiscunque Apostolica sedis Vicarius (a phrase not usual in that age) quodcumque plena fidei catholica deesse comperero, pro meo modulo suggestionibus opportunis supplere contendo; He thus proceeds: Pietatem tuam absit (quæso à Romano Principe) ut intimam (suis sensibus veritatem, arbitretur injuriam. Duo quippe sunt, Imperator Auguste, quibus principaliter Mundus hic regitur, auctoritas sacra Pontificum, et Regalis potestas. In quibus tanto gravius est pondus sacerdotum, quanto etiam pro ipsis regibus hominum in Divino reddituri sunt examine rationem, (And must not Kings too give an account for Bishops and Priests under them, if they permit unworthy ones, or enforce them not by their Lawes to discharge their pastoral duties? No doubt they must.) Nisi etenim fili Clementissime, quod licet præsideas humano generi dignitate, rerum tamen Præsulibus divinarum devotus colla submittis (this is untrue in point of Jurisdiction) atque ab eis causas tuæ salutis expetis (as from his Ministers, not Superiors) inque sumendis Cœlestibus Sacramentis eisque (ut competit) disponendis subditi te debere cognoscis (in point only of Administration, not of Power or Jurisdiction) religionis ordine potius quam præesse. Itaque inter hac ex illorum te Pendere Iudicio (as his Advisers, not Superiors) non illos ad tuam velle redigi voluntatem, (unless in case of their Heresie, Error, Excesses which he may reform) Si enim, quantum ad ordinem pertinet Publicæ disciplinæ, cognoscentes Imperium tibi superna dispositione collatum, legibus tuis ipsi quoque parent religionis Antistites, (he should have added with Gratian Dist. 10, 12. unless they thwart their Canons and profit) Ne vel in rebus mundanis exclusæ videantur obviare sententiæ; quo (rogo) te decet affectu eis obedire qui prærogandis venerabilibus sunt attributi Mysteria: (in dispensing those mysteries only according to Gods word, not in unjust Church-censures.) Proinde sicut non leve discrimen incumbit Pontificibus siluisse pro divinitatis cultu quod congruit; ita his (quod absit) non mediocriter periculum est, qui cum patere debeant,

a Sarius Conf. cil. Tom. 2. p. 301, 302.

b Ibid. p. 303, 304.

* Gratian Distinctio 96.

re debeant, deficiunt. (That is, when & where God himself commands things in his word, not Popes and Prelats alone, enjoin things different from, or not warranted by it:) Et cunctis generaliter Sacerdotibus, recte divina tractantibus (this limitation had been fit in, and must be applied to all his precedent clauses, else they are false and heterodox) fidelium convenit corda submitti; quanto potius sedis illius Pasuli consensus est adhibendus (here is the great Diana of the Ephesians) quam cunctis Sacerdotibus et divinitas summa voluit preminere (a grosse untruth warranted by no sacred Text, but contradicted by many) et subsequens Ecclesie generalis iugiter pietas celebrabit? (another Papal forgery) Ubi pietas tua evidenter advertit, nunquam quolibet potius humano consilio eluvare se quemquam posse illius privilegio, vel confessioni. quem Christi vox pretulit universis, (a grosse untruth) quem Ecclesia veneranda semper confessa est, et habet devota primatem. I peti possunt humanis presumptionibus, quae a vino sunt iudicio constituta, (but not by Popes, Bishops, and their Synods alone, the things then in question) Vinci autem quorumlibet potestate non possunt, &c. Yet all these Arguments would not persuade the Emperor Zeno, nor yet Anastasius to remove either Timothy or Acacius from their Bishopricks, but they continued in them till their deaths, as * Nicephorus informs us, I have inserted these Passages attributed to Pope Gelasius, more largely, and discovered their falshood and fallaciousness, because the first I meet with of this kind (if as ancient as Gelasius) and much insisted on in after ages by Popes and other Impugners of Emperors and Kings Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions.

Mat. 16.

* Hist. l. 16. c. 19, 20.

Anno 490
* Bibliotheca Patrum Tom. 5. pars 3. p. 579, 580.

Theodulus Bishop of Cæsaryia in his Commentary in Epist. ad Romanos, c. 13. Omnis anima potestatibus praeinentibus subdatur, &c. resolves: *Monstrat, Christi Evangelium, non ad publica bona ordinationis subversionem datum esse. Ne sese deteriores viliori q. reddi, Christi servi arbitrantur si potestatibus subiciantur, ostendit quod necessarium sit obtemperare et non reluctare, neque inobedientem esse quempiam Magistratui: Qui enim istuc attemptaverit Deo resistit, qui condidit instituitque Magistratus. Necessarium est igitur Magistratui subiaci, non solum propter iram, Magistratui subditis obvenientem; sed etiam propter conscientiam; hoc est, ut ne videaris conscientia vacare, et ingratus esse benefactori ac Ministro Dei, si non obtemperes potestati. Tanti, inquit, beneficiis vos perfundit Magistratus ut & tributum pensatis, mercedem vimum gubernationis praesidiiisque ejus: Ministri enim Dei sunt: Hoc est, suboperarii Dei sunt ministrantes sibi Principes ex hoc; quod curam subditorum gerunt. Neglectis suis privatis rebus publico suorum civium commodo invigilant, &c. Non solum pecunia debetur Magistratibus, sed etiam honorum.*

Anno 494
Bibliotheca Patrum, Tom. 5. pars 3. p. 851, 852.

Rhemigius Archbishop of Rhemes, in his Commentary in Epist. ad Romanos cap. 13. thus determines: *Dixit Apostolus, Omnis anima, id est, Omnis homo, liber et servus, fidelis et infidelis, (therefore the Pope and Prelates) Potestatibus sublimioribus subditus sit. Omnis anima, dicit, pro eo quod, omnis homo, In sacra enim Scriptura frequenter sola anima totum hominem significat. Potestatibus sublimioribus dicit, Regibus, Principibus, Tribunis, Centurionibus, Dominis, omnibusque Prelatis. Hoc & Petrus praecepit, Subjecti, inquit, estote omni humanae creaturae, id est, omnibus hominibus vobis praepositis, & hoc propter Deum, sive propter amorem Dei, in quantum quippe homo non offendit Deum, &c. Omnis potestas sive major, sive minor, quae hominibus praest, aut ex voluntate Dei, aut ex permissione Dei constituta est: Then rendring the reasons of Gods instituting them, he concludes; Hac de causa omnipotens Deus bestialibus hominibus Principes praeposuit, ut eorum terrore acerbitas animorum illorum reprimeretur. Potestates super alios a Deo ordinatae sunt, sive quae sunt iura potestatum a Deo constituta sunt; unde Dominus dicit Pilato, Non haberes adversum me potestatem, nisi tibi data esset desuper: Hoc autem idcirco totum prosequitur Apostolus, ut Potestatibus subditi sint, quia nonnulli ad fidem venientes, pristinum obsequium & servitium, quasi liberi effecti, Dominis et Principibus nolebant reddere. Cum Dominus Jesus non venit condiciones mutare, sed animas in aeternum vitas salvare. Dicebant etiam Romani credentes, qui divinis legibus paremus, & Deo servimus, non debemus servire, neque honorem praeberere Neroni, aliisque potestatibus terrenis (the language of Popes and the Popish Clergy now even of Christian Emperors and Kings, whom they stile Prophane, Lay, Heretical, worldly) Quapropter Apostolus talia scripsit, Poterat namque scandalum nasci Dominis et Principibus, si servi et subiecti eorum Christiani effecti a servitio illozum efficiuntur*

ficiantur alieni : noceret quoque Ecclesia dum permetterentur alii credere, cum magis meliores debeant Domini servos suos recipere fideles Christi effectos : *Hoc & ipsa veritas per semetipsum praecepit dicens Reddite quae sunt Caesaris, Caesari ; & quae sunt Dei, Deo.* Which he there prosecutes at large. And in Epist. 1 Tim. c. 2. he writes, *Vult pro Regibus fieri orationes & gratiarum actiones ; quam formam, id est, exemplum omnis Ecclesia nunc tenet* (be the Kings good or bad, Christians or Pagans, for sundry reasons which he prosecutes at large, and thus abridgeth.) *Orandum est pro salute & vita fidelium Regum & Principum, ut longo tempore conservati pacem habeant Regna, ac magis proficiant in melius in omni pietate et castitate : Pro infidelibus quoque orandum est, ut resipiscant ab infidelitate, et transeant ad fidem : Hoc enim est bonum coram salvatori nostro Deo, qui vult omnes homines salvos fieri, & ad agnitionem veritatis venire :* Especially Kings and Princes, the principal instruments to draw others to salvation, and the knowledge of the truth, by their Examples and Edicts.

a Pope Symmachus being accused of Adultery and other horrid facts to Theodoricus King of Italy, Sancta Synodus apud urbem Romanam ex praecepto Gloriosissimi Regis Theodozici diversis e regionibus congregata in Christi nomine est (this King not the Pope summoning this Council even in Rome it self.) Cum ex diversis Provinciis ad urbem Romam convenire Sacerdotes Regia praecepisset auctoritas, ut de his quae de venerabili Papa Symmacho, Apostolici sedis praesul, ab adversariis ejus dicebantur impingi, sanctum Concilium judicaret legitime ; *Liguria, Emilia vel Venetiarum* Episcopis, consulendi Regem incubuit necessitas, concerning this accusation : Who coming into the Kings presence respondit praefatus Rex piissimus bonae conversationis affectu, plura ad se de Papae Symmachi actibus horrenda fuisse perlata, et in Synodo oportere (si vera esset inimicorum ejus obsecutio) judicatione consistere. Whereupon the Examination of his crimes being referred to this 4th. (some reckon it the 3d.) Synod held at Rome, (and that by the Popes desire to purge himself, as well as by the Kings precept,) the Pope entred into the Synod ; et de evocatione Synodali clementissimo Regi gratias retulit, et rem desiderii sui evenisse testatus est. Upon his accusation to the King, he was suspended *ab officio & beneficio*, by this King ; untill he had purged himself. At his first appearance before the Council, he complained of this his suspension, as illegal, being not made by the Council, but out of it, and prayed to be readmitted and restored by the Council ; et ut omnia quae per suggestiones inimicorum suorum (a parte Cleri vel aliquibus laicis) amiserat, potestati ejus legaliter ab honorabili Concilio redintegrarentur seu redderentur, et tanti loci Praesul regulariter prius statui pristino redderetur ; et tunc, non ante veniret ad causam : et si ita, recte videretur, accusantium propositionibus responderet. *Dignares visa est maximo sacerdotum numero, quae mereretur effectum,* decernere tamen aliquid Synodus sine Regia noticia non praesumpsit, Whereupon the Synod sent to the King to know his pleasure herein ; Sed suggestionibus per legatorum negligentiam non meruit secundum vota responsum : (But contrary to the Synods desire and opinion) Iustus est Regis praeceptionibus Papa Symmachus ante Patrimonii vel Ecclesiarum (quas amiserat) receptionem, cum impugnatoribus suis in disceptatione configere, qui potestatis suae privilegia, et quae pro conscientiae (quantum iuste aestimamus) emendatione submiserat, nec hac voluit vice resumere. Whereupon it was thought meet that the Libel prepared against the Pope by his accusers, (qui quotidie seditionibus appellabant) should be received by the Synod : Which being received accordingly and read, there appeared two things in it which seemed ei-

Mal. 22.
Bibl. Patrum,
Tom. 5. pars 3.
p. 936.

Anno 503, 504.
a Surio Concil.
Tom. 2. p. 334.
Hermannii
Contracti,
Chron. con Anno
503, 504.
Platina, Lydius,
Anastatius,
Sabellicus, in
Symmacho.

ther false, or repugnant to their Ecclesiastical power : The one, that his Crimes whereof he stood accused apud Regiam constitit notitiam, were pending before the Kings own consuls ; which was false, he having referred him to the Council : The second, that they could prove him guilty of the Crimes objected by his servants ; addentes, ut ipse mancipia traderet, quibus (quantum illi diserebant) posset in judicatione superari : Quæ res Canonibus & ipsis publicis erat legibus inimica, &c. Et dam inter ista quæ essent facienda, tractabatur, præfatus Papa, ut causam diceret occurrebat. Qui veniens, ab irruentibus turbis amulorum suorum ita tractatus est, ut multis Presbyteris, qui cum ipso erant, per eadem ipsam mortis fuisset occasio; quod probat recentium adhuc vestigia vulnorum, nisi illustris vir Comes Alegerius, & sublimis viri Gutela & Vedecelsus, Majores domus Regiæ, perspexissent, quos secum, unde egressus fuerat ad beati Petri Apostoli septa convenerat. Upon these tumults and confusions, the Synod reported the whole series of their proceedings to the King as Supream Judge ; iterum Nos ad Justitiam contulimus principalem, scientes divinitate propitia regere Dominum, quem ad gubernacula Italiæ ipse providerat. They informed the King; Sæpe nominatum Papam (post eadem, cui subjacuerat cum suis) si voluntatem rursus haberet creandi ad judicium, fuisse commonitum ; but that he could not canonically purge himself without great dangers ; and that by reason of the tumults of his accusers who resisted justice, he could not be compelled to answer against his will. Ad hæc serenissimus Rex taliter (Deo adspirante) respondit, in Synodali esse arbitrio, in tanto negotia sequenda præscribere, nec aliquid ad se præter reverentiam de Ecclesiasticis negotiis pertinere, committens etiam potestati Pontificum, ut sive propositum vellent audire negotium, sive nollent, quod magis putarent utile deliberarent, dummodo venerandi provisione Concilii par in Civitate Romana Christianis omnibus redderetur. Whereupon the Synod by virtue of this reference from the King, thought best to proceed no further in the examination of the fact, but to referre the cause to Gods judgement, acquainting the Roman Senate with their resolutions, and desiring them to consider, quanta inconvenienter et præjudicialiter in hujus negotii principio contigissent ; That all men are sinners, and have need of Gods mercy, and that the examining of this cause would do more prejudice and dishonor, then good to the Church. Wherefore, juxta mandatum Principis non discuterent : but referr the whole cause to God the Judge of secret things, and so acquitted him from the (a) Articles exhibited against him, as to men. Unde secundum Principalia præcepta, quæ nostræ hoc tribuunt potestati, quicquid Ecclesiastici inter sacram Urbem Romæ ; vel foris Juris est, reformamus, totamque causam Dei judicio reservantes, universos hortamur ut sacram communionem (sicut res postulat) ab eo percipiant, & Dei & animarum suarum meminerint ; quia & ipse amator pacis est, & ipse Pax est, qui monet, * Pacem meam do vobis, &c.

a Platina, Anastasius, Luitprandus, Lydius, Sabellicus, in Symmacho 1.

* John 14. Mat. 10.

From these memorable proceedings against this Pope, it is most evident, 1. That the Pope in this age was subject and submitted himself to the Judicature, not only of the Emperor, but of Theodoricus the Gothish King of Italy, (who removed Symmachus and Laurentius from the Papacie contending for it, and placed Peter Alcinat therein to appease the Schism, till the cause between them was heard) and to a Council of Bishops, even for scandalous crimes objected against him. 2ly. That the Power of summoning Councils even in Rome it self appertained to this King of Italy, not to the Pope. 3ly. That the King upon the complaints exhibited to him against the Pope, suspended him both from his temporalities, benefices and Papal office by his Regal authority before the Council summoned, till he had purged himself from the Crimes objected. 4ly. That though most of the Synod held it just this Pope should not answer the Articles against him, till he was first restored to his Patrimony, benefice and office,

fice, yet they would determine nothing therein, till this Kings approbation, & pleasure first known. 5ly. That the King would not take off this Popes Suspension, till he answered his Articles, and purged himself, notwithstanding the Synods request and opinion to the contrary. 6ly. That thereupon they received and read the Articles against him. 7ly. That the Pope appeared by this Kings summons before this Council to answer the crimes against him: where at his appearance, he denies to answer in point of Law, till his Suspension first released, and his restitution: which the Emperor overruled against him. After which he appeared the second time upon Summons to answer the Articles, and purge himself; but was interrupted by the tumultuous force and assaults of his accusers, made upon him and his followers, who were wounded, and had been slain by them, had not the Kings Great Officers rescued them from their fury, and guarded them back to their lodgings: That after this upon new Summons, the Pope was willing to answer, and purge himself before the Synod, but that he was informed, he could not do it without danger of being slain by his tumultuous opposites. 8ly. That the Synod thereupon repaired to the King, as the *Supream Judge*, to direct them how to proceed in this cause, by reason of these Tumults. 9ly. That thereupon the King referred the whole business to them, to proceed therein as they should think best for the Peace of the Church, and of all Christians in the City of *Rome*. 10ly. That they hereupon by vertue of this Kings regal authority and command, (not their own inherent Episcopal or Synodal Jurisdiction) referred the merits of the cause, being secret and difficult, to Gods judgement, and restored the Pope to his Ecclesiastical Rights and exercise of his Ministry within the City of *Rome*; and perswaded an amicable Christian peace and agreement between him, his adversaries, the Senate and Citizens of *Rome*: Where then is that transcendent Jurisdiction of Popes over Kings, Councils, all other Bishops, and his absolute exemption from their Judicatures for any scandalous sins or heresies, which succeeding Popes and their Parasites boast of, in the * premised Chapters? To evade this undeniable president, (a) *Ennodius*, and other flatterers of Popes, pretend, That Pope Symmachus out of meer humility, and of his own accord, submitted himself to this Kings and Councils judgement. But the premises evidence the contrary, that most of these proceedings (especially his Suspension, overruling of his demurrer, &c.) were much against his will; and that he had no real desire to purge himself, what ever he pretended: And *John Gerson* Chancellor of *Paris* (one of the learnedest, profoundest Pontificians) in his notable Book *De Auseribilitate Pape*, resolves, That Symmachus, and other Popes did undergo the judgements of Councils, *nequaquam ex humilli condescensione, sicut nonnulli fingunt, sed ex debito et obligatione*. Yea this Pope himself in his (c) *Apology* to *Anastatius* the Emperor, styles him *Principem rerum humanarum*: adding, *Tu, O Emperor, governeest human and secular affairs, Bishops dispence the divine Mysteries*; without any addition, that Bishops govern all Ecclesiastical affairs, which this King and the Emperor then did in *Italy*, not Popes nor Bishops.

This *d Theodoricus* King of *Italy* made and published divers Ecclesiastical Lawes, intermixed with his Temporal, concerning Clergy-men, Churches, Sanctuaries, Pagan Sacrifices, Sepulchers, and burials in *Rome* it self, Marriages, Espousals, Jews, the observation of the Lords day, &c. commanding them to be generally observed by his *Edictum Theodoricæ Regis*, Lex 26. 70. 71. 92. 93. 108. 110. 111. 125. 126. and that as well by the Romans as Barbarians and Goths, under pain of banishment, if violated, *Quia quod pro omnium provincialium securitate provisum est, universitatis debet servare devotio*.

Cassiodorus, a Noble learned Roman Senator, (tutor to this King *Theodoricus*) in his Exposition in Psal. 50. *Tibi soli peccavi*, hath this passage. *De populo si quis erraverit, & Deo peccat & Regi: Nam quando Rex delinquit, soli Deo reus est, quia hominem non habet qui eius facta dijudicet: Merito ergo Rex Deo dicit se solum peccasse, quia solus erat qui eius potuisset admittia discutere*. Therefore not the Pope, or any other Conclave of Prelates. (e) In his other works he registers the Epistle of *Theodohardus* to *Justinian* the Emperor; wherein he recites; *In toto orbe simile nihil habet*, as supream for power and dignity.

Pope (f) *Hormisdas* the 1. having condemned the *Eutychians* in a Council at *Rome*, by

l. 2. p. 341, 342. Platina, Lydius, & others in Vita Hormisdæ 2. Henricus Erfordienfis in Anastasio. Simoneta l. 4. c. 19. Cent. Magd. 6. c. 6. col. 441, 443, 303. Blondus, Decad. l. 3. Naucerus Vol. 3. Generat. 8. l. 1. Surlus Concil. Tom. 2. p. 379.

* Here, p. 36, 37, 40.

a Apologia pro Symmacho, p. 293. Baronius, Anno 502. n. 32, &c.

b De Consideratione, c. 2.

c Tom. 3. Bibl. Patrur.

Anno 508. d Fredericus Lindenbrogus Codex Legum Antiq. p. 246, &c.

Anno 510.

e Varro, l. 10. p. 626.

Anno 516. f Coccius Sabellicus Aeneid. 8.

the exhortation and command of King *Theodoricus*, by his Letters and Messengers exhorted *John* then Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and *Anastatius* the Emperor, to renounce this Heresy, and believe the two natures in *Christ*. But they taking this message in high indignation and scorn, put the messengers into an old leaking Ship, and *Anastatius* commanded them to return directly into Italy, and not to touch upon the shoar of Grece, enjoying them to return this answer to the Pope, *Scire se Augustorum (or Imperatoris) proprium esse, non Pontificis imperare; nec Imperata Pontificis accipere: et si quid foret, in quo hunc, cui divina cura sunt, jubere oporteat, se eum esse, a quo alii multo melius sua iussa expectent, quam sua proponant exequenda. Nos jubere volumus, non Nobis juberi.*

Anno 518.
Surius Concil.
Tom. 2. p. 360,
362, Hermann
Contracti
Chronicon, An.
519, 521. Ana-
statius in Vita
Hormisdæ &
Johan.

This Pope *Hormisdæ* after *Anastatius* his death, in his Epistle to the Emperor *Justinus*, adversus Nestorii & Eutychetis blasphemias, informs him; (a) *Inter ea quæ ad unitatem Ecclesiæ pertinent, propter quam Deus Clementia vestra elegit Imperiam, hoc quoque venerabilis Imperator, Cura fidei (cui multipliciter vos studere declaratis) adiecit*, Making the care of the Christian faith, and Peace of the Church by establishing the Orthodox faith, and suppressing heresies by his Imperial authority, the principal cause of Gods advancing him to the Empire. In pursuance whereof this Emperor *Justinus* by his Letters & Decrees endeavoured to reconcile the differences between the Bishops, Churches of *Rome* and *Constantinople*, ut unitatem individue Trinitatis ipsi quoque colant in unitate mentium. Quid enim gratius reperiri potest, quid justius, quid illustrius, quam quos idem Regnum continet, idemque fidei cultus irradiat, eos non diversa contendere, sed collectis in eisdem sensibus instituta venerari, non humana mente illata, sed in divina providentiæ spiritu. This Pope in his Epistle to *Epiphanius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, hath this memorable passage, *Hinc enim superna misericordia documentum perdocetur, quoniam et mundi Principes causas fidei, cum republicæ ordinatione conjungunt*, as a principal part of their care, and best means of their safety and prosperity in all their secular affairs. And he, with all the Bishops, Clergy, Abbots, Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, *Antioch*, and *Syria*, exhibited a joynt Supplication and Confession of their faith, *Deo amabili et piissimo Imperatori ex Deo Augusto et Principi Justino Christianissimo sollicitudinem de perfecta unione, sanctarum Ecclesiarum habere debere, ut unitas, quæ cum Dei facta fuerit jubamine, nulla deinceps rationabili aut irrationabili occasionis fomite inquietari possit*; who thereupon banished the *Arrians* disturbing the Churches peace.

Anno Dom. 520
a Ad Thrasimundum l. 1.
b Cent. Magd.
c. col. 649, 650
Isidorus in vita Anastatii.
c De Veritate, Prædestinat. & Gratia, citatur in Concil. Patiensis, l. 2.
c. 1. Surius, Concil. Tom. 3. p. 390.

Fulgentius Rusticus Episcopus, writes thus to (a) *Thrasimundus*; That he as King hath received, *Apicem terreni Principatus*, as well over all Bishops and Clergymen, as others; he banishing no lesse then 220 Orthodox Bishops by the instigation of the *Arrians*, whereof *Fulgentius* was one, whom he recalled from exile, and yet after banished again: upon which occasion he writ thus of Emperors and Kings Supremacy, duty, trust, in and towards the Church of God, *Clementissimus quoque Imperator non ideo est vas misericordiæ, preparatum in gloriam, quia apicem terreni potestatis accepit, sed si Imperiali culmine recta fide vibat, et vera cordis humilitate præditus culmen Regiæ dignitatis sanctæ religioni et se subiciat; si magis in timore servire Deo, quam in tumore dominari populo delectatur. Si in eo lenitas iracundiam mitiget, eruct benignitas potestatem. Si se magis diligendum quam metuendum cunctis exhibeat; si subiectis salubriter consulat; si justitiam sic teneat, ut misericordiam non relinquat; si præ omnibus ita se sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ meminerit filium, ut ejus paci atque tranquillitati per univèrsam mundum prodesse suum faciat principatum. Magis enim Christianum regitur atque propagatur Imperium dum Ecclesiastico statui per omnem terram consulitur* (by the Emperors care and diligence; therefore the principal part of his office) quam cum in parte quacunque terrarum pro temporali securitate pugnatur.

Pope (a) *Agapetus* the 1. *Missus est a Theodoro Rege Gothorum, ad Dominum Justinianum Augultum in legationem, quia eodem tempore indignatus est Theodoro Regi, eo quod occidisset Reginam Amalantham filiam Theodoric Regis, sibi commendatam, qui eum Regem fecerat.* An infallible argument of this Popes subjection to this King and Emperor; who undertaking the Embassy, intreated the Emperor to recall his Army out of Italy; **sed Imperator supplicationes Papæ noluit audire;** as (b) *Liberatus* relates.

The godly Emperor *Justinian* both claimed and exercised Supream Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in and over all Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Persons and Causes whatsoever, and over Popes themselves, as is most evident, 1. By causing his General Basilarius (at the instigation of *Theodora* his Empresse) to (a) deprive, banish Pope *Silverius*, who by armed force, money and symony made himself Pope, and to make *Vigilius* Pope in his stead, who degraded *Silverius* from his Ministry; by causing Pope *Vigilius* himself to be seized and brought Prisoner to Constantinople, and afterwards questioned, deprived, banished for Heresy, and unsoundness in the Catholick faith. 2ly. By (b) collating, confirming all old Lawes made by former Christian Emperors concerning the Orthodox faith, the holy Scriptures, publike Prayers, Trinity, Creeds made by General Councils, Divine Service, Sacraments, Hereticks of all sorts, Apostats, Jews, concerning Bishops, Priests, Monks and their respective Offices, qualifications, Ordinations; the jurisdictions, Diocesse of Popes, Patriarchs, Bishops, Holy-dies, Churches, Church-lands, goods, Sacrilege, Symony, Non-residence of Bishops, Priests; Episcopal audience, Churchyards, Oaths, Marriages, Tithes, Excommunications, and all other Ecclesiastical matters; which he backed with new Ecclesiastical Laws, Edicts of his own; in some of which he declares, *Maxima quidem in omnibus sunt dona Dei a superna collata clementia, Sacerdotium & Imperium. Illud quidem divinis ministrans (not præsidens) hoc autem humanis præsidens, ac diligentiam exhibens, uno eodemque principio utraque procelentia humanam exornant vitam.* Ideoq; nihil sic erit studiosum Imperatoribus sicut sacerdotum honestas; cum utique & pro illis ipsi semper Deo supplicent: nam si hoc quidem inculpabile sit, undique et apud Deum fiducia plenum imperium autem recte & competenter exornet traditam sibi Rempublicam erit consonantia quadam bona omne quicquid utile et humano conferens generi, Nos igitur maximam habemus sollicitudinem circa vera Dei dogmata, et circa Sacerdotum honestatem, quoniam illis obtinentibus credimus, quod per eam maxima nobis dona dabuntur a Deo, et ea quæ sunt firma habebimus, et quæ nondum hactenus venerunt acquiramus. Bene autem universa geruntur et competenter, si rei principum fiat decens et amabile Deo. Hoc autem futurum esse credimus, si sacrarum rerum observatio custodiatur, quam iuste laudandi et adorandi inspectores et Ministri Dei verbi tradiderunt Apostoli, et sancti Patres custodierunt et explicuerunt. Sanctimus igitur sacras per omnia sequentes Regulas, dum quispian sequenti omni tempore ad ordinationem Episcoporum adducitur, &c. Prescribing all the qualifications of Bishops, Priests, Abbots, Monks, and their respective duties, with penalties for non-performance in a most exquisite manner. 3ly. By (c) granting equal authority, jurisdiction to the Patriarch of Constantinople, as to the Bishop of Rome; Limiting the Jurisdictions, Diocesse, Proceedings of Patriarchs, Metropolitans, Bishops, and prohibiting any Appeals but to the proper Metropolitan. By prohibiting under penalties of suspension and imprisonment in some Monasteries, all Bishops, Priests, Deacons, Clergy-men, proprias relinquere Ecclesias, et ad alias venire religiones: ad tabulas ludere, aut aliis indentibus participes aut spectatores fieri, aut ad quodlibet spectaculum spectandi gratia venire. Omnibus autem Episcopis & Presbyteris interdiximus segregare aliquem a sacra communione antequam causa ministraretur quam sancta regula hoc fieri iubent. Jubemus unumquemque Archiepiscopum & Patriarcham & Metropolitam sanctissimos Episcopos sub se constitutos, &c. in eadem provincia semel aut secundo per singulos annos ad se convocare, & omnes causas subtiliter examinare, quas Episcopi, aut Clerici, aut Monachi ad invicem habeant, eosque disponere, & super hoc quicquid extra regulas a quacunque persona delinquitur emendari (which they could not do before, but by this his Law and Indulgence) Episcopis

Anno 536.
a Anastasius,
Luitprandus,
& others in
vita Agapeti 1.
Baronius, Anno
536.
b La Breviaro
cap. 21.
Anno 540.
a Platina, Luitprandus, Albo
Floriensis,
Onuphrius,
Lydus, Barnes,
Opinerus in
Vitis Silverii &
Vigilii. Sabel-
licus &c. read.
3. l. 3. Niceph.
Cal. l. 17. c. 13
27. Blondus, l.
7. Decad. 1.
Cent. Magd. 6.
col. 56. Her-
manni Centre-
ti Chron.
Ortho Fris-
genis Chron.
l. 5. c. 4.
b Codicis lib. 1.
Tit. 4. to 16.
Auctor.
collat. l. 1. Tit.
5. De Monar-
chis Tit. 6.
Quomodo o-
porteat Episco-
pos & Clericos
ad Ordination-
em perducere, &
de expensis Ec-
clesiarum, Col-
lat. 2. Tit. 1.
De non alien-
andis & per-
mutandis
Rebus Ecclef.
l. 2. Tit. 4. De
Romana Ecclef.
Tit. 3. 4. col. 4.
tit. 1. col. 9. Tit.
15. De sanctiss.
Episcopis.
c Auctor.
Collatio, l. 1.
Tit. 6. Nouvel.
131, 132. Au-
thentic. Col. l. 1.
Tit. 6. lib. 9.
Tit. 15. Bishop
Jewels Defence
of the Apology,
p. 752, 753.
754, 755.

* Lib. 1. Authent. Coll.
Tit. 6. f. 10. b.

^a Authent. Col-
lation l. 2. Tit. 4

* See here, p. 4.
87, 88, 89.

copum, aut Clericos, non aliter ordinari permittemus, nisi literas sciant, & rectam fidem, vitamque habeant honestam, &c. Presbyterum autem minorem 35 annos fieri; sed neque Diaconum vel subdiaconum minorem 25. &c. Sed neque curialem aut officialem Clericum fieri permittimus. Episcopi & Clerici in Urbe Constantinopolitana degentes, ibi conveniendi. Si vero lis nondum inchoata est, apud Gloriosissimum Præfectum orientis prætoriorum, aut apud eos qui a Nobis fuerint deputati Iudices. Iubemus Archiepiscopos, Seniores Romæ, &c. (Whence Papa temporalibus immiscere se non debet, Papa Jurisdictionem temporalem Imperii non habet; is the Glosse resolves.) After which he adds this memorable cloze to his Law concerning Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and their respective ordinations, *Quæ igitur a Nobis sancita sunt sacrum ordinem statumque custodiunt, secundum sacrarum regularum observationem & virtutem, de cætero obsterbent perpetue integra, et sanctissimi Patriarchæ uniuscujusque Ecclesiæ* (whereof the Bishop of Rome was one) *et Deo amabiles Metropolitæ, et reliqui reverendi Episcopi atque Clerici, ubique Dei culturam et sacram disciplinam custodientes inviolatam, poena imminente hæc prævaricanti, quo penitus alienus sit a Deo, et imposito sibi Sacerdotii ordine: nam velut indignus hoc excluditur. Licentiam vero universis damus cujuscunque sint officii vel conversationis, respicientibus aliquid hominum prævaricari, nunciare Nobis, et ad Imperium quod semper est, ut Nos qui hoc secundum sacrarum regularum explanationem, Apostolicamque traditionem constituimus, decentem etiam indignationem prævaricantibus inferamus. Sanctissimi siquidem Patriarchæ uniuscujusque Diocesis hæc proponant in Ecclesiis sub se constitutis, et manifesta faciant quæ a nobis constituta sunt.* *Illi quoque rursus etiam ipsi proponant in Metropolitâ sanctissima Ecclesiâ et constitutis sub se Episcopis hæc manifesta faciant, illorum vero singuli in propria Ecclesiâ hæc proponant; ut nihil nostræ Republicæ ignoret quæ a Nobis ad honorem et ad augmentum magni Dei et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi disposita sunt.* To which end he commanded Copies of these Laws to be sent to all Metropolitans, & *Johanni vero gloriosissimo præfecto sacrarum prætoriorum, secundo exconsuli & expatrio,* commanding him to see these Laws duly observed; to inform him of all violations of them, *ut dicens super eis imponatur correctio cunctis. Utatur quoque præceptis ad clarissimos Provinciarum Iudices, ut et ipsi qui sunt inspicientes, non permittant aliquod extra hoc quod a Nobis constitutum est, fieri: imminet enim eis et poena quinque Librarum auri, si quidem et ipsi prævaricari videntes, non denunciaverint aut sedi tuæ, aut Imperio, ut undique decens ornatus ordinationis gradui conferbetur.* 5ly. By the Prologue of this Law; (c) *Ut Ecclesiâ Romana centum annorum gaudeat præscriptione. Ut legum originem antior Roma sortita est, et Summi Pontificatus apicem apud eam esse, nemo est qui dubitet.* (Yet not in the Pope but * King, Emperor, as he thus declares in the very next words: *Unde et Nos necessarium duximus patriam legum fontem Sacerdotii specialis nostri numinis lege* (not of the Pope) *illustrare, ut ex hac in totas Catholicas Ecclesias quæ usque ad Oceanum fretum posita sunt, saluberrimæ legis vigore extendat, et sit totius occidentis, necnon et orientis ubi possessiones sitæ inveniuntur ad Ecclesias nostras* (not vestras) *sive nunc pertinentes, seu postea eis acquirendæ, Lex propria ad honorem Dei consecrata: &c. Quod igitur nostra æternitas ad omnipotentis Dei honorem venerandæ sedi Summi Apostoli Petri dedicabit, hoc habeant omnes terræ, omnes Insulæ totius occidentis quæ usque ad ipsas Oceani recessus extendantur nostri Imperii; providentiam præ hoc in æternum reminiscences hujus le-*

gis

gis prærogativam non solum in occidentalibus partibus Romanæ Ecclesiæ condonamus, sed etiam in Orientalibus partibus, in quibus Ecclesiasticæ Urbis Romæ possessiones sunt, vel postea fuerint: scilicet, omnibus iudicibus minoribus et maioribus qui Christiani Orthodoxi sunt, vel postea fuerint, hanc nostram constitutionem servantibus. Nihilominus huiusmodi Legis temeratoribus post cælestes pœnas, etiam legitimam super vigorem pertimescentibus, pœnam quinquaginta librarum auri formidantibus; hac lege non solum postea in emergentibus causis suum tenorem exercente, sed etiam in his quænam sunt deductæ in iudicium. Sanctitas itaque tua præsentem nostræ mansuetudinis legem, piissimam sive sacrosanctam oblationem quam Deo dedicamus, accipiens, inter sacratissima vasa reponat, et a nobis servandam, et in omnes Ecclesiasticas possessiones servaturam. Dat. xviii. Kal. Maii. Capite Bilisario Proconsule. This Law the Emperor sent to Pope John the 3d. with this inscription, Joanni viro beato & sancto, Archiepiscopo & Patriarchæ Veteris Romæ: which being an Universal Law extending to all parts of the Roman Empire; to the possession of all Churches, to Isles in the East and West, as well as those of Rome, equally binding Popes and the Church of Rome, as all others; and made by the Emperors own inherent Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, (without the Pope) as the sole Original fountain of Lawes, to whom the chief Pontifical, Legislative power appertained; Compared with his precedent Lawes binding both Popes, Patriarchs, Metropolitans, Bishops, Priests, all sorts of Ecclesiastical or religious persons, and subjecting them to punishments of deprivation, imprisonment, and other censures to be inflicted on them by the Emperor himself, and by his temporal Officers, Judges, who were to inquire and inform him of all violations of them, are pregnant evidences of this Pious Emperors Legislative, Coercive, Supream Ecclesiastical authority, (transmitted in Perpetuity by these Laws to the Roman Empire, and his Successors therein) & most perspicuously demonstrate, that it was a principal part of his Imperial office, duty, care, to make such Ecclesiastical Laws, for the conservation of Gods sacred faith, worship, Laws, and good Government of the Church, Clergy, as well as Laws for the Government of the Commonwealth. 6ly. By his declaring, resolving * *Imperator Pater est Legis, Nullum genus rerum est, quod non sit penitus quærendum auctoritate Imperatoris. Is enim recepit a Deo coronam, gubernationem et Principatatem super omnes homines.* Whence Paulus Bishop of Apamea in the 5. General Council of Constantinople upon the death of Pope Agapetus used these words to Justinian, *Transiit ipsum Dominus, ut plenitudinem directionis vestræ custodiret Serenitati.* 7ly. By declaring, *That if any Bishop by Doctrine or otherwise move any tumults, he shall be punished by my hand, for my hand is the hand of Gods Minister. Si Civibus leges, quam potestatem nobis Deus pro sua in homines beniguitate credidit, firmas in omnibus custodiri ad obedientium securitatem studemus; Quanto plus studet adhibere debemus circa sacrorum Canonum, et divinarum Legum custodiam?* He reputed this the principal part of his Imperial office, trust, care, & greatest security. 8ly. His Supream Ecclesiastical Power was evidenced by summoning Synods, Councils, and presiding in them; (b) *Nicephorus Callistus* records, *Imperator Justinianus, sanctam quintam Synodum Decumenicam, Episcopis Ecclesiarum omnium evocatis, coegit.* And himself in his Letters of Summons issued for convening the 5. General Council of Constantinople (recorded by (b) *Laurentius Surius, Binus* and *Crab* in their Collections of Councils) thus relates the summoning of all the former General Councils, and confirmation of their Decrees by all Christian Emperors his predecessors, which occasioned him to summon this 5. General Council by his Edict.

In Nomine Domini Dei nostri Jesu Christi, Imperator Cæsar Flavius Justinianus, &c. Beatissimis Episcopis & Patriarchis, &c. Semper studium fuit orthodoxis et piis Imperatoribus patribus nostris pro tempore exortas hæreses per Congregationem religiosissimorum Episcoporum amputare, et recta fide sincere prædicata in pace sanctam Dei Ecclesiam custodire. Quapropter & Constantinus Pater recordationis, Arrio blasphemante & dicente non esse

* Autentico;
Col: 1.2. Tit. 6.
f. 22. Col. 4. l. 6.
Tit. 3. l. 1. Tit.
6. Novel: 131,
137.

Anno 550.
a Ecclesiasticæ,
Hist. l. 17. c. 27

b Concil. Tom.
2. p. 494, 495
496.

filium

Filium consubstantialem Deo Patri, sed creaturam, & ex non extantibus factum esse, congregavit Nicæa ex diversis Diocesisbus trecentos Decem et Octo sanctos patres; et cum ipse etiam Concilio interfuisset, et adjuvisset eos quod Consubstantialem filium Patri confelsi sunt, condemnata Arriana impietate, studium habuit rectam fidem obtinere. Exposito itaque Sancto Symbolo vel Athemate fidei, per hoc Sancti Patres confelsi sunt, consubstantialem esse Filium Deo Patri, quod usque tunc apud plurimos dubitabatur. Sed et Theodosius senior piæ recordationis, Macedonio negante Deitatem sancti Spiritus, et Apollinario vel Magno ejus Discipulo, in Dispensatione incarnati Dei verbi blasphemantibus, & dicentibus sensum humanum, non recepisse Deum verbum, sed Carni unitum esse animam irrationabilem habenti; congregatis in regia Urbe Centum Quinquaginta Sanctis Patribus, cum et ipse particeps fuisset Concilii, damnatis prædictis Hæreticis, una cum impiis eorum dogmatibus, fecit rectam prædicare fidem. Secuti enim iidem Sancti Patres expositam rectam fidem a trecentis Decem et Octo sanctis Patribus explanaverunt de Deitate sancti Spiritus, et perfecte de dispensatione incarnati Dei verbi docuerunt. Iterum Nestor, o impio alium dicente Deum verbum, & alium Christum, & hunc quidem natura filium Dei Patris, illum autem gratia filium in pie introducente, & sanctam Gloriosam semper Virginem Dei Genitricem esse negante, cum penè omnes Orientales partes sua impietate adimpletisset idem Nestor, Theodosius junior piæ recordationis congregavit priorum Ephesinam sanctam Synodum, cui præsidebant Coelestinus, et Cyrillus Sancti Patres, & directis Iudicibus qui deberent Concilio interesse, compulit et ipsum Nestorium ibi pervenire, et Iudicium propter eum procedere, et tali examinatione facta, secuti iidem sancti Patres per omnia ea quæ de fide definita sunt ab anterioribus sanctis Patribus condemnaverunt Nestorium, una cum ejus impietate. His ita subsecutis, cum insurrexissent contra Cyrillum sequaces Nestorii impii, feliciter (quantum in ipsis fuit) refutare condemnationem contra Nestorium factam: sed prædictus piæ recordationis Theodosius, vindicans ea quæ ita recte contra Nestorium et ejus impietatem fuerant iudicata, fecit firmiter obtinere contra eum factam condemnationem. Et post hac iterum cum Eutichius demens emerisset, negando consubstantialem nobis esse carnem Domini, multis interea motis, tam Constantinopoli, quam Ephesi, tanta pro illa facta est Hæreticorum circumventio, ut etiam ejiceretur propter eum Flavianus Religiosæ memoriæ Regiæ Urbis Episcopus. Idæ autem recordationis Marrianus congregavit Chalcedone sanctos Patres, et Magna contentione inter Episcopos facta, non solum per suos Iudices, sed etiam per seipsum in Concilium pervenit, et ad concordiam omnes perduxit. Cui sancti Patres in omnibus secuti ea quæ pro fide definita sunt a prædictis tribus sanctis Conciliis, et quæ iudicata sunt de Hæreticorum damnatione et impietate eorum, damnaverunt et anathematizaverunt Eutichen dementem, et impia ejus dogmata, ne non et Nestorium cum impiis ejus dogmatibus, quoniam tunc festinaverunt quidam defendere Nestorium et impia ejus dogmata. Super hæc autem iidem in Chalcedone sancti Patres anathematizaverunt eos qui aliud Symbolum tradiderunt aut tradunt, præter hoc quod expositum est a trecentis decem et octo sanctis Patribus, et explanatum a Centum quinquaginta sanctis Patribus. His itaque omnibus, per diversa tempora subsecutis prædicti piæ recordationis nostri Patres ea quæ in Unoquoque Concilio iudicata sunt Legibus suis corroboraverunt et confirmaverunt, et Hæreticos qui definitionibus prædictorum sanctorum quatuor Conciliorum resistere, et Ecclesias conturbare conati sunt, expulerunt. Defuncto autem Marriano Divæ Recordationis, cum Contentio esset per diversa loca de Chalcedonensi sancto Con-

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lio. Leo piæ recordationis ad omnes ubique Sacerdotes scripsit, ut unusquisque eorum propriam sententiam manifestaret de eodem Sancto Concilio, & cum alius alium Episcopum non expectasset, ad hoc quod interrogati sunt responderunt. Exiguo autem tempore transacto iterum insurrexerunt Nestorii & Eutichis sequaces & tantas turbas in sanctis Dei Ecclesiis fecerunt, ut divisiones, & schismata in eis fierent, & nullam communionem ad se invicem Ecclesia haberent. Nec enim præsumebat aliquis de Civitate ad Civitatem veniens communicare, nec Clericus ex alia Civitate in aliam Civitatem veniens in Ecclesiam procedere. Cum autem secundum suam Misericordiam Dominus Deus Reipublicæ Suber nationem nobis credidit, initium et fundamentum nostri Imperii fecimus, conjungere divisos Sacerdotes sanctarum Dei Ecclesiarum, ab Oriente usque ad Occidentem, et omnem contentionem amputantes quæ contra Chalcedonensem sanctam Synodum ab Eurychis et Nestorii impiorum sequacibus movebatur, fecimus prædicare eandem sanctam Synodum, cum prædictis aliis sanctis tribus Conciliis in Dei Ecclesiis, certe scientes, quod ea quæ ab ea de fide exposita sunt, consonant per omnia aliis tribus sanctis Conciliis, et multis quidem ad eandem sanctam Synodum contradicentibus satisfecimus, alios aut qui perseveraverunt eidem sancto Concilio contradicentes extulimus a sanctis Dei Ecclesiis et Aenerabilibus Monasteriis, ut concordia et pace sanctarum Ecclesiarum et earum Sacerdotum firmiter custodita, una et eadem fides quam sanctæ quatuor Synodi confessæ sunt, in sanctis Dei Ecclesiis prædicetur. Vis ita pro firmitate sanctarum quatuor Synodorum Deo propitio per nos factis et obtinentibus in sancta Dei Ecclesia, Nestorii sequaces propriam impietatem applicare volentes sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ, et non potentes hoc per Nestorium facere, festinaverunt ea introducere per Theodorum Mopsuestenum Doctorem Nestorii, qui multo pejora Nestorio blasphemavit, et super alias innumerabiles suas Blasphemias, contra Christum Deum nostrum factas, alium dicit Deum verbum, alium Christum, nec non et per impia conscripta Theodori quæ contra rectam fidem et Ephesinam primam sanctam Synodum, et contra sanctæ memoriæ Cyrillum et duodecim ejus capitula expoluit, et insuper sceleratam Epistolam, quam dicitur Ibas ad Marim Persam scripsisse, quæ plena est omni impietate Theodori et Nestorii. Per hanc etenim impiam Epistolam non solum impietatem, sed etiam ipsas personas Theodori & Nestorii, quas maxime laudat & judicat, eadem impia Epistola festinaverunt condemnationem liberare, dicentes eam susceptam esse à Sancta Chalcedonensi Synodo. Hoc autem dicunt non pro defensione sanctæ Synodi sed nomine ejus sicut putant, suam impietatem confirmare festinantes. Certum autem est, quod impia intentio est ista vindicantium, ut si eis evenerit, non prædicetur Deus verbum homo factus esse, nec sancta Gloriosa semper Virgo Maria Dei Genitrix prædicetur. Hæc enim Theodorus & Nestorius in suis Conscriptis impie exposuerunt, & qui Epistolam scripsit, in ea blasphemavit. Nos igitur sequentes sanctos Patres, et volentes rectam fidem sine quadam macula in Dei Ecclesiis prædicari, et impiorum conatum refecare, primum quidem et in vestris vos degentes Ecclesiis interrogavimus de prædictis tribus capitulis, et vestram nobis voluntatem manifestam fecistis, pro qua et comprobavimus vos, quod indubitanter et cum omni alacritate rectam fidem confessi estis, et impiam condemnastis. Quoniam vero et post condemnationem a vobis factam in eisdem ipsis permanent quidam eadem impia tria

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Capitula vindicantes, ideo vocabimus vos ad regiam Urbem, hortantes, communiter convenientes, quam habetis pro his voluntatem, iterum manifestare, &c. Adhortamur igitur etiam vos de his disceptare: Scire etenim vos volumus, quod nos ea quæ a Sanctis quatuor Conciliis, Niceno, Constantinopolitano, Ephesino primo, et Chalcedonensi de una eademque fide exposita et definita sunt, et de Ecclesiastico statu regulariter disposita, servabimus et defendemus, et ea sequimur, et omnia quæ consonant istis suscipimus et amplectimur. Quicquid autem non consonat istis, vel a quacunque persona scriptum inveniatur contra ea quæ de una eademque fide a sanctis quatuor Conciliis, vel uno ex his, definita sunt, hoc tanquam alienum, omnino pietatis execramur; sequimur autem in omnibus sanctos patres et Doctores sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ, id est, Athanasium, Hilarium, Basilium, Gregorium Theologum, & Gregorium Nyssenum, Ambrosium, Theophilum, Johann. (Chrysostomum) Constantinopolitanum, Cyrillum, Augustinum, Proculum, Leonem, & omnia quæ ab his de fide recta, & ad condemnationem Hæreticorum conscripta & exposita sunt, suscipimus, &c. After which he prescribes the Bishops what points they should debate in this General Council, and then concludes; Omnia igitur prædicta cum omni subtilitate disceptantes, sicut Sacerdotes decet, in mente habentes Dei timorem, & futurum iudicium, & nihil pietati & rectæ fidei & veritati, & Dei gloria & honori præponentes, in mente autem habentes et Apostolicam pronuntiationem quæ contra eos qui contraria rectæ fidei tradunt prolata est, manifeste dicentem; * quod licet Nos vel Angelum de Cælo evangelizaverit vobis præterquam quod evangelizavimus vobis, anathema sit, scientes autem & Petri Apostoli præceptum dicentis, * Parati semper estote ad satisfactionem omni petenti vos rationem de spe quæ in vobis est, celeriter de his quæ interrogabimus vestram manifestate voluntatem. Cum enim qui de recta fide interrogatur diu protrahit, nihil aliud est nisi abnegatio rectæ confessionis.

* Gal. 1. 8, 9.

* 1 Pet. 3. 15

a Surius, Tom:
2. p. 501, 502.

In this Council the Emperor appointed some of his (a) Nobles and Judges to be presidents, to take an account of, and direct the Bishops in their proceedings: who after Pope Vigilius his refusal to appear in the Council, Gloriosissimi Iudices dixerunt, Nos quidem hoc quod iussimus à piissimo Imperatore implevimus, & inus ad ejus palatium in ejus obsequium permansuri; vos autem Dei timorem præ oculis habentes celerem finem imponere causæ dignamini, convenientem his quæ a sanctis quatuor Conciliis de fide recta definita sunt, scientes quod piissimus Imperator specialiter iussit nobis dicere vestræ Sanctitati, quod ipse quæ a sanctis quatuor Conciliis de una eademque fide definita et judicata sunt, et servabit, et servat, et vindicabit, et vindicat, et omnia quidem quæ conveniunt his quæ ab iisdem Sanctis Conciliis pro recta fide definita sunt, et suscipit et servat; omnia autem contraria his quæ ab ipsis de fide recta judicata sunt, et rejicit, et aliena de Ecclesia judicat esse.

b Surius, Tom:
2. p. 496, 498,
349, 501, 502,
&c. Dr. Crankenthorps
Vigilius Dormitans, cap. 2, 3.
c De Conciliis,
l. 1. c. 4. 36.
d Annal. Eccl. Ann. 553.
nu. 29, 31.

This most godly Emperor particularly summoned (b) Pope Vigilius (of whose orthodoxy he doubted) to this Council, both by himself, by his Judges presiding in it, and by Deputies sent to him from the Council; who frequently admonished him, et proposuerunt iussione piissimi Imperatoris Papæ, ut una cum omnibus conveniret, to debate with the Council, and conclude the 3. Chapters; who yet (as the Council attests, and (c) Bellarmin, and (c) Baronius confesse,) Neque per se, neque per Legatos interfuit, sed noluit interesse; (though then at Constantinople) whereupon this General Council was held and proceeded without him. Nec enim iustum est tam Christianissimum Imperatorem vel fidelem populum scandalizare ex dilatione ejus, upon pretence, that there were many Eastern Bishops there, pauci vero cum eo

facere

facere autem per semetipsum in scriptis suam sententiam, & offerre piissimo Domino (so he stiled *Justinian*) Ideo enim & inducias postulasse ab ejus Serenitate, ut intra eas suam manifestaret sententiam. During the Councils Sessions, Pope *Vigilius* published his *Apostolical Constitution*, and definitive sentence in defence of the *Three Chapters*: Which Constitution and sentence of his, this *General Council* contradicted, anathematized even in the cause of faith, censuring his definitive opinion as heretical; condemning the *Catholick faith*, and justifying the heresy of *Nestorius*, as (a) *Bellarmin* himself confesseth: All the godly Bishops in the cloze of the 6. Collation cryed out unanimously, [b] *Multis Annis Imperatozem, orthodoxum Imperatozem multis annis*. And in the Conclusion of the 7. Session or Collation they all give him this Encomium: [c] *Sancta Synodus dixit, Evidenter et nunc Deum placans intentio piissimi et tranquillissimi Imperatoris offensa est, qui omnia semper fecit, et facit quæ sanctam Ecclesiam et recta dogmata conserbant, qui et modo recitatas Chartas direxit manifestantes et ipsas, quod nec latuit aliquem alienam ab initio esse istorum Capitulorum impietatis sanctam Dei Ecclesiam. Et Christianissimus quidem Imperator mercedem pro his habebit de Christo magno Deo, qui talia multiplicare solet: nos autem Orationes quotidianas facientes pro ejus Serenitate, pro tribus Capitulis altero die adjuvante Deo Synodicam sententiam proferemus.* This Emperor ratifying the definitions of this Council by his royal assent and Decrees, [d] afterwards writ a *Confession of his own faith*; wherein he refutes and anathematizeth all Heresies condemned by former Councils, in nature of an Imperial Decree, which he enjoyned to be observed within his Empire, sending it to Pope *John* the 2d. and approved by *Pope Agatho* his Successor, printed in *Surius* with this Title; *Editum Piissimi Imperatoris Justiniani, fidei Confessionem continens, & refutationem hereseos quæ adversantur Catholica Ecclesia, &c.* With this Note in the Margin; *Confessio Justiniani Imperatoris, Erudito, Pio, et Catholico Imperatore digna.* The ground of his compiling and publishing it, is thus expressed in the Prologue: *Scientes quod nihil aliud sic potest misericordem Deum placare, quam ut omnes Christiani unum idemque sapiant in recta & immaculata fide, nec sint dissensiones in sancta Dei Ecclesia; necessarium putavimus, &c.* to compile and publish this his Edict and Confession of Faith for these ends. Upon reading whereof *e Pontianus*, a Bishop, writ thus to him. *Exultat autem spiritus noster hoc firmiter te piissime esse Imperator, quod Apostolica fides prædicat, credentes: quod à rectæ credulitatis tramite non declines. Talem enim decet esse Imperatozem piûm, justum, fidelem, qualem te nos esse cognovimus.* Yet notwithstanding all these deserved Encomiums of his transcendent *Piety, Christianity, Orthodoxy, Zeal, &c.* Cardinal *f Baronius* is so much enraged against this godly Emperor for his proceedings against Pope *Silverius* and *Vigilius*, and for his Ecclesiastical Laws, that like another *Hercules furens* he most unchristianly belyes, slanders, reviles, and damnes him to the pit of hell, as the most illiterate, unworthy, impious, tyrannical, presumptuous, heretical wretch that ever breathed; *What? Christian Princes, such a one as Justinian to make Laws for Popes, or Bishops? Laws concerning faith, &c. who should receive all such Lawes from, and only obey the Lawes made by Popes and Prelates. Videtis quanta iactura cum Principes indicere audent ipsis Sacerdotibus leges, a quibus sanctitas servare ipsi debent.* Then slandering this [*] most learned Emperor, as (g) *homo penitus illiteratus, adeo ut nec alphabetum aliquando didicisset, illiteratus Theologus, legere nescius; ut qui nec prima elementa calluit, qui nunquam legere sciverit, vel ipsum foris inscriptum titulum Bibliorum; Fecit analphabetum Imperatozem repente palliatum apparere Theologum; Clero ut sibi subditum aggressus erat præscribere leges. (h) Sacrarum legum conditozem agit, de Sacerdotibus leges ferre, in eisque poenas statuere præter jus fasque præsumens. Ille furore percitus; mente amotus, correptus maligno spiritui, agitur a Satana, Sacrilegus, &c. a quo accepturi essent Leges Episcopi.* Such a one as this *Justinian* to make Lawes for Bishops? What is it else but to confound all things? (i) *Confundi omnia necesse est; Canones ipse*

a De Pontif.
Rom. l. 4. c. 10.
Dr Craken-
thorps Vigilius
Dormitans, c. 1.
3, 4.
b Surius, Tom.
2. p. 579.
c Ibidem, p.
588.

d Surius Con-
cil: Tom. 2. p.
387, to 400

e Surius Tom. 2
p. 399.

f Annal. Eccl.
An: 553. n. 37
546. n. 24.

* See Platina in
vita Bonitacii 2
Tritemius de
Scriptoribus
Ecclesiasticis.
g Anno 528. n.
2. 546. 551. n.
2. 551. n. 4.
h An: 551. n. 2.
4. 528. n. 2.
553. n. 32. 541.
n. 16. 550. n. 14
Dr: Craken-
thorps Vigilius
Dormitans, cap
20.

i Anno 563.
n: 16. 6. 7. 9.

ipse conculcat, penitusque confundet Ecclesiasticam oeconomiam; Sicque omnem in Ecclesia dissolveret ordinem, faceretque ex regno coelorum ergastulum infernorum. Ne sutor ultra crepidam, &c.

Yea he not only taxeth him of Curiosity, temerity, and arrogancy, for meddling in sacred affairs, but for a perverse mad-man, an Antichrist, setting up his chair, throne, in the temple of God, and exalting himself above all that is worshipped; making Sacrilegious Lawes for exercising Infidelity, and writing Edicts for heresie, And that when he died *ad supplicia apud inferos luenda profectus est*. This insolent, impudent Cardinal

* Here, p. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.

had quite forgotten, First, not only the presidents of * King David, Solomon, Hezekiah, and others in the Old Testament, making Lawes for Priests and Levites in matters of Worship, Order, &c. but of Constantine the Great, Theodosius & other his religious Predecessors Ecclesiastical Lawes, mentioned in this Generall Council. Secondly That Pope Agatho himself in the 6. general Council of Constantinople, in his Proposals and Confession of the Orthodox faith, received, professed in the Church of Rome, sent to the Emperor Constantius, & this Council, gives this honorable testimony of Justinian his Orthodox faith, Edicts, Book in defence of the Catholick faith: *a Justinianus Augustus, cujus fidei rectitudo quantum pro sincera confessione Deo placuit, tantum rempublicam Christianam exaltabit. Et utiq; ab omnibus gentibus ejus religiosa memoria veneratione digna censetur, cujus fidei rectitudo per Augustissimam ejus Edicta in toto orbe diffusa laudatur: quorum unum quod ad Zoilum Alexandrinum presulem adversus Achephalorum heresim missum est pro Apostolica fidei rectitudine satisfacere sufficiens, cum hac nostra humilitatis suggestionem vestre tranquillissimae Christianitati dirigentes per praesentium latores*

a Actio 4. Suriius Concil. Tom. 2. p. 918. Nota.

(as Delegates to him & this Council under him of 120 Bishops) offerimus, 3ly. That this Pope and the whole Synod of Rome in their Epistle to their Delegates sent to the Emperor and Council, and Instructions to them read in this General Council; after their mention and applauses of the Piety, Orthodoxy, and Zeal of the Emperors Constantine the Great, Theodosius, and Martinianus, in summoning the Councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus and Chalcedon, against Arius and other Heretiques, instantly subjoyn Justinian, who summoned the Council of Constantinople, as excelling all the former godly Emperors in Piety and Zeal: *Et sicut extremi quidem, praestantissimi tamen omnium, magni illius Justiniani, cujus et virtus, ita et pietas omnia in meliorem ordinem restauravit: cujus justitia fortissima vestre clementiae principatus virtutis quidem conatibus Rempublicam Christianam tuetur, et restaurat in melius, &c.*

b Actio 4. Suriius Concil. Tom. 2. p. 925.

4ly. That this Universal Synod of Constantinople in their 10(c) Action caused Justinian's Book against Hereticks to be publicly read, as of far greater Authority then any of the Fathers there alleged. *Item, relectum est in eodem Codicillo testimonium Justiniani piissimi Imperatoris ex libro contra Nestorianos, et Acephalos. Item, relectum est ex eodem Codicillo testimonium ejusdem sanctae memoriae Justiniani, ex dogmatica Epistola, ad Zoilum sanctissimum Patriarcham Alexandriae. Quae duo testimonia collata sint similiter ad librum membranaceum, qui est de biblioteca venerabilis hujus Patriarchae.* 5ly. That Actio 14. the whole Council stiled him 4. or 5. times one after another. (d) Justinianus quondam divinae, et divinae memoriae Imperatoris, and his Empresse as often Theodora Divae memoriae, in their examination of the forgeries inserted by some Hereticks into the Acts of this Council held under him. 6ly. That in their acclamations to Constantine, they give him this Title as a badge of his greatest honour, orthodoxy and piety, *Nobis Justiniano aeterna memoria*: which they oft repeated in several Letters: 7ly. That Actio 18 this whole 6th. General Council in their *Sermo acclamatorius* to the Emperor Constantine there publicly read, gave this Encomium of him, *Post hac Justiniano piissimo, &c.* And Canon 1. stiles him, *Justinianus pia memoria*. 8ly. That Actio 18. the Emperor Constantine himself stiles him, *Justinianus Divina memoria*, in his Edict ratifying this Council. 9ly. That (f) Mansuetus Bishop of Millain, and the whole Synod of Bishops under him in their Epistle and Confession of faith sent to the Emperor Constantine and this General Council, after their commendation of Con-

c Actio 10. Suriius Concil. p. 958.

stantine,

d Suriius, Tom. 2. p. 1001, 1003, 1005. e Ibid. Actio 8. 10. 17, 18, p. 1023. f Suriius, p. 1040.

g Suriius Concil. Tom. 2. p. 896, 897.

stantine, Theodosius magnus, and Martianus, præstantissimi & Christianæ religionis amatores, (who summoned the Councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon,) give this Character of Justinian, *Demptis his omnibus, deinceps Christianissimus Justiniano Imp: cuius cum nomine et opera micuerunt, existentibus quibusdam qui sanctam Chalcedonensem Synodum sub novo offensionis rejice: e inconsideratis vocibus jaſſitabant, tunc a præfato Principe iterato in regia urbe Constantinop: Concilio congregati sunt 160. reverendi Patres, &c. sanctam & immaculatam orthodoxam fidem viventibus sententiis roborantes, firmissimam adſertionem confirmaverunt.* If this whole General Council, together with the Synods of Rome, Millain, the Emperor Constantine, Pope Agatho himself and other godly Bishops gave these high Encomiums of Justinians transcendent piety, orthodoxy, constancy, learning and knowledge, within an 120. years after his decease, How impudent, impious, injurious is Cardinal Baronius above one thousand years after, to slander him for an *Heretical, impious, flagitious, illiterate, damned miscreant?* 10ly. * Pope Gregory the 1. oft stiles him, *Justinus pie memorie*, for vertue and piety renowned, and to be held in veneration by all Nations. 11ly. (a) Aimonius gives Justinian this testimony, *Justinian was a man fide Catholicus, pietate insignis, æquitatis cultor Egregius; therefore all things prospered under his hand.* (b) Otto Frisingensis calls him, *Christianissimum ac piissimum Principem, qui Imperium quasi mortuum resuscitavit, &c.* as well as the Church. (c) Gothofrius Viterbiensis terms him, *Christianissimum Principem; The whole glory of God was repaired by his vertue, and peace established in the Church, which remain'd in that stable peace which under him it enjoyed.* (d) Wernerus records, *He was in all things most excellent; for in him did concur three things which make a Prince glorious; to wit, Power, by which he overcame his Enemies; Wisdom, by which he governed the world by just Lawes; and a Religious mind to Gods worship, by which he glorified God and beautified Churches.* (e) Tritemius assures us, *He was deservedly reckoned among Ecclesiastical writers; he expressly mentioning 3. Books which he writ in defence of the Orthodox faith, against Eutiches; and one against the African Bishops; With whom (f) Possevine the Jesuite concurs: Adding, Justinian the Emperor, a religious man, sent to the See Apostolick (or Pope John the 3d.) the Profession of his faith, scriptum chirographo proprio, written with his own hand (testifying his great love to, and care for the Christian Religion. 12ly. * Liberatus (who lived under Justinian, and was no well-wisher to him) records, That he writ a Book against the Acephali, and Eutichian Hereticks, in defence of the Council of Chalcedon: Therefore Baronius his passages, that he was altogether illiterate, and unable so much as to read, must needs be malicious forgeries. 13ly. (g) Suidas stiles him, A most Catholick and Orthodoxal Emperor. (h) Paulus Diaconus relates; That he governed the Empire, felici sorte; and was a Prince for his faith Catholick, in his actions upright, in his judgements just: therefore all things concurred to his good. 14ly. (i) Sebastianus Munster registers of him: He was a just and upright man, ingenious in finding out matters, *atque heresum marimus hostis.* Yea (k) Platina gives him this testimony, *Justinus his next successor was Nulla in re similis Justiniano; for he was wicked, covetous, ravenous, a contemner both of God and man. 15ly. (l) Procopius gives him this Encomium, That Justinian seemed to have been ordained to the Imperial dignity by God, that he might repair the whole Empire, and likewise the Church of God: For he built the most magnificent Church Sophia in Constantinople, comparable to Solomons Temple, the mirror of all ages, with 37. Stately Churches in Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and other great Cities, besides many Abbies, Churches, Hospitals; so that Nulla satietas honorandi Dum eum cepit, as Procopius relates, asserts. And [m] Evagrius (who being an Eutichian, was most despitefull to him) gives him this testimony, "That it is reported he restored a new one hundred and fifty Cities, either totally overthrown or utterly decayed, and that he so beautified them with great Ornaments, publike and private houses, goodly walls, sumptuous buildings and Churches, ut nihil esse posset magnificentius. Which yet were nothing comparable to his most wholefom Imperial Lawes, (abridged, corrected, supplied by his learned care and diligence) whereby he governed both the Empire and Church. 16ly. His memory was so famous, for Piety, Zeal, Justice, Wisdom, Government, Vertues, [n] That all the people annually celebrated the memory of Justinian with great Pomp, solemnity, and pægyrick Orations to his honor, both in the Church of Sophia in Constantinople, and in the Church of St. Iohn at Ephesus, which he built. And although Baronius out of malice place him in hell, yet Pope [o] Agatho**

* Epist. l. 2.
Ind. 11. Epist.
& l. 3. Epist. 4.
a De Gestis
Franc. l. 3. c. 8.
b Chron. Lib.
5. c. 4.
c Chronicon,
part 16 in J.
stiniano.
d Fasciculus
Temp. Anno
504.

e De Scriptori-
bus Ecclesiast.
f Apparatus
sacri. in verbo
Justinianus

* In Breviario
c. 24. Centur.
Magd. 6. col.
51, 52, 502,
503.
g In Justiniano.
h De Gestis
Longobard. l. 1.
c. 17. et in vita
ejus.

i Cosmog.
lib. 4. c. 59. in
vita Justiniani.
k In vita Jo-
han. 3.

l De Ælif. Ju-
stin. l. 1. 2, 3,
4, 5, 6.

m Ecclef. Hist.
l. 4. c. 18.
Zonarus Tom.
3.

n N'ceph. Ec-
clesi. Hist. l. 7.
c. 31. Centur.
Magd. 6. c. 6.
col. 343, 344.
Otto Frising.
Chron. l. 5. c. 4.
Paulus Diacon-
us, De Gest.
Long. l. 1. c. 17.

o Concil. Gen.
6. Act. 4.
and

q Ecclef. Hist.
1:7. c. 31.

r Vigilus Dor-
mitans ch. 20.
P. 355.

and his whole *Roman Council*, rank him among the glorious and blessed Saints in heaven, *St. Constantine, Theodosius, and Marrian*, saying, *That he is a blessed Saint venerable in all ages; and this Pope with the whole 6. General Council (as (q) Nicephorus records) Justinianum beata quiete dignatur; oft stiling him holy, blessed, divine, happy, & semper cum qui in sanctis est Justinianum dicunt.* 17ly. Learned [r] Dr. Crakenthorp gives this testimony of him; *There cannot be found in all Scripture more fair evidence, nor a more authentick Charter for the happy estate of any one in particular, that lived since the Apostles times, then is for this Justinian; For what were the works which did accompany and follow him? Truly the works of sincere faith, of fervent zeal to God, of love to the Church and children of God, the works of piety, of prudence, of justice, of fortitude, of munificence, of many other heroical virtues; with these, as with a garment and chain of pure gold, Justinian being decked, was brought unto the bridegroom. Every Decree made or ratified by him for confirming the truth; every Anathema against Heresies and hereticks, particularly those against Vigilus, and all that defend him (that is, against Baronius, and all that defend the Popes infallibility in defining matters of faith;) every Temple or Church, every Monastery and Hospital, every City and Town, every Bridge, Haven, and Highway, every Castle, Fort and Munition, whether made or repaired by him, tending either immediately to the advancing of Gods service in strengthening the Empire against his and Gods enemies; Every Book in the Digest, Code, and Authenticks; every Title, yea every Law in every Title whereby the Christian faith or Religion, or peaceable order and tranquillity have been either planted or propagated, or continued in the Church, or Commonwealth; all these and every one of them, and many other the like, which I cannot either remember or recount, are like so many Rubies, Chrysolites and Diamonds in the costly Garment, or so many links in the golden chain of his faith and virtues; Seeing they who offer but one mite into the Treasury of the Lord; or, give but one cup of cold water to a Prophet in the name of a Prophet, shall not want a reward; O what a weight of eternity and glory, shall that Troop of Vertues and Train of Good works obtain at his hands, who rewardeth indeed every man according to their works; but withall rewardeth them infinitely above all the dignity or condignity of their works?*

I have the longer insisted in clearing *Justinians* Ecclesiastical Supremacy in matters of faith, worship, over all Ecclesiastical persons, and Popes themselves, with his piety as well as Regality in making, collecting the forecited Ecclesiastical Laws, because they are most punctual to my present Theam, and most oppugned by *Baronius*.

Anno 550.
Ad Justinianum
Imp. jam Co-
ronatum Paræ-
netica Oratio,
Bibl. Patrum,
Tom: 6. pars 1.
P. 565, 566.

Agapetus a famous learned Deacon of *Constantinople*, in his *Admonitorium* to the Emperor *Justinian*, hath these memorable passages, *Honore quolibet sublimiorem quanto habeas dignitatem, O Imperator, honora supra omnes, qui hoc te dignatus est, Deum, quoniam juxta similitudinem celestis Regni tradidit tibi sceptrum terrene potestatis, ut homines doceas justi custodiam. Super omnia præclara que regnum habet, pietatis cultusque divini corona regem erornat. Sceptrum Imperii quam a Deo susceperis cogitato quibusnam modis placebis ei qui id tibi dedit; quumque omnibus hominibus ab eo sis prælatus (therefore above the Pope, and all other Prelates) magis omnibus eum honestare festina: porro id ipse honestamentum arbitratue maximum, si quasi te factos a se tuearis, atque ut debiti solutionem benefaciendi munus adimpleas, &c.* And he positively asserts; *Essentia corporis æqualis cuilibet homini Imperator, potestate autem dignitatis cunctorum præfidi Deo, nec enim habet in terris se quenquam altiozem: oportet igitur ipsum ut Deum, non irasci, ut mortalem non efferri &c.* His *Imperator* non habet in terris se quenquam altiozem, making much against the Popes Supremacy, recited by *Antonius Abbas* (in his *Melissa*;) the *Roman Censurers* in their *Index Expurgatorius*, Romæ excus: Anno 1607. p. 200. and the *Spanish Inquisitors*

Inquisitors in their *Index librorum prohibitorum* & expurgand. excus. Madreti, Anno 1612. in *Agapeto*, p. 797. not deeming it expedient totally to expunge it, are contented to yield the Emperors Supremacy in Temporals, by adding this exposition of them in the Margin of future Impressions; *Intellige de Potestate politica & seculari*: (enough to subvert the Popes Secular Monarchy, asserted by them and their flatterers) when as *Agapetus* meant it of his Supremacy in Spirituals as well as Temporals, as his precedent and subsequent words assure us, against this false new marginal Glosse. He adds, *Imperator ut est omnium Dominus*, (therefore the Popes) *ita cum omnibus Dei servus existat*: his whole *Admonitorium* tends to prove, that the advancement of Piety, Religion, and Gods Worship, is and ought to be all Kings, Emperors chiefest study, care, as well as honor and safety.

(a) Pope *Pelagius* the 1. in his Epistle to King *Childebert*, writes, *We must endeavour to declare the obedience of our succession unto Kings, quibus nos* (even as who are Popes, as well as others) *etiam subditos esse sancte Scripturę precipiunt*; to wit, Rom. 13. & 1 Pet. 2.

[b] *Chilpericus* King of France accused *Pretextatus* Bishop of Rheon for Theft, Treason against him, and divers other crimes, for which he declared *se de jure in eum agere potuisse*; but yet he summoned a Synod to examine and hear the cause, because he would not seem to cross the Canons: whereupon a Synod being called at Paris, *Gregorius Turonensis Episcopus* (though a great favourer of *Pretextatus*,) thus ingenuously professed and told the King: *Si quis de nobis (Episcopis) O Rex Justitia transmittam transcendere voluerit, a te corrigi potest, but if you transgress them, who shall punish you? We speak unto you: If you be willing, you obey; but if you be unwilling, who can condemn you, but he only who hath pronounced that he is just?* Not the Pope, nor a whole Synod of Bishops, as this Bishop confesseth. *Pretextatus* being convicted of the crimes by his own confession, was thereupon apprehended; imprisoned, and afterwards banished by this King, but recalled and restored by King *Gunthram* his Successor.

This King *Gunthram* summoned a Synod at Lyons against *Salonius Ebridenensis Episcopus*, and *Sagittarius Vaxiensis Episcopus*, who being complained against for drunkenness, whoredom, and other crimes; and convicted thereof, were deprived of their Bishopricks, and thrust into a Monastery as Prisoners by the King for a time. Afterwards, complaining to the King that they were unjustly injured by the Synod, they petitioned him, *sibi tribui licentiam ut ad Papam urbis Romę accedere debeant*. Whereupon *Rex annuens petitionibus eorum, datis Epistolis, eos abire permisit*. When they came to Rome, and complained to Pope *John* of their misery and unjust removal, he writ to the King, desiring him to restore them; which he did. After which they falling into new crimes by bearing arms, murdering and oppressing their Citizens, reviling the King and his mother, drinking and whoring day and night, were again removed by the King from their Bishopricks, and thrust into the Monastery of *Marcellus*. (d) This King the next year summoned another Synod in *Ube Valentina*, which met, *juxta imperium Domini Gunthrami Regis, pro diversis pauperum querimoniis, &c. Et quia predictus Rex per virum illustrem Asclepiadum referendarium, datis ad Sanctam Synodum Epistolis injunxit*, to subscribe what ever he, his Queen, and daughters had given to holy places; they thereupon accordingly subscribed.

About the year 590. (e) *Gunthramus Rex Francorum* issued this memorable Precept, *De observando die Dominico* to the Bishops summoned by him to the second Council of *Matifcon*, & omnibus Pontificibus & universis Clericis, & cunctis Judicibus in regione nostra constitutis, beginning thus; *Per hoc superna Majestatis authorem (cujus universa reguntur Imperio) placari credimus, si in populo nostro iustitia jura, & preceptorum divinarum monita servamus. Dum ergo pro Regni nostri stabilitate, & saluatione Populi, sollicitudine perbígili attentius pertractavimus, agnovimus infra regni nostri spatia universa scelera, quę canonibus et legibus pro divino timore puniri consueverunt, suadente adversario boni operis, perpetrari* (to the drawing down of Gods judgements on them;) which finnes he thereupon enjoynes the Bishops and Ministers to endeavour to suppress by their Preaching and Holy Lives; *Nam nec nos, quibus facultatem regnandi superni Regis commisit auctoritas, frangere eam evadere possumus, si de subiecto populo sollicitudinem non habemus: Idcirco hujus Decreti ac definitionis generalis vigore decernimus*

Anno 550.
Dr. Crankshaw
of the Popes
Temp. Monar-
chy, c. 5. p. 71.

Anno 580
b Greg. Turon-
ensis Hist. l. 5.
c. 18. Centur.
Magd. 6. col.
71. 72. 73. 74.
Morney Myste-
rium Iniquitat.
p. 104.

Anno 492
Aimoniis Hist.
l. 3. c. 25. 27.
28. Greg. Tu-
ronensis, l. 5. c.
20. Cent. Magd.
6. col. 335. 627.
628. Philip de
Morney, Myste-
rium Iniquita-
tis, p. 165. Be-
ronius, Anno
570. n. 23. 23.

Anno 489
Surius Conci.
Tom. 2. p. 682.
Morney Myste-
rium Iniquita-
tis, p. 104.

Anno 590
Surius Conci.
Tom. 2. p. 680.
687. Centur.
Mag. 6. col. 619.
620.

Mark 16.

q Ecclesi. Hist.
l: 7. c. 31.

r Vigilus Dor-
mitans ch. 20.
p. 355.

and his whole *Roman Council*, rank him among the glorious and blessed Saints in heaven, St. *Constantine*, *Theodosius*, and *Martian*; saying, *That he is a blessed Saint venerable in all ages*; and this Pope with the whole 6. General Council (as (q) *Nicephorus* records) *Iustinianum beata quiete dignatur*; oft styling him *holy, blessed, divine, happy, & semper eum qui in sanctis est Iustinianum dicunt*. 17ly. Learned [r] Dr. *Crakenhorp* gives this testimony of him; *There cannot be found in all Scripture more fair evidence, nor a more authentick Charter for the happy estate of any one in particular, that lived since the Apostles times, then is for this Justinian*; For what were the works which did accompany and follow him? Truly the works of sincere faith, of fervent zeal to God, of love to the Church and children of God, the works of piety, of prudence, of justice, of fortitude, of munificence, of many other heroical virtues; with these, as with a garment and chain of pure gold, Justinian being decked, was brought unto the bridegroom. Every Decree made or ratified by him for confirming the truth; every Anathema against Heresies and hereticks; particularly those against Vigilus, and all that defend him (that is, against *Baronius*, and all that defend the Popes infallibility in defining matters of faith;) every Temple or Church, every Monastery and Hospital, every City and Town, every Bridge, Haven, and Highway, every Castle, Fort and Munition, whether made or repaired by him, tending either immediately to the advancing of Gods service in strengthening the Empire against his and Gods enemies; Every Book in the Digest, Code, and Authenticks; every Title, yea every Law in every Title whereby the Christian faith or Religion, or peaceable order and tranquillity have been either planted or propagated, or continued in the Church, or Commonwealth; all these and every one of them, and many other the like, which I cannot either remember or recount, are like so many Rubies, Chrysolites and Diamonds in the costly Garment, or so many links in the golden chain of his faith and virtues; Seeing they who offer but one mite into the Treasury of the Lord; or, give but one cup of cold water to a Prophet in the name of a Prophet, shall not want a reward; O what a weight of eternity and glory, shall that Troop of Virtues and Train of Good works obtain at his hands, who rewardeth indeed every man according to their works; but withall rewardeth them infinitely above all the dignity or condignity of their works?

I have the longer insisted in clearing *Justinians* Ecclesiastical Supremacy in matters of faith, worship, over all Ecclesiastical persons, and Popes themselves, with his piety as well as Regality in making, collecting the forecited Ecclesiastical Laws; because they are most punctual to my present Theam, and most oppugned by *Baronius*.

Anno 550.
Ad Iustinianum
Imp. jam Co-
ronatum Par-
netica Oratio,
Bibl. Patrum,
Tom. 6. pars 1.
p. 565, 566.

Agapetus a famous learned Deacon of *Constantinople*, in his *Admonitorium* to the Emperor *Justinian*, hath these memorable passages, *Honore quolibet sublimiorem quanto habeas dignitatem, O Imperator, honora supra omnes, qui hoc te dignatus est, Deum, quoniam iuxta similitudinem celestis Regni tradidit tibi sceptrum terrene potestatis, ut homines doceas iusti custodiam. Super omnia preclara que regnum habet, pietatis cultusque divini corona regem exornat. Sceptrum Imperii quam a Deo susceperis cogitato quibusnam modis placebis ei qui id tibi dedit; quumque omnibus hominibus ab eo sis prelatas (therefore above the Pope, and all other Prelates) magis omnibus eum honestare festina: porro id ipse honestamentum arbitratur maximum, si quasi te factos a se tuearis, atque ut debiti solutionem benefaciendi munus adimpleas, &c.* And he positively asserts; *Essentia corporis equalis cuilibet homini Imperator, potestate autem dignitatis cunctorum prelati Deo, nec enim habet in terris se quenquam altiozem: oportet igitur ipsum ut Deum, non irasci, ut mortalem non efferri &c.* His *Imperator* non habet in terris se quenquam altiozem, making much against the Popes Supremacy, recited by *Antonius Abbas* (in his *Melissa*,) the *Roman Censurers* in their *Index Expurgatorius*, *Romæ excus. Anno 1607. p. 200.* and the *Spanish Inquisitors*

Inquisitors in their *Index librorum prohibitorum* & expurgand. excus. Madreti, Anno 1612. in *Agapeto*, p. 797. not deeming it expedient totally to expunge it, are contented to yield the Emperors Supremacy in Temporals, by adding this exposition of them in the Margin of future Impressions: *Intellige de Potestate politica & seculari*: (enough to subvert the Popes *Secular Monarchy*, asserted by them and their flatterers) when as *Agapetus* meant it of his Supremacy in Spirituals as well as Temporals, as his precedent and subsequent words assure us, against this false new marginal Gloss. He adds, *Imperator ut est omnium Dominus*, (therefore the Popes) *ita cum omnibus Dei servus existat*: his whole *Admonitorium* tends to prove, that the advancement of Piety, Religion, and Gods Worship, is and ought to be all Kings, Emperors chiefest study, care, as well as honor and safety.

(a) Pope *Pelagius* the 1. in his Epistle to King *Childebert*, writes, *We must endeavour to declare the obedience of our succession unto Kings, quibus nos* (even us who are Popes, as well as others) *etiam subditos esse sancte Scripturę precipiunt*, to wit, Rom. 13. & 1 Pet. 2.

[b] *Chilpericus* King of France accused *Pretextatus* Bishop of Rhoan for Theft, Treason against him, and divers other crimes, for which he declared *se de jure in eum agere potuisse*; but yet he summoned a Synod to examine and hear the cause, because he would not seem to cross the Canons: whereupon a Synod being called at *Paris*, *Gregorius Turo-nensis Episcopus* (though a great favourer of *Pretextatus*,) thus ingenuously professed and told the King: *Si quis de nobis (Episcopis) O Rex Justitia transire transcendere voluerit, a te corrigi potest, but if you transgress them, who shall punish you? We speak unto you: If you be willing, you obey; but if you be unwilling, who can condemn you, but he only who hath pronounced that he is just?* Not the Pope, nor a whole Synod of Bishops, as this Bishop confesseth. *Pretextatus* being convicted of the crimes by his own confession, was thereupon apprehended; imprisoned, and afterwards banished by this King, but recalled and restored by King *Gunthram* his Successor.

This King *Gunthram* summoned a Synod at *Lyons* against *Salonius Ebredunensis Episcopus*, and *Sagittarius Vaxiensis Episcopus*, who being complained against for drunkenness, whoredom, and other crimes, and convicted thereof, were deprived of their Bishopricks, and thrust into a Monastery as Prisoners by the King for a time. Afterwards, complaining to the King that they were unjustly injured by the Synod, they petitioned him, *sibi tribui licentiam ut ad Papam urbis Romę accedere debeant*. Whereupon *Rex annuens petitionibus eorum, datis Epistolis, eos abire permisit*. When they came to *Rome*, and complained to Pope *John* of their misery and unjust removal, he writ to the King, desiring him to restore them; which he did. After which they falling into new crimes by bearing arms, murdering and oppressing their Citizens, reviling the King and his mother, drinking and whoring day and night, were again removed by the King from their Bishopricks, and thrust into the Monastery of *Marcellus*. (a) This King the next year summoned another Synod in the *Valentina*, which met, *juxta imperium Domini Gunthrami Regis, pro diversis pauperum querimoniis, &c. Et quia predictus Rex per virum illustrem Asclepeiadorum referendarium, datus ad Sanctam Synodum Epistolis injunxit*, to subscribe what ever he, his Queen, and daughters had given to holy places; they thereupon accordingly subscribed.

About the year 590. (e) *Gunthramus Rex Francorum* issued this memorable Precept, *De observando die Dominico* to the Bishops summoned by him to the second Council of *Maifcon*, & omnibus Pontificibus & universis Clericis, & cunctis Judicibus in regione nostra constitutis, beginning thus; *Per hoc superna Majestatis authorem (cujus universa reguntur Imperio) placari credimus, si in populo nostro iustitia jura, & preceptorum divinum monita servamus. Dum ergo pro Regni nostri stabilitate, & saluatione Populi, sollicitudine perbighi attentius pertractavimus, agnovimus infra regni nostri spatia universa scelera, quę canonibus et legibus pro divino timore puniri consueverunt, suadente adversario boni operis, perpetrari* (to the drawing down of Gods judgements on them;) which sinnes he thereupon enjoynes the Bishops and Ministers to endeavour to suppress by their Preaching and Holy Lives; *Nam nec nos, quibus facultatem regnandi superni Regis commisit auctoritas, iram eius evadere possumus, si de subiecto populo sollicitudinem non habemus*: Idcirco hujus Decreti ac definitionis generalis vigore decernimus

Anno 550.
Dr. Gratianus
of the Popes
Temp. Monar-
chy, c. 5. p. 71.

Anno 580
b Greg. Turo-
nensis Hist. l. 5.
c. 18. Centur.
Magd. 6. col.
71. 72. 73. 74.
Morney Myste-
rium Iniquitat.
p. 104.

Anno 492
Aimonius Hist.
l. 3. c. 26, 27.
28. Greg. Tu-
ronensis, l. 5. c.
20. Cent. Magd.
6. col. 335, 627,
628. Philip de
Morney, Myste-
rium Iniquita-
tis, p. 165. Be-
ronius, Anno
570. n. 23, 25.

Anno 489
Sirius Concil.
Tom. 2. p. 687.
Morney Myste-
rium in qu.
p. 104.

Anno 590
Sirius Concil.
Tom. 2. p. 686,
687. Centur.
Mag. 6. col. 619-
620.

Mark 16.

nibus ut in omnibus diebus Dominicis, in quibus sanctæ resurrectionis mysterium veneramur, quando ex more ad veneranda templorum oracula universa plebs conlectio devotionis congregatur studio, præter quod victum præparari convenit, ab omni corporali opere suspendantur: enjoying all Bishops and Priests thereon, constanti prædicatione populi universam multitudinem corrigere, &c. And the Judges to punish them according to Law; Concluding, *Cuncta ergo, quæ hujus Edicti tenore decrevimus perpetu- aliter volumus custodiri, quia in sancta Synodo Marisconensi, hæc omnia sicut nostis, studuimus diffiniri, quæ præsentis auctoritate vulga- mus*, wherein were 20. Canons made, (the first, for the strict observation of the Lords day) which he ratified by this Royal Edict. All the Bishops in this Council concluded, *Propterea indefinenter omnes nos orare oportet, ut Dei omnipotentis Majestas, & Regis nostri incolumitatem solita pietate conservet, & nos omnes illa operari concedat, quæ Serenitati ac Majestati ejus rite complacent*: instead of quarrelling at his zeal for religion, Gods worship, and regal care of his own and his Subjects salvation, for whom he was to give an account to God, who had constituted him their King.

Anno 580.
a Bibl. Patrum
Tom. 6. pars 1.
p. 514. c.

(a) *Iustus Orgelitanus* a Spanish Bishop, present in the 2d. Council of Toledo, in his *Explicatio in Cantica Canticorum*, thus expounds these words; [*Quia caput plenum est*:] *Hi qui in principali honore in Ecclesia præminere videntur, quasi caput in Christi corpore advenientur* (not the Pope.) *Et qui in ipsa fidelium congregatione Sacramenta visibilia administrant, veluti cincinni de cribuntur*: which flow only from the head, and are no part thereof. The Spanish Kings being the Supream head on earth of the Spanish Church, as will appear by the 3d. Council of Toledo,

Anno 589
b Surius Concil.
Tom. 2. p. 668
Cent. Magd. 6.
cap. 9. col. 589.
to 600. Crab,
Binus & Car-
ranza in their
Councils.

Anno 589. (b) *Regnante gloriosissimo atque piissimo & Deo fidelissimo Domino Reccaredo Rege; cum idem gloriosissimus Princeps omnes regiminis sui Pontifices in unum venire mandasset in Civitate Regia Toletana*; (the Metropolis of Spain;) this pious King sitting in the midst of this Council (where 72 Bishops assembled) made an Oration to them, so soon as they were sate, shewing the reasons of its summons, wherein are these remarkable passages, evidencing the supream care of the orthodox faith, religion, and peoples souls, to reside in Kings; and that himself was the instrument raised by God to convert the *Goths* and *Suedes* to the Orthodox faith, a Summary wherof he had drawn up, and tendred to this Council to be read, professed, & ratified throughout his Kingdom for the future. *Non credimus vestram latere sanctitatem quanto tempore in errore Arrianorum, laborasset Hispania, & non multos post decessum genitoris nostri dies, quibus nos vestra beatitudo fidei sanctæ Catholicæ cognovit esse sociator, credimus generaliter magnum et æternum gaudium habuisse, et ideo Venerandi Patres ad hanc vos peragendum congregandos decrevimus Synodum, ut de omnibus nuper advenientibus ad Christum, ipsi æternas Domino gratias deferatis. Quicquid vero verbis apud Sacerdotium vestrum nobis agendum erat de fide atque fide nostra, quam gerimus, in hoc Tomo conscripta atque allegata, notescimus. Relegatur ergo in medio vestri, et in Iudicio Synodali examinata, per omne succiduum tempus Gloria nostra ejusdem fidei Testimonio decorata clarescat. Susceptus est autem ab omnibus Dei Sacerdotibus, offerente Rege, sacrosanctæ fidei tomus, et pronunciante Notario clara voce recensitus est ita, &c.* Here this King himself draws up a Confession of his Faith, and commands it to be publicly read in the Synod; which was generally received by all the Bishops and Priests present in this Council, was read with a lowd voyce in this memorable form. *Quambis Deus omnipotens, pro utilitatibus populorum regni, nos culmen subire tribuerit, et modèramen gentium non paucarum regis nostræ curæ commiserit, meminimus tamen nos mortalium conditione perstringi, nec posse felicitatem futuræ beatitudinis aliter promereri, nisi nos cultui veræ fidei deputemus, et conditori nostro, saltem confessione, qua dignus est ipse, placeamus. Pro qua re quanto subditorum gloria regali extollimur, tanto providi esse debemus* (Let *Ravonius*, Popes and Popish Prelates observe it, who deny that Kings have ought to do in matters of Faith and Religion) *in his quæ ad Deum sunt, vel nostram spem augere, vel gentibus nobis*

nobis a Deo creditis consulere. Ceterum, quid pro tantis beneficiis collationibus omnipotentis divinae valemus tribuere? quando omnia ipsius sunt, et bonorum nostrorum nihil egeat, nisi ut in eum sic tota devotione credimus, quemadmodum per scripturas sacras se ipse intelligi voluit, et credi præcepit? id est, ut confiteamur esse Patrem, qui genuit ex substantia sua Filium sibi & coequalem et coeternum: Non tamen ut idem ipse sit natus & genitor, sed persona alius sit Pater, qui genuit, alius sit Filius qui fuerit generatus, unius tamen uterque substantiæ in divinitate subsistat. Pater, ex quo sit Filius, ipse vero ex nullo sit alio: Filius qui habeat Patrem, sed sine initio & sine diminutione, in ea, qua Patri coequalis & coeternus est divinitate subsistat. Spiritus sanctus confitendus a nobis est et prædicandus, a Patre & Filio procedere, & cum Patre & Filio unius esse substantiæ. Tertiam vero in Trinitate Spiritus sancti esse personam, qui tamen communem habeat cum Patre & Filio divinitatis essentiam. Hæc enim Sancta Trinitas, unus Deus est; Pater & Filius, & Spiritus sanctus, cujus bonitate omnis licet bona sit condita creatura, per assumptionem tamen a Filio humani habitus formam, a damnata progenie reformamur ad beatitudinem pristinam. Sed sicut veræ salutis indicium est Trinitatem in Unitate, & Unitatem in Trinitate sentire, ita erit consummata iustitia, si eandem fidem intra Universalem Ecclesiam teneamus, et Apostolicam Unitatem in Apostolico positi fundamento, servemus. Tamen vos Dei Sacerdotes, meminisse oportet, quantis hucusque Ecclesia Dei catholica per Hispanias adversæ partis molestiis laboraverit, dum & Catholici constanter fidei suæ tenerent ac defenderent veritatem, & Hæretici pertinaciori animositate propria niterentur perfidi. Me quoque, ut reipsa conspiciatis calore fidei accensum, in hoc Dominus excitabit, ut depulsa obstinatione, infidelitatis et discordiæ subitoto furore, populum qui sub nomine religionis famulabatur errori, ad agnitionem fidei, et Ecclesiæ Catholicæ consortium revocarem. Adest enim omnis gens Gothorum incluta, et fere omnium Gentium genuinam virilitate opinata, quæ licet suorum præbitate Doctorum a fide hactenus vel unitate Ecclesiæ catholicæ fuerit segregata, tota nunc tamen MEIO ASSENSUI CONCORDANS, ejus Ecclesiæ communioni participatur, quæ diversarum gentium multitudinem materno sinu suscipit, & charitatis uberibus nutrit. De qua Propheta canente dicitur: (a) Domus mea domus Orationis vocabitur omnibus Gentibus: Nec enim solum Gothorum conversio ad cumulum nostræ mercedis accessit, quinimo et Suevorum gentis infinita multitudo, quam præsidio cælesti nostro regno subjecimus, alieno licet vitio in Hæresin deductum; *NOSTRO TAMEN AD VERITATIS ORIGINEM STUDIO REVOCAVIMUS. Proinde Sanctissimi Patres has nobilissimas gentes, quæ Dominicis lucris PER NOS applicatæ sunt, quasi sanctum et placabile sacrificium per vestras manus æterno Deo offero. Erit enim mihi inmarcescibilis corona, vel gaudium in retributione Iustorum, si hi populi, qui NOSTRA ad unitatem Ecclesiæ SOLERTIA transcurrerunt, fundati in eadem et stabiliti permaneant. Sicut enim DIVINO NUTU NOSTRÆ CURÆ FUIT HOS POPULOS AD UNITATEM CHRISTI ECCLESIAE PERTRAHERE, ita sit vestra docibilitatis, catholicis eos dogmatibus instituere, quo in toto cognitione veritatis instructi, noverint ex solido errore Hæresis perniciosæ respicere, & veræ fidei tramitem ex charitate retinere, vel Catholica Ecclesia communionem desiderio avidiori amplecti. Ceterum, sicut facile ad veniam pervenisse confido, quod nescia hucusque tam clarissima erraverit gens, ita gravius esse non dubito, si agnitam veritatem dubio corde teneat, atque a patenti lumine (quod absit) oculos suos averrat. Unde valde perneccesarium esse perspexi, vestram in unum convenire beatitudinem, habens sententia Dominicæ fidei, qua dicit, (b) Ubi fuerint duo vel tres collecti in nomine meo, ibi sum in medio eorum. Credo enim beatam sanctæ Trinitatis divinitatem huic sancto interesse Concilio, et ideo, tanquam ante conspectum

Psalm. 16.

* Pœnitentia.

a Esai. 56. Mar.
21. Mark 11.
Luc. 19.

* Nota.

b Marc. 16.

Psaln. 39.

1 Tim. 6.

Mat. 10. Mark

S. Luc. 9.

Rom. 10.

Surius Concil:

Tom. 2. p. 672

Dei, ita in medio vestri fidem meam protuli, conscius admodum sententia divina dicentis, Non celavi misericordiam tuam et veritatem tuam a congregatione multa. Vel Apostolum Paulum, Timotheo Discipulo precipientem audiri; Certa bonum certamen fidei, apprehende vitam æternam in qua vocatus es, confessus bonam confessionem coram multis testibus. Vera est enim redemptoris nostri ex evangelio sententia, qua confitentem se coram hominibus, confiteri dicit coram Patre, et negantem se esse negaturum. Expedit enim nobis id ore profiteri quod corde credimus, secundum celeste mandatum, quod dicitur, Corde creditur ad iustitiam, ore autem confessio fit ad salutem. * Proinde, sicut Anathematiso Arrium, cum omnibus dogmatibus et complicitibus suis, qui Unigenitum Dei filium à paterna degenerationem assererat esse substantia, nec à patre genitum, sed ex nihilo dicebat esse creatum, vel omnia concilia malignantium quæ adversus Sanctam Synodum Nicenam extiterunt; ita in honorem et laudem Dei fidem sanctam Niceni observo Concilii, et honore, ea quæ contra eundem rectæ fidei Arrium pestem trecentorum decem et octo sancta Episcopalis scripsit Synodus. Amplector itaque et teneo fidem Centum Quinquaginta Episcoporum Constantinopoli congregatorum, quæ Macedonium, Spiritus sancti substantiam minorantem, & à Patris & Filii unitate & essentia segregantem, jugulo veritatis interemit. Prima quoque Ephesinæ Synodi fidem, quæ adversus Nestorium ejusque doctrinam lata est, credo pariter et honore. Similiter et Chalcedonensis Concilii fidem, quam plenam Sanctitatem & Eruditionem adversus Eutychen & Dioscorum protulit, cum omni Ecclesia catholica reverenter suspicio. Omnium quoque Orthodoxorum venerabilium Sacerdotum Concilia, quæ ab ipsis superscriptis quatuor Synodis, fidei puritate non dissonant, pari veneratione observo. Properet ergo reverentia vestra, fidem hanc nostram canonicis applicare monimentis, & ab Episcopis, vel religiosis aut gentis nostræ * primoribus solenniter fidem, quam in Ecclesia catholica crediderunt, audire. Quam renovatam apicibus, vel eorum subscriptionibus roboratam, futuris olim temporibus in testimonium Dei, atque hominum reservatæ, ut hæ gentes, quas in Dei nomine, regia potestate præcellimus, & quæ deterfo antiquo errore per unctionem sacrosancti Chris-matis, vel manus impositionem paracletum intra Dei Ecclesiam perceperunt Spiritum, quem unum & æqualem cum Patre & Filio confitentes, ejusque Dono in sinu Ecclesie sanctæ Catholice collata sunt, si eorum aliqui hanc rectam & sanctam Confessionem nostram minime credere voluerint, iram Dei cum Anathemate æterno percipiant, et de interitu suo fidelibus gaudium, infidelibus sint in exemplum. Huic vero confessioni meæ, sanctas superscriptorum Conciliorum constitutiones contexui, et testimonio divino tota cordis simplicitate subscripsi. Then follow the 3. Confessions of faith: viz. Confessio Nicene Synodi, Credimus, &c. Symbolum CL. Patrum Constantinopolitani Concilii, Credimus, &c. Tractatus Chalcedonensis Synodi. Next, this Kings and his Queens subscriptions, to this his Confession of faith, which was publicly read, Ego Reccaredus Rex fidem hanc sanctam et veram Confessionem, quam una per totum orbem Catholica confitetur Ecclesia, corde retinens, ore affirmans, mea dextera Deo protegente subscripsi. Ego Badda gloriosa Regina hanc fidem, quam credidi et suscepi, manu mea de toto corde subscripsi. Which being read, Tunc acclamatum est in laudibus Dei et in favore Principis ab universo Concilio: Gloria Deo Patri, & Filio, & Spiritui sancti, cui cura est pacem & unitatem Ecclesie sue Sanctæ Catholice providere. Gloria Domino nostro Jesu Christo, qui precio sanguinis sui Ecclesiam Catholicam ex omnibus gentibus congregavit. Gloria Domino nostro Jesu Christo, qui tam illustrem gentem unitati fidei veræ copulavit, et unum gregem, & unum Pastorem instituit. Cui a Deo æternum meritum, nisi vero Catholico Rescaredo Regi? Cui a Deo æterna corona, nisi vero Orthodoxo Reccaredo Regi? Cui præsens Gloria et æterna nisi vero

* Nota.

vero amatoꝝ Dei Reccaredo regi? Ipse novarum plebium in Ecclesia conquiſitor. Ipse mereatur veraciter Apoſtolicum meritum, qui Apoſtolicum implevit officium (Mark theſe expreſſions of all thoſe Biſhops and Priests) Ipſe ſit Deo et hominibus amabilis qui tam mirabiliter Deum gloriſicabit in terris, preſtante Domino noſtro Jeſu Chriſto, qui cum Deo Patre vivit & regnat in unitate Spiritus ſancti in ſecula ſeculorum.

After this the Biſhops, Priests, Nobles aſſembled in this Council having thus approv'd, applauded this Kings Confeſſion of his faith, drew up another of their own concurring in form and ſubſtance with the Kings, which not only the Biſhops & Priests, but likewiſe, *Similiter omnes Seniores Gothorum* (then preſent) *et permulti Procerum et Illuſtrium virozum ſubſcripſerunt*: Having Votes and Subſcriptions too in this famous Council, as well as the Biſhops and Priests, even in matters of faith: Which their right (a) Pope Nicholas the 1. in his Epiſtle to Michael the Emperor (about the year 870.) in the caſe of Ignatius Patriarch of Conſtantinople, acknowledgeth in theſe words. *Ubinam legiſtis, Imperatores antecſſores veſtros Synodalibus Conventionibus interfuſiſſe? et ſi forte in quibuſdam, tibi de fide tractatum eſt: quæ et omnium communis eſt; quæ non ſolum ad Clericos, verum etiam ad Laicos, et ad omnes omnino pertinet Chriſtianos.* And the Gloſſe thus ſeconds. *Quod omnes tangit ab omnibus debet approbari*; as here it was. * *Post Confeſſionem ergo & ſubſcriptionem omnium Epiſcoporum, et totius gentis Gothica Senioꝝum, Glorioſiſſimus Dominus noſter Reccaredus Rex, pro reparandis ſimul et confirmandis diſcipline Eccleſiaſtica moribus, Dei Sacerdotes taliter aſſatus eſt, dicens. Regia cura uſque in eum modum protendi debet et dirigi, quam plenam conſiſterit ætatis et ſcientiæ capere rationem. Nam ſicut in rebus humanis eminet poteſtas regia, ita et proſpiciendæ commoditatî compꝛovincialium major debet eſſe et providentiâ. At nunc, beatiffimi Sacerdotes, non in eis tantummodo rebus diſfundimus ſolertiam noſtram, quibus populi ſub noſtro regimine poſiti pacatiſſime gubernentur et vivant, ſed etiam in adjutorio Chriſti, extendimus nos ad ea, quæ ſunt cœleſtia, cogitare, et quæ populos fideles efficiant ſatagimus non neſcire.* This being the principal part of his Regal office and care.) *Ceterum ſi totis nitendum eſt viribus, humanis moribus modum ponere, & in olentium rabiem regia poteſtate refrenare, ſi quieti & paci propaganda opem debemus impendere; multo magis eſt adhibenda ſollicitudo, (mark it) deſiderare, et cogitare divina, inhiare ad ſublimia, et ab errore retractis populis veritatem eis ſerenæ lucis oſtendere. Sic enim agit qui multiplici bono ſe a Deo remunerari conſidit. Sic enim agit qui ſuper id, quod ei committitur, auget, dum illi dicitur, Quicquid ſupererogaveris, ego cum rediero reddam tibi. Ergo quia jam fidei noſtræ & confeſſionis formam plena ſerie veſtra beatitudo recenſuit, ſimulq; et Sacerdotum noſtroꝝumq; Procerum fides atque confeſſio ſanctitati veſtræ perſecutus, hoc adhuc neceſſario pro firmitate Catholicæ fidei noſtræ Deo ſupplex inſtituere decrevit authoritas, ut propter roborandum gentis noſtræ novellam converſionem, omnes Hiſpaniarum & Galiciæ Eccleſia hanc regulam ſervent, ut omni ſacrifici tempore ante communicationem corporis Chriſti et ſanguinis, juxta Orientalium partium morem, unanimiter clara voce ſacraſſimum fidei recenſcant Symbolum, ut primum populi, quam credulitatem teneant fateantur, & ſic corde fide purificata ad Chriſti corporis & ſanguinem percipiendum exhibeant, &c. De cætero autem prohibendis inſolentium moribus mea vobis conſentiente clementia, ſententiis terminare diſtinctionibus, & firmiore diſciplina quæ faciendæ non ſunt, prohibete, et ea quæ fieri debent immobili conſtitutione firmate.* Whereupon they drew up 23. Canons to this purpoſe according to this Kings direction; who ratified them by this enſuing Royal Decree, wherein the heads of them are all recited.

* *Edictum Regis de Confirmatione Concilii. Glorioſiſſimus Dominus Reccaredus Rex, univerſis ſub Regimine noſtræ poteſtatis exiſtentibus. Amatores nos ſui* * *Surius, Concil. Tom. 2. p. 671. 672. a Gratian Diſt. 94. ubi ſum. See Onuphrius, Luitprandus, & Lydius in Nicholao 1.*
divinæ * *Surius, p. 672. 673.*

divini favoris veritas, nostris principaliter sensibus inspirabit, ut causa instaurandæ fidei ac disciplinæ Ecclesiasticæ, Episcopus omnes Hispaniæ nostro presentari culmini juberemus. Præcelente autem diligenti et tanta deliberatione, siue quæ ad fidem conveniunt, seu quæ ad morum correctionem respiciant, sensus maturitate, & intelligentiæ gravitate constant esse digesta. Nostra proinde auctoritas id omnibus, ad regnum nostrum pertinentibus jubet, ut quæ definita sunt in hoc sancto Concilio nulli contemnere liceat, nullus præterire præsumat. Capitula enim quæ nostris sensibus placita et disciplinæ congrua, a præsentis conscripta sunt Synodo, in omni auctoritate, siue Clericorum, siue quorumcunque omnium, observentur et maneant. Then reciting their heads, he concludes, Has omnes constitutiones Ecclesiasticas quas summam breviterque perstrinximus, sicut plenius in Canones continetur, manere perenni stabilitate sancimus. Si quis ergo Clericus aut Laicus harum sanctionum obediens esse noluerit, si Episcopus, Presbyter, Diaconus aut Clericus fuerit, ab omni Concilio excommunicationi subiaceat. Si vero Laicus fuerit, & honestioris loci persona est, medietatem facultatum suarum amittat fisci juribus profuturam; si vero minoris loci persona est, amissione rerum suarum multatus, in exilium deputetur. Flavius Reccaredus Rex, hanc deliberationem, quam cum sancta diffinitus Synodo, confirmans subscripsi.

* Surius, Tom.
2. p. 671.

It is very observable that this King * Reccaredus by his power, piety, and example converted all the Bishops, Clergy, Nobles and others of the whole Gothic Nation, from the Arrian Heresy which they anathematized, to the Orthodox faith, as they all thus acknowledged in this Council. Tunc Episcopi omnes una cum Clericis suis, Primoresque gentis Gothicæ, pari consensione dixerunt, Licet hoc jam olim conversionis nostra tempore egerimus, quando secuti gloriosissimum Dominum nostrum Reccaredum Regem ad Ecclesiam transivimus, et perfidiam Arrianam, cum omnibus superstitionibus suis anathematizavimus, pariterque abiecit: After which protesting their unanimous, cordial believing, embracing, profession of the Kings Orthodox faith, they denounced many Anathemas against the Arrian heresy, and each branch thereof; subjoining this ingenuous confession of their Conversion from their heresy, by this Kings means, and their cordial embracing of his faith. Confitemur, nos ex heresi Arriana toto corde, tota anima, & tota mente nostra ad Ecclesiam catholicam fuisse conversos. Nulli dubium sit, nos, nostrosque decessores errasse in heresi Arriana, & fidem Evangelicam, atque Apostolicam nunc intra Ecclesiam Catholicam didicisse. Proinde fidem sanctam quam religiosissimus Dominus noster patefecit in medio Concilii, et manu sua subscripsit, hanc et nos tenemus, hanc confitemur pariter et suscipimus, hanc in populis prædicare, atque docere promittimus. Hæc est vera fides, quam omnis Ecclesia, dum per totum mundum tenet, Catholica esse creditur, & probatur. Cui hæc fides non placet, aut non placuerit, sit Anathema Maranatha in adventu Domini nostri Jesu Christi, &c. All of them unanimously embracing, subscribing, professing perpetually to adhere to that Confession of the Catholick faith, which this their religious King (who converted them) had made and read unto them in this Synod; anathematizing all such who disliked, or assented not thereunto.

1 Cor. 16.

I have transcribed these Speeches, passages, Confession, and Charter of Confirmation of this pious King and Synod even in Spain it self (where the Pope now most predominates) because they justify the Emperor Justinians Ecclesiastical Authority, Laws, Proceedings, (so much decryed by * Baronius) demonstrate the care and duty of the antientest Christian Kings in Spain and elsewhere to promote the orthodox faith, true worship, service of God, conversion, salvation of their Subjects souls as the principal means of their temporal and eternal felicity: and utterly subvert the antichristian assertions of Popes, Popish Canonists, Prelats, Priests; (a) Quacunque a Principibus terra in ordinibus, vel in Ecclesiasticis rebus decreta inveniuntur, auctoritatis nullius esse monstrantur, cum Laici de rebus Ecclesiasticis nihil possunt consuetudine; (b) That this matter

* Here, p. 133, &c.
a Gratian, dist: 96. & Glossa.
b Hardings answer to Bishop Jewels Apology: See his defence of it, p. 749.

is so clear, that no secular Prince from the beginning of the world till this day, can be named, who by the ordinary power of a Prince (without the gift of Prophecy or special Revelation) did laudably meddle with Religion, as a Judge, or ruler of spiritual causes, &c. And refutes the received answer of Civilians and Canonists on Justinian's most excellent Law concerning Bishops and Priests, to this Question, (c) *Ad quid se immittat Imperator de Spiritualibus vel Ecclesiasticis, cum sciat ad se non pertinere?* To which if any answer be given, it must be principally this: *Dic, quod autoritate Papa hoc facit*; by whose Authority neither any pious Emperors, nor this Spanish King ever held, summoned Councils, or made, confirmed the recited orthodox Confession: of faith, nor their Ecclesiastical Laws or Constitutions, but by their own Regal Supremacies.

[a] Pope Gregory the 1. surnamed the Great, most frequently prays to God for the Emperor Mauritius, and styles him his Lord, and most excellent Lord: adding, *Deus vos universo mundo præesse constituit.* (b) *Potestas Dominorum meorum cælitus data est super omnes homines*; himself subjecting his Papal Miter to his Imperial commands, not out of meer humility, but bounden duty and conscience; as his *Ego sum servus vestre, Imperator, ego vestre jurisdictioni subjectus*; ego quod debui et olvi, qui Imperatori obedientiam præbui, atque. He begins one of his Epistles to him thus, (c) *Inter animarum curas, et innumerabiles sollicitudines quas indefesso studio pro Christianæ reipublicæ regimine sustinetis, magna mihi, et universo mundo lætitiæ causa est, quod pietas vestra Custodiæ fidei, qua Dominorum fulget Imperium, præcipua solitudine semper invigilat.* Unde omnino confido, servat vos Deus, causa Religiosæ mentis amore tuemini; ita Deus vestras Majestates sua gratia tuetur et adjuvat. Another Epistle begins thus, (d) *Omnipotens Deus, qui pietatem vestram pacis Ecclesiasticæ fecit esse custodem, ipse vos fide servat, &c.* Pro qua re totis precibus deprecamur ut bonum hoc Omnipotens Deus Serenitati Dominorum, præque eorum soboli, et in presenti seculo, atque in perpetua remuneratione retribueret. And he concludes another Epistle to him thus, (e) *Omnipotens autem Deus serenissimi Domini nostri vitam, et ad pacem sanctæ Ecclesiæ, et ad utilitatem Reipublicæ Romanæ (both coupled together by him, as his office, duty in and towards both alike) per tempora longa custodiat.* In another Epistle, (f) *Leontia Augusta*, he thus prays to Almighty God; ut cor vestre pietatis sua semper dextra teneat, ejusque cogitationes cælestis gratiæ ope dispenset, Quatenus tranquillitas vestra rectius valeat sibi servientes regere, quanto Dominatori omnium noverit minus deservire. In amore catholice fidei faciat Defensores suos, quas fecit ex benigno opere Imperatores nostros. *Infundat vestris mentibus zelum simul & mansuetudinem*, ut semper pro fervore valeatis, et quicquid in Deo exceditur, non inultum relinquere, et si quid vobis delinquitur, parcendo tolerare, &c. Yea he thus declaims against and censures that Title of *Universal Bishop*, and Head of the *Universal Church*, which his successors so much contend for, as *Antichristian*, (g) *Ego fidenter dico, quod quisquis se Universalem Sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua Antichristum præcurrit, quia superbiendo se cæteris præponit.* Yea he tells *Mauritium* the Emperor, that this Title is, contra statuta Evangelica, contra Canonum Decreta; That *Nullus unquam prædecessorum suorum hoc tam prophano vocabulo uti consenserit.* Quia si unus Patriarcha universalis dicitur, Patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogetur. (h) *Si unus Episcopus vocatur Universalis, tota Ecclesia coarctat.* What would he have said of his successors think you, who not only chal-

c Autenticorum
Collatio, l. 1.
Tit. 6. Gloss.
Sancimus, f. 1. c.

Anno 490
a Epist. l. 4.
Epist. 34. & 2.

b Epist. l. 2.
Epist. 62. l. 2.
Epist. 615

c Epist. l. 2.
Epist. 63.

d Epist. l. 6.
Epist. 6.

e Epist. l. 6. Ep.
31. & 6. Epist.
2.

f Epist. l. 11.
Epist. 26.

g Epist. l. 4. Ep.
34. l. 5. Ep. 300

h Epist. l. 4.
Epist. 3. 36.
28. l. 7. Ep. 39
& 39. & l. 62.
Ep. 24. & 28.

lenge

Here, p. 25,
10. to 52, 60,
62, 69.

Anno 630
Sententiarum,
l. 3. c. 51.

* Sententiarum
l. 3. c. 48, 49,
50, 52.

Anno 633
Surius Concil.
Tom. 2. p. 727,
728. Centur.
Magd. 7. c. 9.

cap. 3. Suri-
us, p. 728.

Ibid. p. 738.

Anno 636
Surius Concil.
Tom. 2. p. 539,
740. Centur.
Magd. 7. c. 9.

lunge this Title *de Jure*, but the Titles of (i) *Rex Regum*, & *Dominus Dominorum*, *Deus*, & *Vice-Deus* too?

(i) *Isidorus Episcopus Hispalensis*, thus resolves; *Sub religionis disciplina seculi Potestates subiecti sunt: & quamvis culmine regio sint præditi, vinculo tamen fidei tenentur astricti, ut et fidem Christi suis legibus prædicent, et ipsam fidei prædicationem moribus bonis conferrent. Principes seculi nonnunquam intra Ecclesiam potestatis adeptæ culmina tenent, ut per eandem potestatem disciplinam Ecclesiasticam muniant. Caterum intra Ecclesiam potestates necessaria non essent, nisi, ut quod non prævalet Sacerdos efficere per doctrinam sermonem, potestas hoc imperet per disciplinæ terrorem. Sane per regnum terrenum cœleste regnum proficit, ut qui intra Ecclesiam positi contra fidem et disciplinam agunt, rigore Principum conterantur, ipsamque disciplinam quam Ecclesiæ humilitas exercere non prævalet, ceribicibus superbozum potestas Principum imponat, et ut venerationem mereatur, virtute potestatis impertiat. Cognoscant Principes seculi Deo et debere se rationem reddere propter Ecclesiam quam a Christo tuendam recipiunt. Nam siue augeatur par et disciplina Ecclesiæ per fideles Principes, siue solvatur, ille ab eis rationem eriget, qui eorum potestati suam Ecclesiam credidit.* What more punctual to our Proposition (That Princes have the chief care of the Church, and their peoples souls, for which they must give an account to God:) then this his resolution? * He hath much more to the same effect, which I pretermitt.

The Bishops and Priests convened in the 4. Council of *Toledo* (whereof this *Isidorus Hispalensis* was one) *religiosissimi Sisenandi Regis Hispaniæ atque Galliciæ, imperiis atque iussis, ut communis ageretur de quibusdam Ecclesiæ disciplinis tractatus*, thus expresse themselves in the Prologue to the Canons therein made; *Primum gratias Salvatori nostro Deo omnipotenti egimus, post hæc antefato ministro ejus excellensissimo & glorioso Regi, cuius tanta devotio extat, ut non solum in rebus humanis, SED ETIAM IN CAUSIS DIVINIS SOLICITUS MANEAT*: Who when this Council was set, *pro merito fidei sue, cum Magnificentiis & Nobilissimis Viris ingressus, religiosa prosecutione Synodum exhortatus est, ut paternorum decretorum memores, ad confirmanda in nobis jura Ecclesiastica studium præberemus, & illa corrigere, quæ dum per negligentiam in usum venerunt, contra Ecclesiasticos mores l. c. niam sibi de usurpatione fecerunt. Talibus ergo ejus monitis gaudentes, necessarium extitit iuxta eius nostrumque votum, contrahere quæ competunt, siue in Sacramentis divinis, quæ diverso atque illicito modo in Hispaniarum Ecclesiis celebrantur, seu in moribus præve usurpata noscuntur.* In this Council not only Bishops, Priests, Deans, but the Nobility of Spain, * *et Laici qui electioni Concilii inesse meruerunt*, were present. After all their Canons for confirmation of the Christian faith, reformation of manners in the Clergy and Laity, and repressing the exorbitances of Hereticks and Jewes, *Can. 74.* they adde a Canon *pro robore nostrorum Regum, & stabilitate gentis Gothorum*, denouncing a solemn excommunication against all persons who contrary to their Oath of Allegiance and duty should attempt any Treason against the Kings person, life, or usurp the Crown, &c. And then conclude the Acts of this Council with this Prayer. * *Pax & salus & diuturnitas piiissimo & amatori Christi Domino nostro Sisenando Regi, cuius devotio nos ad hoc salutarum decretum convocavit: Corroboret ergo Christi gratia regnum illius, gentisque Gothorum in fide Catholica annis & meritis; protegat illum usque ad ultimam senectutem summi Dei gratia, & post præsentis Regni gloriam ad æternum regnum transeat, ut sine fine regnet, qui in seculo feliciter imperat, ipso præstante qui est Rex Regum, & Dominus Dominorum, cum Patre & Spiritu sancto in secula seculorum. Amen.* Definitis itaque his, quæ superius comprehensa sunt, annuente religiosissimo Principe, placuit, deinceps nulla re impediante, à quolibet nostrum, ea quæ constituta sunt temerari, sed cuncta salubri consilio conservari.

The 5. Council of *Toledo* hath this Prologue, *Gratiarum actiones Deo omnipotenti persolvimus, & c. propter gloriosa Principis nostri Chintillani Regis initia, ob cuius salutis & felicitatis constantiam supernam imploramus Clementiam; qui in medio nostri cœtus*

c.etus ingressus cum Optimatibus et Sentozibus Palatii sui supplex se omnium orationibus commendavit suosque fideles ita facere sancta exhortatione coegit; atque hanc institutionem quam ex p̄cepto ejus, & devoto nostro sancimus divina inspiratione p̄misit, as one; or permissit, as another Copy renders it. Can. 7. decrees, *Ut in omni Concilio Episcoporum Hispaniæ, universalis Concilii Decretum* (to wit, Toletan. 4. Can. 74.) quod propter Principum nostrorum est salutem constitutum, peractis omnibus in Synodo publica voce debet pronunciari, quatenus sæpè replicatum auribus, vel assiduitate iniquorum mens territa corrigatur, quæ ad prævaricandum & oblivioni & facilitate perducitur. Can. 8. they grant the King power to dispense offences against the Canons of this Council. In his omnibus quæ p̄missus potestatem indulgentiæ in culpis delinquentium Principi reservamus, ut iuxta bonitatis suæ ac pietatis moderamen, ubi emendationem præstaverit mentium, veniam tribuat culpæ. After their thanks to God, they conclude, *Post hæc gratias excellentissimo gloriosissimo Principi nostro Chintillano regi peragimus, cujus ardor fidei et bonæ intentionis, et unitatis concordiam nobis tribuit, et fiduciam charitatis. Donet ei Dominus & de inimicis triumphum, & de beatitudine gaudium, custodiat cum protectione assidua, muniat bonæ voluntatis suæ circumflectione iustissima, cujus regnum manet in secula seculorum.*

The 6. Council of Toledo summoned by this King Suintilla, (who was present in it with his Nobles) Can. 2, 3. recites, That inspiratione summi Dei excellentissimus & Christianissimus Princeps Chintillanus, ardore fidei inflammatus, cum regni sui Sacerdotibus, prævaricationes & superstitiones Judæorum eradicare elegit funditus; nec sinit degere in regno suo eum, qui non sit Catholicus: ob cuius fervorem fidei gratias Domino omnipotenti cœlozum agimus; eo quod ei tam illustrem creavit animam, et sua replevit sapientia; Ipse quoque donet ei & præsentis ævi diuturnam vitam, et in futuro gloriam eternam. Quocirca consonam cum eo corde et ore promulgamus Deo placituras sententiam, simul etiam cum suorum Optimatum illustriumq; viroꝝ consensu et deliberatione sancimus, ut quisquis succedentium temporum regni sortitus fuerit apicem, non ante conscendat regiam sedem quam inter reliqua conditionum sacramenta, pollicitus fuerit, hanc se Catholicam non permissurum eos violare fidem. Can. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18. they provide for the safety, succession of this King and his posterity, against all Trasons, Usurpators, Conspiracies and pretenders: *Ne fas est enim in dubium deducere ejus potestatem, cui omnium gubernatio superno constat delegata iudicio.* Concluding the Acts of this Synod thus. *Gratias agimus Christianissimo & gloriosissimo Chintillano Principi nostro, cujus studio advocati & instantia collecti sumus; cujus voluntas probata, ordinatio extitit religiosa: Donet ei Dominus optimo Principi diuturnum in seculum triumphum, & in parte iustorum perpetuum regnum, felicibusque annis felix ipse in longa felicitate fruatur, & divina dextera protectione ubique muniatur.*

(b) Severinus being elected Pope by the Clergy and people of Rome, Isacius Italiae Exarchus Romam veniens, eum in Pontificatu confirmabit: tunc enim temporis Cleri et populi electio nihil valebat, nisi confirmatio Imperatoris aut eius Erarchi accederet. A strong evidence of the Emperors Supream Jurisdiction over Popes, not of Popes over them. Honorius his predecessor having heaped up a great masse of monies in Episcopo Lateranensi; Isacius intreated Severinum, ut aliquid in militares sumptus conferret; who denying it, thereupon others stirred up the Roman Army against him; saying, *Quid prodest, quod tanta pecunia congregata sunt in Episcopo Lateranensi, ab Honorio Papa, & Miles iste nihil subventus habet?* Whereupon all the Soldiers, from the youngest to the eldest, besieged and assaulted the Popes Pallace, sealed up the Treasury till Isacius came from Ravenna to Rome; qui misit omnes Primates Ecclesiæ singulos per singulas Civitates in exilium, ut non fuisset qui ei resistere debuisset de Clero; and then entering the Popes Pallace continued there 8. dayes, untill he had seised on and removed all the Treasure, part whereof he sent to the royal City of Constantinople to Heraclius the Emperor. So little Sovereign Authority had Popes in that age over the Emperor, or his Officers, who patiently submitted to this their plunder, without thundring out any excommunication against the Soldiers, Officers, or Emperor.

Anno 638
Surius Concil:
Tom. 2. p. 742.
744. 745.

Anno 638
b Platina, Albo
Floriacensis,
Anastacius, &
Balzus in
Vita Severini,
Blondus in De-
cad. 1. l. 9. p.
124. Centur.
Magd. 7. c. 7.
col. 235. c. 10.
col. 493.

Anno 646
Surius Concil:
Tom. 2. p. 746,
749, 759, 760,
762,

To passe by the 1. and 2. Councils of (a) *Bracara*, summoned *ex regali precepto gloriosissimi atque piissimi Ariamiri Regis*, (about the years 640, and 642.) *adspirante sibi Domino*, as their Proemes recite. The 7th. Council of *Toledo* (summoned *Studio & iussu amatoris Christi Chindasvindi Regis nostri*) cap. 1. provides against *Perfidious Clerks and Laymen, who in forraign parts plotted Treason against the King and Kingdom, in necem regis seu eversionem*; that they should be excommunicated, forfeit all their estates, and made incapable to enjoy them, unlesse the King should please to allow them some part thereof upon their submission: and after 5. other Canons of Ecclesiastical affairs, *Nos autem universali Deo, & glorioso Chindasvindo Principi, ob cuius votum in hanc urbem sancta devotione convenimus, gratias unanimiter offerentes, optabili annisu deprecamur, ut sancta Ecclesia catholica fidei semper ac pacis cunctetur effectus, & memorato Principi cum prosperitate presentis regni futuri etiam largiantur premia gaudii, &c.*

Anno 650
b Anastasius,
Luitprandus,
Albo Floria-
censis, Platina
Barns, Balzus,
in vita Martini,
Baronius, Anno
650. Paulus
Diaconus Rerum Roman. lib. 18. p. 254. Sabellicus *Aeneadis* 8. l. 6. Sigebertus, Anno 657. Centur. Magd. 7. c. 10. col. 885, 886.

There falling out some differences between *Paulus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, (a proud imperious Prelate) and Pope *Martin*; this Pope by command of the Emperor *Constantine* the 2d. was apprehended at *Rome* in the Church of our Saviour called *Constantiniana*, by *Theodorus* the *Exarch* and others, brought Prisoner from *Rome* to *Constantinople*, and banished into a place called *Chersona*, where he died; for refusing to subscribe a Book sent to him by the Emperor, through *Paulus* the Patriarch his direction, which Pope *Martin* conceived to be heretical.

Anno 653
* Surius Concil:
Tom. 2. p. 854,
855, &c.
Cent. Magd. 7.
c. 9.
* Here, p. 146,
147, 148.

In the 8. Council of *Toledo*, (*iussu orthodoxi atque gloriosi Recessuinthi regis congregati*) he *pia religione plenissimus, & summo laudum Titulo gloriosus*, entring into this Council as soon as they took their places, made an Oration to them, there related; *grates deferens Deo virtutum, quod sue iussionis implentes Decretum in unum fuisset adunati Concilium*. Then tending them a *Tome* or Book containing the Confession of his faith (as his Predecessor K. * *Reccaredus* did in the 3. Council of *Toledo*) and what things else he desired to be done and voted in, by this Council; he exhorted them, *ut quaecumq; illuc tenentur ascripta, valido attendatis intuitu, sagaci perscrutamini studio, et quaecumq; extiterint placita Deo, vestri oris ad nos sacro referantur oraculo*. The Council, *Accepto deinde oblato nobis Como, agente Domino gratias, acclamavimus Gloria in excelsis Deo, &c.* Post eadem sacro Principi benediximus, referatoque *Como*, hæc inibi contexta reperimus; which were read. It begins with the confession of his faith, which he recommended to the Council, wherein there is this memorable Passage: *Primo itaq; coram se reverentia vestra habeat; quod nosse non ambigit, me orthodoxæ fidei veram, sanctam et synceram regulam, de corde puro et conscientia bona plenissime habere, sicut eam sancta atq; Apostolica traditio doceat, sicut eam sancta Synodus Nicæ constituit, sicut Constantinopoli sanctorum Patrum congregatio definivit; sicut Ephesini primi coetus unitas affirmavit; sicut Chalcedonensi Concillii definitio protulit. Hanc cum fidelibus servans, ad hanc salvandos infideles invitans, in hanc subjectos populos regens, hanc propriis gentibus tenendam insinuans, hanc populis alienis annuncians; ut in illa glorificans Deum, et inter mortales nos summæ divinitatis felicitas assequatur, et in terra viventium hæreditas a me gloriæ capiatur*. Then relating what good workes he desired to do, and to be done by himself and others, to adorn, advance this faith, that it might not prove a dead faith; he concludes and subscribes it, thus. *Item subscriptio. In nomine Domini Flavius Recessuinthus Rex hanc fidei & bonæ voluntatis meæ deliberationem manu mea subscripsi*. This whole Council relecta *Comi pagina*, cum glorificassemus Deum de fidei principalis auditu, et de bonæ voluntatis ejus effectu; drew up a uniform profession of their faith, and other Canons answerable to the Kings: Which being

being subscribed by the Bishops, Abbots, & *virii illustres officii Palatini*, (even 18. Earls and Dukes, besides others) were ratified by the King. This Council by a Decree in the name of the King, made a Law concerning the Lands and goods purchased by their Kings, which of them should go with the Crown, and which they might dispose of to their Sons: These Councils being all properly Parliaments, wherein the King and Nobles sate, voted, subscribed, as well as Bishops and Priests, and made Civil Laws for the King & kingdom, as well as Ecclesiastical for the orthodox Faith and Church.

The 9. Council of *Toledo*, Anno 655. with the 10th. 566. and the Council of *Emeritan*, Anno 666. were all summoned by this King *Recessuinthus* his command; who prescribed what they should decree, ratified their Canons, enjoyed their special praises and prayers to God, *Obsecrantes ejus misericordiam largam, ut serenissimo nostro & amabili Christo Recessuintho Principi glorioso, ita presentis vite felicitatem impendat, ut Angelice beatitudinis gloriam post longeva tempora concederet*; Enacting, that every one who attempted any thing *contra salutem Principum, gentisq; aut patriam*, violated his Oaths of allegiance to them, *mox propria dignitate privatus, & loco & honore habeatur exclusus*, reserving only a power and liberty to the King to restore him to his place or honor, or both, if he saw cause. And the 1. * Council of *Cabellon* in *France* (summoned about the same year (656) *ex evocatione & ordinatione gloriosi Domini Clodovei Regis, pro zelo religionis, vel orthodoxe fidei dilectione*, & to reform what was amiss or wanting in the Church) made the like prayers for him.

Anno 665.
Surius Concil:
Tom: 2. p. 867
869, 870.

Surius Concil:
Tom. 2. p. 874.

The Bishops assembled in *Aurelianensi Concilio* 1. summoned by *K. Clodoveus* the 1. An. 500. when they had concluded and drawn up 33. Canons upon particular heads, recommended to them by this King, sent and submitted them to his Majesty with this preface: *Domino suo Catholica Ecclesia filio Clodoveo Gloriosiss. Regi, omnes Sacerdotes quos ad Concilium venire iussistis. Quia tanta ad Religionis Catholicae cultum gloriosae fidei cura vos exercitat, ut Sacerdotalis mentis affectu Sacerdotes de rebus necessariis tractaturos in unum colligi iusseritis, secundum vestrae voluntatis consultationem et titulos quos dedistis, ea quae nobis visa sunt definitione respondimus, ita ut si ea, quae nos statuimus, etiam vestro recta esse iudicio comprobantur, tanti consensus Regis ac Domini Majori auctoritate servanda, tantorum firmet sententia sacerdotum*. Their Canons being all subjected to his will, to alter, reject or ratify them according to his royal pleasure, without whose authority they were invalid.

Anno 500.
* Surius Concil:
Tom: 2. p. 372.
Bochellus De-
creta Eccles:
Gall. l. 5. Tit:
20. c. 17. p.
901.

The 11. Council of *Toledo* was convened, *Excellentissimo & religiosissimi Vuambani principis praeepto; Cuius providae sollicitudinis voto, et iur Conciliozumi renovata resplenduit, & alterna charitas se mutuo in corrigendis, et instruendis moribus, excitavit; dum & aggreganti nobis hortatu Principis gloriosi facultas data est, et opportuna corrigendis praeparata est disciplina*. They cloze up their Canons and synod with their thanks, and this prayer for him: *Post hac religioso Domino & amabili Principi nostro Vuambano Regi, gratiarum actiones persolvimus, cuius etiam studio aggregati sumus. Qui Ecclesiasticae disciplinae nostris seculis nobis reparator occurrens, omissos Conciliozumi ordines non solum restaurare intendit, sed etiam annuis recursibus celebrandos instituit, ut ad alternam morum correctionem annuo tempore alacriter concurrentes, iuxta Prophetam vaticinium, quod in nobis defraetum est, alligetur, & quod abiectum est, reducat. Dei ergo eidem Principi Dominus pro huius sacrae sollicitudinis voto, & cursum praesentis vitae in pace transire, et post diuturna tempora ad se in pace remissis iniquitatibus pervenire, qualiter & felicia tempora ducat, & felix cum omnibus quibus principatur ad Christum sine confusione perveniat; ut quia per eum corona nostri ordinis in melius restauratur, coronam futuri regni capiat, ex hoc in regione vivorum regnans cum Christo in secula seculorum, Amen*.

Anno 675
* Surius, Tom:
2. p. 890, 897.

The 3. Council of *Bracara*, summoned the same year by this King *Vuambanus*, concludes with these thanks to God, him, & prayer for him; *Gratias itaq; Omnipotenti Deo peragimus: posthac sit pax, salus & diuturnitas piissimo, & amatori Christi Domino nostro Vuambano Regi, cuius devotio nos ad hoc decretum salutiferum convocavit, divinam postulantes clementiam, ut gloria Christi regnum ejus corroboret usque ad ultimam senectutem, praestante ipso, qui cum Patre & Spiritu sancto vivit, & gloriatur in Trinitate Deus in secula seculorum, Amen*.

Anno ibid.
* Surius, Tom:
2. p. 891.

It is evident by *Fredericus Lindebrogius* his *Codex Legum Antiquarum*, *Legis Wisigothorum*, lib. 1, 2. & *Lex Burgundiorum*, *Lex Bohemorum*, & *Lex Longobardorum*; that these Councils of *Toledo* forecited, and those under *Chilperick* and other Kings of *France* and *Italy*, were in nature of Parliaments; wherein these Kings made and promulged Ecclesiastical Lawes, intermixed with their Temporal, by the advice and assistance *Principum*, *Ducum*, *Optimatum* & *Primarum* consulente multitudine; as well as of their Bishops and Clergy, who only did what they prescribed and directed them.

Anno 676
Surius Concil.
 Tom. 2. p. 899,
 to 906.
 Cent. Magd. 7.
 a. 9.

Surius, p. 992.

Surius Concil.
 Tom. 2. p.
 902, 904, 908,
 928, 930, 944,
 945, 947, 966,
 967, 980, 10
 988, 990, 10
 994, 998, 10
 1013, 1016, 10
 1030.

Surius Tom.
 2. p. 908, 10
 928.

The 6. General Council of *Constantinople* was convened by the religious Emperor *Flavius Constantinus Pogonatus*, who summoned *Donus* then Bishop of *Rome* to come to this Council, as well as *George* Archbishop of *Constantinople*, whom he styles in his summons, or *Divalis sacra, universalis Patriarcha*, as well as *Donus* Archbishop of old *Rome*, & *Universalis Papa*: Which summons, by reason of *Donus* his death before the Council, was delivered to his Successor Pope *Agatho*, who sent two Delegates in obedience to the Emperors command, to this Council; wherein the Emperor himself sate President, with many of his Great Officers and Nobles, as the Acts of this Council record. The 1. Action or Session begins thus. *In nomine Domini Dei & Salvatoris Jesu Christi, imperantibus a Deo coronatis et Serenissimis nostris Dominis Flaviis, Constantino quidem piissimo, et a Deo decreto Magno Principe, perpetuo Augusto et Imperatore anno 27. et post consulatum ejus a Deo institutæ mansuetudinis anno 13. die 7. mensis Novembris indictione nona, PRÆSIDENTE IIDEM PISSIMO & CHRISTO DILECTO MAGNO IMPERATORE CONSTANTINO, in secretario sacri Palatii, quod cognominatur Trullus; et ex iussione ejus a Deo instructæ serenitatis, præsentibus et auditibus* Niceta glorioso exconsule Patricio, & magistro Imperialium officiorum, Theodoro glorioso exconsule Patricio, & Comite Imperialis obsequii, & Substratega Thraciæ, Sergio glorioso exconsule Patricio, Paulo glorioso exconsule Patricio, Juliano glorioso exconsule Patricio, & militari logotheta, Constantino glorioso exconsule Patricio, & Curatore Imperialis domus Hormisdæ, Anastasio glorioso exconsule Patricio, & locum agente Imperialis comitis excubiti, Joanne glorioso exconsule Patricio, & dispositore Orientalium provinciarum, Petro glorioso exconsule, Leontio glorioso exconsule & domestico imperialis mensæ; (all named, placed before the Popes Delegates, the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and all other Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, throughout all the Acts of this Council.) The Council being sate, *Theodorus* and *Georgius* Presbyters, and *John* the Deacon, representing Pope *Agatho* his person and his whole Synod at *Rome*, as their Proctors, spake thus to the Emperor; *Benignissime Domine, secundum directam sacram a Deo instructa vestra fortitudine ad sancti: Papam, demandati sumus ad piissima vestigia a Deo confirmatæ vestræ Serenitatis, una cum ejus suggestione, necnon et cum altera ejus Synodica suggestione adæque facta, &c. quas et obtulimus a Deo coronatæ fortitudini vestræ, &c.* After which *Constantinus piissimus Imperator, dixit*, (several times repeated) directing as President what should be done and read, throughout the 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. and all other Actions and Sessions; which as they begin in like form as the first, *Presidente Piissimo Imperatore, &c.* So this Emperor ordered all the proceedings in them, as *Supreme Judge and Moderator*, throughout the Council, and *Paulus magnificus a Senatis, & Imperialis Secretarius*, registred all the proceedings, minding them every Sessions what they had done, where they left off, and how they should proceed, as *Piissimus Imperator dixit, Sufficiunt quæ & hodierna die relecta sunt, reliqua vero in sequenti Secretario relegantur. Monuit vestra pietas & hæc Sancta Synodus; Sufficiunt quæ hodierno die acta sunt, Gloriosissimi Judices dixerunt, &c.* *Constantinus Imperator dixit, Edicat Sanctum & Universale Concilium; si cum consensu omnium Episcoporum promulgata est, definita, &c.* evidence. In the (d) 4th Action, Pope *Agatho*

thoes

thoes Delegates humbly moved the Emperor, that his and the Synod of Rome's Suggestions made and delivered by them to the Emperor might be read, si places. *Constantinus piissimus Imperator dixit, Relegantur.* Whereupon they were produced and publickly read; wherein the Pope and his Council of Bishops held at Rome, thus humbly acknowledge the Emperor to be their Sovereign Lord, and they to be subject to his power and commands in matters divine and Ecclesiastical, as well as Temporal: *Dominis piissimis & Serenissimis Victoribus ac Triumphatoribus, amatoribus Dei & Domini nostri Jesu Christi Constantino Majori Imperatori, Heraclio & Tiberio Augustis, Agatho Episcopo, Servus servorum Dei, Magnam atque mirabilem, non indefinenti gratiarum actione Serenissimi Domini confiteor consolationis oportunitatem exhibere dignatus est, piissimum tranquillæ mansuetudinis vestræ propositum, quem ad stabilitatem debintus commissa reipublicæ Christianæ, ejus concessit dignatio, ut Imperialis virtus atque Clementia a Deo, per quam Reges regnant, qui Rex Regum, & Dominus Dominantium est, curet et quærat ejus immaculatæ fidei veritatem, ut ab Apostolis atque ab Apostolicis patribus est tradita, inquirere vigilanter, &c.* After which making this recital of the Emperors summons to that Council directed to his Predecessor, he subjoyns, *His itaque mansuetissimi rerum Domini, divalibus apicibus animatus, & ad spem consolationis de profundis angoribus alleviatus, sum meliori confidentia paulatim, quæ per mansuetissima fortitudinis vestræ sacram, dudum præcepta sunt, efficaciter promptam obsequentiam exhibere ut personas, &c. pro obedientiæ satisfactione inquirerem, et cum Consilio confamuloz meozum Episcopozum, &c. ut ad piissimæ tranquillitatis vestræ vestigia properarent, hortarer, &c. Ideoque Christianissimi Domini filii, secundum piissimam justificationem a Deo protegendæ mansuetudinis vestræ, PRO OBEDIENTIA QUAM DEBUIMUS (mark it) non pro confidentia eozum scientiæ quos dirigimus, presentes confamilios nostros, Abundantium, Joannem, &c. Pro quibus fieri mentis poplite suppliciter vestram ad mansuetudinem semper intentam clementiam deprecamur, ut, juxta benignissimam atque augustissimam Imperialis sacra promissionem, acceptatione eos dignos efficiat, &c. Non enim nobis eorum scientia confidentiam dedit ut ad pia vestra vestigia eos auderemus dirigere, sed hoc Imperialis vestra benignitas clementer jubens hortata est, et nostra pusillitas, quod justum est, obsequenter implevit.* Language inconsistent with pretended Papal Supremacie. After which this Pope tendred by them in writing to the Emperors an account of his and the Roman Churches faith out of Scriptures, former Councils and Fathers, which was read, inferring. (a) *Eximenda proinde, ac summis conatibus, cum Dei præsidio liberanda est sancta Dei Ecclesia Christianissimi vestri Imperii, de talium doctozum erroribus, &c.* Hæc autem ideo Deum omnipotentem felicibus vestræ mansuetudinis ad emendandum credimus reservasse temporibus, ut locum et Zelum ipsius Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui vestrum Imperium coronare dignatus est, facientes in terris, pro ejus Evangelica et Apostolica veritate JUSTUM JUDICIUM PROFERATIS, (of which this Pope acknowledgeth the Emperors Supreme Judges) *Quia dum humani generis Redemptor atque Salvator, sit injuriam passus, nunc usque sustinuit, vestræque fortitudinis aspiravit imperio, ut ejus fidei causam (sicut æquitas exigit, & sanctorum Patrum, sacrarumque Generalium quinque Synodorum decrevit instructio) exequi dignemini, et redemptoris ac conregnatoris injuriam de suæ fidei contemptoribus per ejus præsidium ulciscamini, propheticum illud vaticinium cum Imperiali clementia magnanimiter adimplentes, quia Rex et Propheta David ad Deum loquitur; Zelus domus tuæ, inquit, comedit me. Unde pro tali Deo placito zelo collaudamus, illam beatam vocem audire à creatore omnium meruit: Inveni David virum secundum cor meum, qui faciat omnes voluntates meas. Cui & in Psalmis polli-*

Prov. 2
1 Tim. 6

a Surtius, p. 320
921

Psal. 68.
Acr. 13.

Pfal. 88.

Mat. 6.

pollicetur, Inveni David servum meum, oleo sancto meo unxi eum: manus enim mea auxiliabitur ei, & brachium meum confortabit eum: ut cujus causam conflagranti studio elaborat Christianæ clementiæ vestre piissimus Principatus efficere, remunerationis gratia, omnes actus fortissimi eorum Imperii felices et prosperos faciet, qui in suis sacris Evangeliiis repromittit, inquit, Quærite primum regnum coelorum & hæc adjicientur vobis. Omnes enim ad quos sacrarum apicum pervenit notitia, & quia sic benigniter angusta magnanimitatis vestre mansuetudinis est demonstratus intentus, innumeras gratiarum actiones & incessabiles laudes, admirati de tanta Clementia magnitudine propagatori vestri fortissimi imperii persolverint, quid vere ut piissimi et æquissimi Principes quæ Dei sunt, cum Dei timore dignati estis peragere. Unde & laus ab omnibus Nationibus Christianis, & perennis memoria, et frequens oratio pro sospitate triumphalibus, ac perfectis victoriis concedendis, ante Christum Dominum, cujus causa est, effundantur, quatenus superna maiestatis terrore perculsa Gentium nationes susceptis vestri robustissimi Principatus humiliter colla prosternant, et piissimi regni vestri continetur potentia dum temporali Imperio æterni regni succedit perennis felicitas. Nec enim poterit aliud simillimum inveniri, quod vestre invictissimæ fortitudinis divinæ Majestati commendat Clementiam, quam ut repulsis a regula veritatis erroribus Evangelicæ atque Apostolicæ nostræ fidei ubique illustretur et prædicetur integritas, &c. Obsecro itaque piissime Auguste, atque una cum mea exiguitate. Omnis anima Christiana suo fletu genu suppliciter deprecatur ut etiam hoc ad redintegrationem perfectæ pietatis conregnatori Christo Domino hostiam acceptibilem offerre jubeatis, verbum impunitatis concedentes et liberam loquendi facultatem unicuique loqui volenti, & verbum impendere pro fide, quatenus omnes unanimiter pro tanto & tam inestimabili bono per cunctum vitam suam spatium divinam Majestatem glorificent, & pro incolumitate atque exaltatione fortissimi vestri Imperii, unanimiter incessabiles Christo Domino preces effundant. Piissimorum Dominorum imperium gratia superna custodiat, eisque omnium gentium colla subternat. Moreover this (a) Pope Agatho, and the Synod of Rome, begin their Epistle to these Emperors, and Instructions to their Delegates in this General Council, thus. Piissimis Dominis, ac serenissimis Victoribus ac Triumphatoribus dilectis filiis Dei & Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Constantino magno Imperatori, Heraclio & Tiberio Augustis, Agatho Episcopo, Servus servorum Dei, cum universis Synodis subiacentibus Concilio Apostolica sedis. Omnium bonorum spes inesse præscitur, dum Imperiale fastigium ejus, a quo se coronatum, et hominibus præfectum ad salubriter gubernandum dignoscit, veram de eo confessionem, qua sola præ omnibus muneribus delectatur, inquit fideliter, et vivaciter amplecti desiderat. After which they stile Rome a servile City to the Emperor, (b) Concilium quod in hanc Romanam urbem servilem vestri Christianissimi Imperii, &c. Subjoyning, Præterea satisfaciendum est nostro exiguo familiatui apud Serenissimorum Dominorum nostrorum clementiam pro tarditate missarum et Concilio nostro personarum, quas dirigi per suam Augustissimam sacram vestrum piissimum fastigium iussit. For which they render a satisfactory reason. Then pray, that the Confession of the faith they had sent by their Delegates might be confirmed. Obsecrantes, ut à Deo coronato vestro imperio favente, hæc eadem omnibus prædicari, atque apud omnes obtinere jubeatis, ut Deus, qui veritatem & justitiam diligit, omnia prospera vestra serenissima dignitatis temporibus daret, in quibus Apostolica prædicationis pietatis veritas fulgeat, meliori ac prospero successu rerum fortissima tranquillitatis imperium latari de hostium subjectione concedens. Suscipere itaque dignamini piissimi Principum; à nostra humilitate directos Episcopos, cum reliquis Ecclesiasticis ordinis viris, atque religiosis servis Dei, cum solita tranquillitatis clementia, quatenus ex ipsorum testimonio cum gratiarum actione in propria revertentium, apud omnes Nationes laus Clementia vestra celebrescat, sicut magni illius Constantini, cujus post obitum laudabilis fama nihilominus viget, cujus insignis non tantum potestatis

Surius, Tom.
2. p. 922.

6 Ibid. p. 924.

status est, sed pietatis: cum quo illud sacratissimum Concilium 318. Antistitum in Nicæa civitate in defensione consubstantialis Trinitatis convenit: & sicut Theodosii magni, cujus inter alias ejus virtutes, singularis pietas prædicatur; quo adventente per sancti Spiritus gratiam 250 Patrum sententia, qui eis inspirabat, Spiritus sanctus consubstantialis Patri & Filio prædicatus est, & sicut egregii veritatis amatoris Martiani Principis, qui & primum Concilium Ephelinum, nupote Catholicam & Apostolicam fidem prædicans a sancta Chalcedonensi Synodo suscipi fecit, et errores qui accrederant, de Dei Ecclesia repulit: Et sicut extremi quidem, præstantissimi tamen omnium, magni illius Justiniani, cujus ut virtus, ita et pietas omnia in meliorem ordinem restauravit; cujus instar fortissimæ vestræ clementiæ Principatus virtutis quidem conatibus Republicam Christianam tuetur, et restaurat in melius, pietatisque studiis Catholicæ succurrit Ecclesiæ, ut in Unitate veræ ac Apostolicæ confessionis perfectius copuletur, quam nunc usque nobiscum sancta Romana servat Ecclesiæ, quatenus sinceræ pietatis arcum, tuba clarius per totum Orbem prædicetur, et ubi hujus veræ confessionis sinceritas pii Vestri Imperii favoribus obtinet, laus simul ac meritum Serenissimi vestri Imperii prædicetur, ut cum pietatis laudibus, etiam regni eorum Deo annuente dilatentur insignia, quosque veræ pietatis invitat Confessio, impietatis fortitudo possideat.

All these expressions of this Pope and his whole Council, resolve 1. That they all in most humble and dutifull manner acknowledged these Emperors to be their Sovereign Lords; and that they owed all humble chearfull obedience to their Summons and commands, even in matters of Faith, Religion, and Church-affairs. 2ly. That the right of summoning General Councils, and ordering, examining, confirming the Votes, Confessions of Faith made by them, belonged to Emperors, not to Popes, who were both summoned and came in person, or sent their Proxies to them in obedience to their Summons. 3ly. That the principal care, defence, propagation, preservation, perpetuation of the Orthodox faith and true worship of God, belongs to Christian Emperors, not to Popes or Bps. 4ly. That God had specially advanced them to the Empire for this very end; That this was the principal part of their charge, office, care, and that God himself had made, *Constantine, Theodosius, Martianus, Justinian*, and these present Emperors, (not Popes and Bishops) the principal Instruments of establishing, propagating, preserving the Christian Orthodox faith, suppressing Heresies, Schisms, advancing true piety, and Christian peace, Unity throughout the Churches of Christ, &c. All which are since reputed Heresie, and Sacrilegious encroachments (like King *Uzziah*) on Popes, Bishops, Priests Hierarchies, Offices, by ambitious Popes and Prelates.

* See here, p. 25.

In the 14. Action the frauds and impostures added, and thrust into the Acts of the 5. General Council concerning (a) *Pope Vigilius* and others, were examined by the Original parchment copies there produced upon Oath, by *George* a Deacon Library-keeper to the Archbishop of *Constantinople*, where the Emperor *Justinian*, & *Gloriosissimi Judices*, & *Sanctum Concilium* dixerunt; & directed the proceedings in this Examination. And the Council often cry out, *Sancti Quinti Concilii semperterna memoria. Multos annos Imperatori Constantino, Magno Imperatori multos annos. Pacifico Imperatori, multos annos. Conservatori rectæ fidei multos annos. Fili Dei da illi vitam; Fili Dei, da victoriam illi.* After which, *Gloriosissimi Judices* & *sanctum Concilium* dixerunt, *Sufficienter quidem habent quæ hodierna die gesta sunt; Polychronius autem religiosus Presbyter & Monachus, in subsequenti ad nos perducatur, de propria fide sua interrogandus.* Whereupon Actio 15. (b) *Residentibus per ordinem Gloriosissimis Patriarchis & Consulibus omnibusque venerabilibus Episcopis; Gloriosissimi Judices & Concilium* dixerunt: *Ingreliatur Polychronius: who tendred them an heretical Book and Confession of his faith (which this confident Heretical Impostor presumed would raise a dead man to life if laid upon him; which he there laying on a dead body experimented before the Synod and people, with no successe, but derision, and an exclamation by the people; Novo Simoni Anathema, novo Seducitori populi, Anathema:)* Notwithstanding, he obstinately persisting in his Heresie, thereupon

b Ibidem, p. 1026.

was

was degraded and anathematized; which done, *Gloriosissimi Iudices & Sanctum Concilium dixerunt, Sufficiunt quæ hodierna die acta sunt.* In the 16 Action there is the like proceeding; with a *Gloriosissimi Iudices dixerunt, Edicat sanctum & universale Concilium, si quicquam de his quæ ad scrupulosiorem indagacionem pertinent, relictum est super presenti Capitulo, &c.* *Sancta Synodus dixit, Sufficienter quidem habent, &c.* (a) Actio 17. They read and subscribe the Confession of their Faith made in that Synod: clozing it with these Acclamations, *Christo dilecto multos annos. Orthodoxe omnes credimus. Illuminatorem Pacis Domine conserva. Martiano novo Constantino, æterna memoria. Novo Justiniano Constantino, æterna memoria. Qui depoluit Hæreticos, Domine conserva,* anathematizing all these Hereticks by name. Actio 18. *Presidente eodem piissimo & a Christi dilecto Constantino magno Imperatore,* he sitting in this Council, *Theodorus* the Patriarchs Notary, spake thus unto him; *Maxima pietatis existit cognitio, tranquillissime Domine, principaliter quæ ad culturam divinitatis attinent præcipuam diligentiam adhibere debinc causas quæ Christo amabili Reipublicæ competunt recta consideratione dirigere, quod profecto benigne peragitis, mansuetissime omnem quidem secularium causarum sollicitudinem reponens, pro divinis vero curam et studium per Spiritus sancti gratiam assumens. Et hic vester est acceptabilis ornatus pietatem aduersus Diaboli accersire malitiam, et contra impietatis ejus cohortem, sacrum aggregare collegium, &c.* Then tending him the Synods confession of faith, (read & subscribed by the Synod the day before) to be read again in the Emperors presence, *Constantinus piissimus Imperator, dixit, Edicat sanctum et universale Concilium, si cum consensu omnium Episcoporum promulgata est definitio, quæ ad præsens relecta est: (b) Sanctum Concilium exclamavit: Omnes ita credimus, Vna fides, Omnes id ipsum sentimus, Omnes consentientes et amplectentes subscripsimus. Orthodoxi omnes credimus. Hac est fides Apostolorum, hac est fides Patrum, hac est fides Orthodoxorum, Multos annos Imperatori: Integritas duarum naturarum Christi, tu declarasti, Luminarium pacis, Domine conserva. Martiano novo Constantino æterna memoria, Omnes hæreticos tu effugasti. Deceptorum hæreticorum Domine conserva; Dividentes et confundentes tu persequutus es. Absit invidia a vestro Imperio. Deus custodiat fortitudinem vestram. Deus regnum vestrum & Imperium vestrum pacificet. Cæstra vita, orthodoxorum vita est. Cælestis Rex, terrestrem conserva. Per te universales Ecclesiæ pacificate sunt. Nestorio, & Euticho & Severo, anathema, &c. Omnibus hæreticis anathema.* Which ended, *Constantinus Imperator dixit, Deum testem proferimus sancto & universali vestro Concilio, quod absque quolibet favore & invidia, principale desiderium et zelus extitit nobis, irreprehensibilem esse immaculatam nostram orthodoxam Christianorum fidem, et cum stabilitate nos eam conservare in nomine Dei, secundum doctrinam & traditionem quæ tradita est nobis tam per Evangelium, quam per sanctos Apostolos, & per statuta Sanctorum quinque Universalium Conciliorum, Sanctorumque probabilium Patrum, et non mediocriter nos pro hoc desiderium coarctabat, ex quo (jubente Deo nostro) auctoritative accepimus solium imperii nostri. Cum ergo Deo complacuit tempus concedere, invitavimus fieri collectionem vestram, ad considerandum vobis Sanctas Dei Scripturas, omnemque vocis sive assertionis novitatem, quæ adjecta est ad intemeratam nostram Christianorum fidem, in his vicinis temporibus a quibusdam prava sentientibus expellendam, mundissimamque nobis hanc contradendam (sicut prædictum est) quatenus, secundum Sancta & universalia quinque Concilia & statuta Sanctorum Venerabilium Patrum, ita eam et nos custodiamus usque in mortem, &c.* Immediately after his Speech concluded, *Sancta Synodus exclamavit, Multos annos Imperatori, Christo dilecto Imperatori, multos annos; Pium et Christianum Imperatorem Domine conserva, Orthodoxam fidem tu confirmasti. Definitio Orthodoxa est; contradicenti huic definitioni anathema; Qui contradixerit huic definitioni Nestorianus est: Qui non suscepit hanc definitionem Eutichianista est. Eutichianis anathema, Omnibus Christo rebellibus Hæresibus anathema. Æterna memoria Im-*

a Ibid. p. 1010,
1116, 1118.

b Ibidem, p.
1011.

Imperator. *Æternum permaneat vestrum Imperium.* The Emperor rendering them his hearty thanks for their pains in this Council, (a) *Sanctum Concilium dixit, Piusissime & tranquillissime Domine, Sermonem acclamatorum* 1012.
ad Deo amabilem vestram potentiam, juxta morem composuimus, et si placuerit pietati vestræ, hunc perlegi jubete. Constantinus piissimus Imperator dixit, Acclamatorius sermo qui compositus est a vestro Concilio, deferatur & Relegatur. Qui delatus est, & in his sermonibus relectus est. In this Oration they use these memorable passages to the Emperor. *Vos enim per Christum benigne regnatis, Christus vero per vos Ecclesiis suis pacem delegit impartiri, &c.* Quid vero est, et præsertim Imperatori debilius, QUAM PRÆ OMNIBUS PIETATE ADORNARE SUBJECTOS, PER QUOD ET IN CÆTERIS FELICITETUR RESPUBLICA? Veruntamen vestris divalibus præceptis acquiescentes, tam antiquæ Romæ et Apostolicæ summæ pontificatus Antistites, quam nos humiles, Christi tamen Sacerdotes atque ministri, &c. (Let Popes observe their predecessors subjection to this Emperors supream commands in coming to this Council, &c.) Then applauding the Piety, Zeal of Constantine, Theodosius, Marianus, and Justinian in summoning and ratifying the former General Councils; they thus conclude. (b) *Gloria in excelsis Deo, in terra pax, decantantes, dum Christo omnipotenti complacuit suscitare Principem Deo dilectum, qui unitatis Ecclesiarum mediator effectus est. Sed O Benignissime Domine & Amator Justitiæ, ei qui tibi potentiam largitus est hanc gratiam recompensa, & his quæ a nobis gesta sunt signaculum tribue, vestram inscribito Imperialem ratihabitionem, et per Edicta divalia, atque per pias Constitutiones, ex more, eorum omnium firmitatem, quatenus nullus his quæ gesta sunt, aut contradicat, novamque questionem machinetur.* Scito enim Serenissime Imperator, quod nihil horum quæ in Synodis universalibus & a probabilibus patribus constituta sunt, falsavimus, verum potius confirmavimus. Etenim omnes unanimiter atque consonanter acclamamus: Domine saluum fac Regem nostrum, qui post te corroboravit fidei fundamentum: benedicito vitam ejus, dirige gressus cogitationum ejus. Conterat virtutem inimicorum suorum, & resistentes ei continuo corrumpat, quia fecit judicium, & justitiam sempiternam, & periclitanti veritati manus porrexit, populumque tuum salvabit, ad eadem sapere eos concilians. Gaude Civitas Nova Roma Constantinopolis, glorificata nomine principis tui. Ecce Rex tuus fidelis sedes fortissimus, & accipiet armaturam amulatricem ejus virtutem, indutus est lorica Justitiæ, & Sanctitatis circumposuit sibi galeam prudentiam, quæ est specula virtutum, & scutum assumpsit inerpugnabile, in Deum pietatem. His armatum eum adspiciant Barbari, & speramus in Deum eos obtemperare dominanti. Latere Civitas Sion, Tacumen Orbis terrarum atque Imperium. Constantinus te purpura præornavit, et per fidem Coronavit, & Constantinus utrisque supercoronavit, Postæque inferi adversum tuum orthodoxorum Imperium non prævalebunt. Gaude, & fiducialiter age Imperator Speciosissime: Dominus Deus tuus in te potens, præcingens te virtute, salvabit te: adducet super te jocunditatem & exultationem, ampliabiturque imperium tuum, & exaltabitur brachium tuum et dominabitur cunctis. Adversis, Deumque non agnoscentibus atque attestantibus, et lamentabitur quidem hostilitas, gaudebit autem obedientia: quia ego potens sum, dicit Dominus Omnipotens.

Hereupon the Emperor ratified the Confession of their Faith by this his Imperial Edict, into which he inserted it verbatim. *In nomine Domini et Dominatoris Jesu Christi, Salvatoris nostri, Imperator Piusissimus, pacificus Flavius Constantinus, fidelis in Jesu Christo Deo Imperator, Christo dilecto omni populo habitanti in occiduis partibus. Firmiter ac fundamentum superno nutu creditæ nobis Christianissimæ existit Respublicæ fides in Deo inflexibilis et inconculcabilis, in qua Christus Deus noster tanquam propriam Domum suam construxit Ecclesiam, & sicut Rex omnium imperii nostri sedem constituit, principatusque nobis Sceptra commisit.*

fit. Sicut enim quandam Petram excessam et sublimem, & ut cœli, terraque, in consortio constitutam mysticam confessionem, quæ in eum cum Patre et Spiritu est Saluator nobis ostendit, ut per eam tanquam per mediam scalam ad celestem conversationem reducamur divinorumque regni potentia coronemur. Super hanc petram cogitationis nostræ gressus infirmus, super quam firmiter stare præcipimur, quamque cautius tenere subiectos præcipimus, ne quisquam, ut minus attentus, eragitetur a maligno et instabili spiritu: expulsusque atque præcipitatus in impietatis voraginem delabatur, &c. Idcirco et nos quæ ab eis definita sunt, corroborare atque firmare cupientes. præsens pium edictum dedimus, veræ circa divinitatem fidei secundum ecclesiastica statuta, adnuncians confessionem. Then reciting the Confession of the faith therein comprised, he thus proceeds: In hac fide vivimus, et regnamus, et conregnanti nobis Deo conregnare denuo speramus. Hanc Comitem, hinc recedentes habere deprecimur, & cum hac ante Christi tribunal assistere. Ad hanc confessionem omnes hortamur, et deservire Deo nobiscum invitamus, ac super montem excessum Imperii stantes, prædicamus, atque ecclesiasticam pacem totius populi solennitatem adnunciamus, &c. Si quis vero hominum personis gratiam exhibet, Charitatis autem in Deum amulatorem se non demonstrat, præsentemque nostram piam constitutionem non recipit, siquidem Episcopus est vel Clericus, aut Monachico circumdatus est habitu, deportationis poenam exolvat. Si vero in ordine dignitatum insertus est, supplicio proserptionis mulcatur, eique Cingulum admittitur. Si autem idioticæ sortis est; ex hac Regia, omnique penitus Civitate extorris addicitur, et super hæc omnia, etiam terribilis atque inexpiabilis iudicii non effugiet cruciatum.

* Surius, p.
1031, 1034.

Besides this general, the Emperor sent a particular copy of his Edict, (*Divine Fusionis*) concerning his ratification of this general Synod, to the Synod at Rome, whereupon, Pope *Agatho* being dead, and *Leo* the second succeeding him, writ this Epistle ad Constantinum piissimum August: by way of gratitude, most clearly demonstrating his supreme Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, care of Religion and of his Subjects souls, as well as of their bodies and estates. *Regi Regum in cuius potestate sunt Regna mundi pusilli, cui magnas gratias agimus, qui ita in vobis terrenum contulit Regnum, ut coelestia vos magis ambire concederet. Plus est enim, quod in Deo desira mente confiditis, quam quod de collato vobis Divinitus honore regnatis. Illud enim vobis, hoc proficit omnino subiectis. Nam triumphalem Paterni Diadematis gloriam nascendo (superna miseratione obtinetis, pietas enim vestra, fructus misericordia est: potestas autem, Custos est disciplina. Per illa igitur regia mens Deo jungitur, per istam vero censura subditis adhibetur; illius opes inopes adjuvant, huius autem sagacitas a vero tramite deviantes emendat. Non enim minor regnantium cura est, præva corrigere, quam de adversariis triumphare, quia ei nimirum potestatem suam serviendo subijciunt, cujus profecto munere et protectione imperare noscuntur. Unde divinitus præordinata vestra Christianissima pietas, & habitaculum dignissimum Sancti Spiritus in sui cordis arcano præparans, quando Caput Ecclesiæ Dominum Jesum Christum, veræ pietatis regulam amplectendo, concessi sibi ab eo Regni demonstrat authorem, Sanctum venerabile corpus ejus, quæ est Sancta Mater Ecclesia, ut sincerus et principalis filius, largiendo atque fovendo inconcussa facit soliditate gaudere. Scriptum est igitur de vobis Clementissime Principum, & de eadem Sancta Ecclesia toto terrarum orbe diffusa; Erunt (inquit) Reges nutritii tui, pariterque scriptum est: Honor Regis iudicium diligit, quia dum divina rebus humanis præponitis, et Orthodoxam fidem curis secularibus incomparabiliter antefertis, quid aliud, quam*

Isa. 49
Psalm 98.

quam iudicium rectum Dei cultui mancipatis, et sacrificium purissimum atque holocaustum divinæ suavitatis odore flagrans, in ara vestri pectoris ejus invisibili Majestati mactatis? Hæc de piissimi animi vestri proposito Christianissime Augustorum, efficaciter dici (Dei gratia operante) confidimus, quia sola & error omnis erictus est, & reſtitudo Evangelica atque Apostolica fidei cum syncera charitatis copula apud cunctos Ecclesiarum Christi præfules obtineatur. Then at large declaring his approbation of this general Synods Confession of Faith, he thus closeth his Epistle: *Vicit novus David constantissimus Augustorum non in millibus solum, (nec enim generalem Evangelicæ prædicationis victoriam numerorum vinculis quisquam poterit comprehendere) sed & ipsum Principem, & hostem, & Ducem, ac incentorem omnium malorum & errorum Diabolum, cum suis legionibus atque fautoribus, per arma vera atque Orthodoxæ Apostolicæ traditionis & confessionis extinxit. Exulta nunc sicura Sancta Mater Ecclesia, de libertate sua sapius impugnata, sed non derelicta. Succitabit Rex tuus invictissimus Christianorum Principem propugnatorem tuum, benefactorem tuum atque opulentissimum largitorem, cujus studio Orthodoxa fides recollecto splendore toto orbe irradiat, fideles omnes gratiam referentes exultant; infideles mærorum atque dejectio comprimit et confundit; Ecclesiæ Christi de cunctis oppressionibus liberatæ, respirant, donis imperialibus confortantur, principali præsidio muniuntur, quibus et domesticis verbis augusta vestra benignitas Christum imitando pollicetur: Ecce, ego vobiscum sum usque ad consummationem sæculi, ut Domini nostri Jesu Christi, cujus exemplis utitur, æterna ejus Regni perenni gloria patriatur, & in orbem terrarum generaliter atque perenniter ejus imperium dilatetur. Illissimum Domini Imperium gratia superna custodiat, et ei omnium gentium colla subternat. Data Nonis Maiis indictione Decima.*

Ibid. p. 1032.

Matth. 28.

As Pope Leo thus acknowledgeth, applaudeth this Emperors care, zeal to promote, protect, propagate the Orthodox Faith; and professors thereof, suppress all Heresies, and his supremacy in and over all Ecclesiastical persons and causes; so likewise *Manfuetus* Archbishop of *Millain*, with all his Clergy, thus acknowledged the Emperors Ecclesiastical supremacy, Hereditary descent, and right to summon general Councils. *Domino Severissimo atque Tranquillissimo, & a Deo Coronato Religiosissimo Constantino Imperatori, Manfuetus Mediolanensis Metropolitana Ecclesia indignus Episcopus, vel universa Sancta Episcoporum fraternitas, quæ in hac magna Regia Urbe convenit, æternam in Domino salutem. Si apicem Imperialis fastigii et insulas sacratissimæ potestatis, abis et proavis vestris cælitus attributum cognovimus, et pro meritorum actibus ad vos propagatum scimus, dignum est his vos æquiparare vestigiis, quorum et celsitudinem obtinetis. Nec disparilia debent esse instrumenta cœlestia, ubi paria possidentur Sceptra Regalia. Emulari ergo oportet eorum Magisterium, quorum documenta permanent salutaria, &c. Habes quippe probatissime Imperator specula, in quibus tuas actiones imaginari debeas.* Then reciting the acts and piety of *Constantine* the Great, in summoning the Council of *Nice* against the *Arrians*; of *Theodosius* in convening the Council of *Constantinople* against *Macedonius*, of *Martianus* & *Justinian* the Emperors in calling the Councils of *Ephesus*, *Chalcedon*, and *Constantinople* against *Eutiches*, *Dioscorus*, and other Heretics; they subjoyn, *Hæc Gloriosissimæ Princeps antiquorum Patrum statuta, una cum consensu Piissimorum Imperatorum definita, quæ convelli vel infirmari nulla ratione pietas vestra permittat, &c.*

* Surtius Concil.
Tom. 2. p. 896.
897.

This godly Emperor *Constantine* deceasing before this Synod ended, *Justinianus* the 2d. his son, succeeding him, confirmed the confession of the Faith, and resolutions of this general Council, by his Divine Decree, directed to Pope *John* the 5th. wherein are these observable passages, displaying his Ecclesiastical supremacy, care of Religion, the Orthodox Faith, and his peoples souls; and enjoyning not only the Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Clergy, but all his Military Officers, Commanders, Curators, and civil Magistrates, throughout all parts of his Empire to subscribe the confession of Faith therein accorded, which were read before, & then subscribed by them in the Emperors presence. *Magnam studium, magnam sollicitudinem nos*

Anno 679.
Surtius Tom. 2.
1034.

habentes pro stabilitate immaculatæ Christianorum fidei, dehinc namque Clementissimum nostrum Deum adiutorem et susceptorem nostræ serenitatis esse confidimus, adversus omnem inimicum Christo dilectæ nostræ Reipublicæ dum cognitum est nobis, quia Synodalia gesta, eorumque definitionem, quam et instituisse noscitur Sanctum Sextum Concilium, quod congregatum est in tempore Sanctæ memoriæ nostri Patris, in hanc a Deo conservandam Regiam Urbem apud quosdam nostros Iudices remisissent. Neque enim omnino prævidimus alterum aliquem apud se detinere ea, sine nostra piissima serenitate, eo quod nos* copiosos misericordia noster Deus* custodes constituit ejusdem immaculatæ Christianorum fidei, sed mox adducimus nostros Patres Sanctissimos ac Beatissimos Patriarchas, cum vestræ Beatitudinis apocrisario, et Sacratissimum senatum, verum etiam Deo amabiles metropolitæ et Episcopos qui hic in Regia Urbe commorantur, et deinceps militantes incolas Sancti Palatii, necnon et ex collegiis popularibus, et ab excubitoribus, insuper etiam quosdam de Christo dilectis exercitibus, tam ab a Deo conservando Imperiali obsequio, quamque ab Orientali Thraciano, similiter et ab Armeniano, etiam ab exercitu Italiæ, deinde ex Cabarianis, et Septemianis, seu de Sardinia, atque de Africano exercitu, qui ad nostram pietatem ingressi sunt, et Iussimus præfatas Synodaliū gestorum Chartas in medium adduci, et eorum supradictis omnibus lectionem eorum fieri; omnesque diligenter audientes signare ipsas fecimus: eorum auditorum universitas in nostris manibus eas præbuit Chartas, ut debeamus nos tenendo inviolatas conservare ipsas, ut non licentia fuerit in quolibet tempore his, qui timorem Dei nolunt habere, aliquid corrumpere, aut submutare ab his quæ inserta sunt in prænominatis Synodalibus gestis, quas totas Chartas bene definitas in temporibus Sanctæ memoriæ nostri Patris, ex probabilibus Sanctis Patribus, qui propriæ linguæ et manuum fidem apud Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum verumque Deum existentem, confirmasse dinoscitur, et confitentes eam docuisse, nos speramus Clementissimum nostrum Deum, quia usque dum noster spiritus statutus est ex Deo esse, in nobis ipsas Chartas illibatas et incommutabiles semper conservabimus.

This whole General Synod in their Oration to *Justinian*, inprimis pium Imperatorem, use these expressions to him, evidencing that God had specially raised him up to defend, preserve, propagate the Orthodox faith, and that it was, yea ought to be his first and principal care, trust, duty, to reclaim his Subjects from sinne, and endeavor to promote the salvation of their souls, as well as their temporal welfare. *Inprimis, Pio & Christi amantiſſimo Imperatori Justiniano Sancta & universalis Synodus, Divino Pio vestra potentia nutu & decreto congregata in hac a Deo Custodita & regia Civitate, &c. Qui magnam hanc præſentis mundi Navem clavo aſſidens regit Christus Dominus noster, te Sapientem nobis gubernatorem, Pium Imperatorem, verè præſidem excitavit, diſſenſantem sermones in judicio, in ſeculum veritatem ſervantem, facientem judicium & juſtitiam in medio terræ, & in viâ ab omni culpa ac reprehensione aliena procedentem, quem cum ſapientia concepisset, eique obſterricis officium præſtitisset, pulchrè virtutibus educum & ornatum, divinoque ſpiritu repletum, orbis terrarum oculum effecit, qui mentis puritate et ſplendore ſubjectos aperte illu-minans, * cui ſuam Eccleſiam adhibuit, et legem ejus noctu diuq; meditari docuit, ad populorum qui ſunt ſub ejus manibus perfectionem et ædificationem, qui tuo in Deum deſiderii ardoze Phinees zelum ſuperas, et pietatis ac prudentiæ roboze conſoſſo peccato, gregem quoque vitio et eritio ſubtrahere voluiſſi. Oportebat enim eum qui poſt ſupernum*

* Cop. cſſi.
* Nota

* Surin, Tom.
2. p. 1038,
1039.

* Nota

supernum monumentum humani generis gubernaculum suscepisset, non solum id quod ad se pertinet considerare, et quomodo sua a se vita dirigatur; sed et omnes quibus imperat, et maximis fluctibus servare, et a multa prolapsionum errorumque confusione, undique obruentibus improbitatis fluctibus, et humilitatis nostræ corpus perturbantibus, eripere. After which they thus humbly pray the Emperor to ratifie their Canons to make them valid and obligatory. Propterea ergo tua pietatis jussu in hac Dei observatrice & Imperante Urbe congressi, sacros Canones scripsimus. Quamobrem tuam pietatem, eam quæ prius in hac Dei observatrice Civitate a congregatis sub hujus memoria Imperatore nostro patribus edita sunt, preces Tibi adducunt, ut quæ in antiqua Ecclesia scriptis Ecclesiam honorasti, sic et eorum, quæ per viros pios et sinceros decreta sunt, finem obseques. Dominus autem imperium tuum stabiliat ac confirmat in pace ac Justitia, & generationum generationibus transmittat, & terrene quoque potentie adjiciat, ut etiam celesti regno fruaris. Which he ratified accordingly.

(a) Gratian, ex gestis Romanorum Pontificum, records this memorable Decree made by the Emperor Constantinus Pagnatus in the time of Pope Agatho, about the year 680. Agatho, Natione Siculus, cujus legatione functus Joannes Episcopus Portuensis, die Dominico octavo Pasche in Ecclesia sancta Sophia, missas coram Principe & Patriarcha latine celebravit. Hic suscepit ab eo divalem, id est, Regiam Epistolam secundum suam postulationem; per quam relevata est quantitas pecuniæ, quæ solita erat dari (Imp.) pro ordinatione Pontificis faciendæ; sic tamen ut si contigerit post ejus transitum electionem fieri, non debeat ordinari qui electus fuerit, nisi prius Decretum generale introducat in regiam urbem, secundum ANTIQUAM CONSUETUDINEM, ut cum eorum conscientia et jussione debeat ordinatio prosperare. Item Vitalianus Natione Segnenfis (Ann. 665) direxit responsales suos cum Synodica Epistola, JUXTA CONSUETUDINEM, in regiam urbem apud piissimos Principes de Ordinatione sua; To which Gratian prefixeth this rubrick, electus in Romanum Pontificem non ordinetur, nisi ejus Decretum Imperatori primum presentetur, & *confirmationem de sui ordinatione petisset, sicut indicat liber Pontificalis in vita sua, as the Century writers affirm.) On which Text Bartholomeus Buxiensis, and Dr. Thierry, (together with Anastasium in vita Agathonis p. 79) thus Comment. Consuetudo erat, quod electio Papæ subscripta representaretur Imperatori Constantinopoli; et tunc temporis electus dabat quandam summam pecuniæ Imperatori. Ad quam summam relevandam misit Agatho Joannem Episcopum Portuensem Constantinopolim; qui in octavo Pascha in Ecclesia Sanctæ Sophiæ, latine missam coram Patriarcha & Principe celebravit; et ad suam petitionem accepit Imperiale scriptum, per quod solita quantitas est ei relaxata, ita tamen (mark it) ut electio Pontificis Imperatori semper representaretur, et cum Imperatoris conscientia et jussione, Pontificis ordinatio deberet prospere fieri: (or as Anastasius records it, sic tamen ut si contigerit post ejus transitum electionem fieri, non debeat ordinari qui electus fuerit, nisi prius decretum generale introducat in Regiam urbem SECUNDUM ANTIQUAM CONSUETUDINEM, & CUM *EORUM CONSCIENTIA & JUSSIONE DEBEAT ORDINATIO PROVENIRE.) sicut factum fuit de Vitaliano, cujus electio fuit presentata ipsi Principibus SICUT CONSUETUDO ERAT. And the Glosse on these words: Quæ solita, superadds. Quilibet enim Episcopus dare consuevit aliquid Imperatori in electione sua, dummodo redditus Episcopales excederent duas libras auri. De San. Epil. sect. 4. Et forte tunc cum mos erat, crimen non erat, ut Caus. 32. qu. 4. Sed nonne

Anna 680
a Distinctio 62
Agatho. See
Blondus l. 4.
Decad. 1. Cent.
Magd. c. 7. col.
237.

* Century Mag.
7. c. 7. col. 237.
c. 10. col. 487

* Ejus Imperatoris.

This (a) is
foisted in by
Gratian, and
should be omit-
ted, as the sense
and context evi-
dence.

nonne Imperator commisit Simoniam, relaxando illud jus sub hac conditione, ut consensus ejus requiratur in electione? Sed dic, quod non; quia prius utrumque jus habuit, unde modo alterum potuit remittere; ideo autem petiit (a) Papa hanc consuetudinem tolli, quia continebat speciem mali, ut. 1. qu. 1. emendari. From whence it is irrefragable by these Popes and Canonists joyn't Confessions, 1. That no Pope could be elected at Rome without the Emperors privity. 2ly. That his election ought to be certified by an instrument in writing sent to Constantinople (when the Emperor resided there) and the Emperors assent expressly given to his Election, and also a certain sum of money paid by him to the Emperor, before he ought to be admitted or consecrated Pope. 3ly. That the Emperor ought to issue out an expresse command for his consecration. 4ly. That this was no innovation, but an antient known Custom and usage even in Pope Agathoes and Vitalians time, within 650. years after Christ. 5ly. That this was a lawfull Right vested in the Emperors, which they never parted with by this Decree, though they mitigated or released the fine or first-fruits, paid upon every new election of a Pope. Therefore the subsequent grants made by Pope Adrian and Leo the 3. to the Emperor Charles the Great and his successors, to elect the Pope, &c. gave them no new right, but were only a preservation of their antient right used time out mind before. Which will put a period to the Popes late * pretended Supremacy over the Emperor.

* Here p. 35,
to 49.

Anno 681
Surius Concil.
Tom: 3. p. 13,
3, 9. Cent.
Magd. 7. c. 9.

The 12. Council of Toledo was summoned ex glorioso Eringii Regis jussu, in the first year of his reign; whereto he summoned Omnes in commune religiosos Provincia- rum Rectores & Clarissimorum ordinum totius Hispaniae, & illustres aula regia viros, who sate and voted therein as well as his Bishops. In the beginning of this Council the King making a short, pious Oration to them, declaring how destructive all sins were to Kingdoms, if not corrected by severe Laws; and how much true faith and piety did advance, secure, honor both Kings and Kingdoms; with his desire to consecrate the beginning of his reign to God, by promoting the one, and suppressing the other: He delivered them a writing containing the sum of what he desired to settle in this Council, with these expressions. *Ecce in brevi complexa vel exarata devotionis mea negotia in hujus tomo complicationis agnoscenda perlegite, perlecta discuite, discussa elimatis & discretis titulorum sententiis definite; ut pura et placens Deo vestrarum definitionum valitura discretio, & regni nostri primordia decoret exhortatione iustitia, & errores plebium digna cohibeat severitatis censura.* Whereupon they receiving the writing, inserted into the Acts of this Council, pursued it accordingly in their proceedings. First, they began with a publique Confession of their faith agreeable to that of Nice, & former Councils. After which they added 13 Chapters more: The 1. wherof declares and confirms the Kings just Title to the Crown; prohibiting from thenceforth all attempts against his Title or Government by word or deed; the other Canons concern the Jews, Religion, and Ecclesiastical affaires: which they clozed with a devout prayer for the King, *regnare feliciter, habere de clementia fructum, obtinere de iustitia premium, de pietate trophaum, &c.* the Bishops and Nobles too subscribing them: This King afterwards ratified them by his royal Decree signed with his own hand; commanding them not to be contemned, omitted, violated, subverted by any, but punctually, inviolably, and perpetually observed by all his Subjects under pain of excommunication, confiscation of the tenth part of their goods who had any, and fifty stripes with perpetual infamy to be inflicted on such who had no goods to forfeit.

Anno 682
Surius Concil.
Tom: 3. p. 9
10, 11.

The 13. Council of Toledo was summoned by the same King Eringius, consisting of all his Nobles and Great Officers, as well as Bishops, to whom he made a pious short speech, and then delivered them a writing containing in grosse the things he called them to consult of, and to digest into particular Titles, which they accordingly pursued; the first part of them concerned the forfeiture and confiscations of his Subjects, and the Nobility; the later, Church affairs; All these Councils of Toledo were like our antient Saxon Councils, consisting of the Nobility and Clergy, and enacting temporal as well as Ecclesiastical Lawes, which the King confirmed by his Subscription and Edicts. They began with a Confession of faith; because *Praconabile signum est, illis semper negotius interesse, qua & a pietate incipiunt, & per pietatis viscera temperantur; Pietas enim, ut ait Apostolus, ad omnia utilis est.*

1 Tim. 4.

Constantinus

(c) *Constantinus Pogonatus* the Emperor, by his *Divales iussiones*, or Imperial Edicts, *ad venerabilem Clerum & populum, & felicissimum exercitum Romana Civitatis concessit, Ut persona qui electus fuerit ad sedem Apostolicam, è vestigio absque tarditate Pontifex ordinaretur.* When as he could not be installed before that time, till the Emperor or his Exarch in Italy had given his Imperial assent to his election.

Anno 685. Pope John the 5. received the Emperor Justinian the 2d his Edictum, confirmans sextam Sanctam Synodum, & alias divales iussiones, concerning several annual rents and payments due to the Emperor from the Church of Rome, which he mitigated, because *Ecclesia Romana, annue minime exurgebat persolvere*: This Pope yielded all ready obedience to the Emperor as his Sovereign Lord.

(f) *Conon* being elected Pope after John's death by the joint consent of the Clergy, Army, and people of Rome, (who were at first divided, the Clergy electing Peter, and the Army Theodorus a Priest:) they all *ut mos est*, sent their instrument of his election subscribed with their hands, by some of the Clergy and people, to Theodorus the Exarch for his approbation; without which he had not been admitted to the Papacy. Where this Pope received *Divalem iussionem Domini Justiniani Principis*, for confirmation of the 6. General Synod of Constantinople held by his Father; *quam Synodum permisit ejus pietas illis palam & inconcussam perenniter custodire & conservare.*

(g) After the death of Conon, the Clergy and People of Rome being divided in their election of a Pope, one part chusing Theodorus, another Paschal, both obstinately maintaining their parties; at last the greater part of the Souldiers and Clergy elected Sergius, & in sacrosanctum palatium, & exinde in Lateranense Episcopium deduxerunt; whereupon Theodorus gave over his pretence, and submitted to Sergius his election; but Paschal would by no means do it, till enforced at last *volens nolens*, sending privily to John Platin the Exarch of Ravenna, to come to Rome with his Judges, whither he marched very privately: who forced Sergius to give him not only divers Ornaments antiently hanging before St. Peters Altar; but also One hundred pounds weight of gold, to confirm his election and purchase his peace. If Popes were thus subject to the Emperors Exarchs and chief Officers in Italy, much more then to the Emperors themselves.

The 6 Emperor Justinian An. 710. commanded Theodor his General to apprehend Felix Archbishop of Ravenna, and send him prisoner to Constantinople for his offences, which being accordingly executed, he had his eyes put out, and was afterwards banished into Pontica; At which time this Emperor sent an Imperial Edict to Pope Constantine, *per quam iussit eum ad regiam ascendere urbem* (Constantinople) *qui iussis Imperialibus attemperans, illico navigia fecit parari*, and went to Constantinople: the Emperor being then at Nice, commanded him to meet him at Nicomedia, which he did: where the next Lordsday he said Masse, and administered the Communion to the Emperor. The Emperor there renewing all the Priviledges of the Church, gave this Pope leave to return again to Rome. After which Anastatius the Emperor sent a second Edict by the Exarch of Italy to Rome, *per quam vera se orthodoxa fidei prædicatorem, & sancti Sexti Concilii confessorum esse omnibus declaravit.*

The Emperor (1) Leo Isaurus in the 9th year of his reign, published a Decree against Images, *Ut nulla Imago cuiuslibet Sancti, aut Martyris, aut Angeli ubicunque haberetur, maledicta enim omnia assererat*: sending word to Rome to Pope Gregory the 2d. *Si acquiesceret in hoc Pontifex gratiam Imperatoris haberet, Si et hoc fieri præpediret, a suo gradu decideret*, that he would degrade him from the Papacy, as he deposed Heraclius Patriarch of Constantinople, for dissuading, opposing his suppressing, defacing of Images, and refusing to subscribe his Decree against them; making Anastatius Patriarch in his stead; who concurred with him against Images. This Pope Gregory instead of obeying the Emperor herein: *Tributa Romanæ Urbis prohibuit, et Italix, scribens ad Leonem Epistolam dogmaticam non oportere Imperatorem de fide facere verbum*: (a falsehood in the highest degree, against all his Predecessors doctrine, unless qualified with the ensuing words in a right sense and subject, here misapplied) & *novitate violare antiqua dogmata Ecclesiæ Catholicæ.* And to preserve himself in his See, he mutinied all the Officers and Souldiers in Rome and Italy against the Emperor, so far as to resolve to march to Constantinople to depose him, and chuse another Emperor in his place, upon this quarrel of Images. * Some write, that Pope Gregory the 2d. excommunicated

Anno 685
Anastatius in
vita Benedict. 2.
Luitprandus,
Albo Floriacen-
sis, Platina, Ly-
dius, Barns, Ba-
læus.

Anno 685
d Anastatius,
Luitprandus,
Albo Floriacen-
Barns, Balæus;
Platina & Ly-
dius in Joan. 5.

Anno 686
f Anastatius,
Luitprandus,
Barns, Balæus;
Platina, Lydius,
Onuphrius, in
vita Cononis.

Anno 687
g Anastatius,
Barns, Balæus,
Albo Floriacen-
sis, Luitprandus,
Lydius, Onu-
phrius, Platina
in Sergio. Sa-
bellicus Æneid.
8. lib. 6. Cent.
7. c. 10. col. 490
491.

Anno 710
b Anastatius,
Luitprandus,
Albo Floria-
centis, Lydius,
Platina, Barns,
Balæus, in vita
Constantini.
Paulus Diacon-
us De Gestis
Longobardo-
rum, l. 6. c. 10.
Cent. Magd. 8
c. 10. col. 680.
681.

Anno 718
i Paulus Diacon-
us Hist. Rom:
l. 21, 22. p. 792,
293, 295, 296.
Anastatius, Lu-
itprandus, Albo
Floriacensis,
Barns, Balæus,
Platina, Lydius,
& others in
Gregorio 2.
Cent. Magd. 8.
c. 8. col. 531.
684.
* Zonaras Tom.
3. in Leone.
Cent. Magd. 8.
c. 16. col. 357.
531, 684.

cated the Emperor *Leo* in a Synod at *Rome*, and that the Emperor derided his excommunication, saying, *Idolatra est, et ipse excommunicatus a Deo*: However all accord, that he removed *Romam & Italiam, necnon & omnia tam Reipublica quam Ecclesiastica jura in Hesperijs ab obedientia Imperatoris* (as *Paulus Diaconus* and others express it) *Leonem per Epistolas tanquam impie agentem redarguens, & Romam cum tota Italia ab illius Imperio recedere faciens*: wherupon the Emperor appointed several of his Officers in *Italy* to apprehend, depose or kill him for his Treasons, whom he by mutinies caused to be slain themselves. (a) *John Damascen*, a Monk, opposed the Emperor in *Syria*, writing in defence of Images; *Regum est civilis administratio: We obey thee, O King, in things that belong to civil & secular affairs, quantum ad nos spectat, the government wherof is committed to you, But in Ecclesiastical matters, Pastors and Bishops have delivered Lawes and Constitutions to us; We may not remove those lawfull bounds which are set unto us*; as if their Canons or Decrees were of absolute force to bind Kings or Emperors without their consents, which they never did. This Emperor proceeded to put many Priests as well as others to death in *Constantinople* and elsewhere, who presumed to erect Images, and disobeyed his Imperial Edicts. Hereupon Pope (b) *Gregory* the 3d. who succeeded *Gregory* the 2. Anno 731. writ commonitory Letters to this Emperor *Leo*, three times one after another, to dissuade him from his opinion and proceedings against Images and the defenders of them, sending them by special Messengers, who were apprehended, their Letters taken from them, and they imprisoned for sundry moneths, then sent away with reproaches by the Emperor. An Argument of this Emperors Supremacy, and the Popes subjection to him.

[c] *Constantine* the Emperor surnamed *Copronymus*, in the 13th year of his reign, *Contra Imagines Concilium* 38. *Episcoporum congregavit in Palatio Hierix*, which continued together from the 3. of February to the 16. of August. After which, ascendit *Constantinus Imperator in ambonem, tenens Constantinum Monachum, qui fuit Sylei Episcopus, & cum orasset, voce magna pronuntiavit, dicens, Constantino universali Patriarcha multos annos*; creating him Patriarch of *Constantinople* by his Imperial power. Et deinde ascendit Imperator cum *Constantino scelerato Praefule & reliquis Episcopis forum, divulgantes orthodoxam (cacodoxam writes Paulus Diaconus) fidem in conspectu totius plebis, anathematizantes Germanum Patriarcham, & Gregorium Cyprium, & Johannem Chrysofoan Damascenum.*

Our * *Venerable Beda* in his *Commentarius* in *Pf. 50.* On these words, *Tibi soli peccavi*, resolves thus. *Rex enim si peccat, soli Deo peccat, quia nullus alius eum pro peccatis suis puniet.* Therefore not the Pope. And he determines, that *Reges & Sacerdotes merito omnes in Ecclesia perfecti vocantur, cum sint membra Reges & Sacerdotis summi; cum seipsos bene regere, cum sua corpora Domino hostiam veraciter exhibere didicerunt*; as well as Popes or Priests.

* *Synodus Sueffionensis* sub *Childerico Rege & Duce Pipino*, (consisting of the Nobility as well as Clergy) was summoned by *Pipin* the Kings Vicegerent, and all the Canons were made and consented unto by the Nobility as well as Clergy, as this ratification implies: *Si quis contra hoc Decretum quod 23. Episcopi cum aliis Sacerdotibus, una cum consensu Principis Pipini, & Optimatum Francozum consilio constituerunt, transgredi, vel legem irrumperere voluerit vel despexerit, judicandus sit ab ipso Principe, vel Episcopis, vel Comitibus, componat secundum quod in lege scriptum est.*

To pretermitt the manifold humble supplications and obsecrations of Pope d *Zacharias* (elected Pope by the People) to *Luitprandus* King of the *Lombards*, and *Thrasimundus*, with his Presents to them, to restore the Cities and Lands they had seized in *Italy* to the Church of *Rome*, which they denied or deferred to do. *Aistulphus* King of the *Lombards* demanding an annual Tribute from the Citizens of *Rome*, Per unum quodq; scilicet caput singulos auri solidos annue inferri, & threatening to besiege the City if they refused to pay it; Pope *Stephen* the 3d. his successor, quem cunctus populus consona voce sibi elegit Pontificem (not the Clergy alone) when he could not pacify *Aistulphus*, neither by his Petitions, nor Gifts sent unto him by his Embassadors; (obnix per eas postulavit pacis foedera,) He therupon sent to *Constantinople* to the Emperor *Constantinus*, intreating *Imperialem clementiam, ut cum exercitu ad tuendas Italiae partes, modis omnibus adveniret, & de iniquitatis filijs mansolas, Romanam hanc urbem, vel cunctam Italiam liberaret.* But receiving no ayd thence, and *Aistulphus* proceeding in his menaces and Invasions upon the Popes Territories; he therupon writ humble Letters, and sent Messengers to *Pepin* and *Charles* Kings of *France*, to relive them from their

a Oratio 2. De Imaginibus, P. 736.

Anno 733
b Anastatius, Luitprandus, Albo Floriacensis & Platina in Gregorio 3. Centur. Magd. 8 c. 8. col. 531.

Anno 747
c Paulus Diaconus hist. Rom. l. 22. p. 307. Cent. Magd. 8. c. 9.

Anno 720
* Operum Tom: 2. p. 561 In Ezra Exposit. Allegorica, l. 2. Tom: 4. p. 348

Anno 744
* Surius, Tom. 3. p. 40, 41

An. 746, 752, 753
d Anastatius, Luitprandus, Platina, Albo Floriacensis, Lydius, and others in Zach. & Stephano 3. Centur. 8 c. 10. col. 707, to 723. Abbas Vspersensis Chronicon.

their oppressions. Afterwards, this Pope repaired in person to King Aistulphus to *Papia*; where presenting him with many rich gifts, *nimis eum obsecrans est atque lachrymis profusus eum petiuit, ut dominicas quas abstulerat redderet oves, & propria propriis restitueret; sed nullo modo apud eum hac impetrare valuit. Sed & imperialis missus simili modo petiit, & Imperiales literas illi tribuit, & non obtinere posuit.* Herupon he petitioned Aistulphus (who detained him prisoner) that he would grant him leave to go into *France*; telling him, *Si tua voluntas est me relaxandi, mea omnino est ambulandi, &c.* Upon which he released and permitted him to walk into *France*; where coming to King *Pipin* and *Charles* his sonne, *Christianissimum Regem lachrymabiliter deprecatus est, ut per pacis fœdera causam beati Petri & Republicæ Romanorum dissonaret*: (having writ a Letter to them before in *e St. Peters* and all the *Saints, Martyrs*, and blessed *Virgins* names, exhorting, praying, conjuring them to help *St. Peter* & the Church of *Rome* in this emergent necessity.) Who thereupon treated with Aistulphus, and discovering his fraudulent shifts, *tota se virtute professus est decertare pro causa Sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ*; whereupon he marched with an Army into *Italy*, besieged *Papia*, and forced Aistulphus to surrender all the Cities, Lands he had taken from the Church of *Rome*; *De quibus omnibus receptis Civitatibus Rex Pipinus donationem in scriptis a beato Petro, atque a Sancta Romana Ecclesia, vel omnibus in perpetuum Pontificibus Apostolica (edictis misit possidendum, asserens & hoc, quod nulla eum copia, &c. suadere valeret, ut quod semel beato Petro obtulit, auferret.* Thus he restored this Pope to his See and possessions (who had crowned him King of *France* against right) upon what Terms you shall hear anon, from some of his Successors. It is observable that there were no Excommunications, Interdicts, Anathemas used against Aistulphus or others by this Pope, to force them to obedience, which succeeding Popes introduced; but only humble prayers, supplications, tears, Petitions both to Aistulphus, Pipin, and Charles, (as the Popes Superiors, not his Underlings and Vassals,) and that for *St. Peters* Patrimony.

Concilium apud Palatium Vrbis was summoned, and the Canons therein made ratified by King *Pipin* Edict, who desired, *Hæc inconculsa et inviolata esse*, being made by his direction; *quia facultas modo non sufficiat ad integrum, tamen aliqua ex parte vult esse correctum, quod Ecclesia Dei valde dignoscitur esse contrariam: Among other things, it was decreed, cap. 4. Ut his in anno Synodus fiat: Prima Synodus mense primo, quod est Martii Kalend. ubicunque Dominus Rex iusserit, in eius præsentia.* So that he must both summon and preside in it.

Pope *Paul*, *Stephens* Successor (elected to be Pope by the Roman Clergy and people quia validior & fortior erat Theophylacto, whom some of the people elected, & in eius domo congregati residebat;) although he oft times sent his Nuncios, cum obsecrationibus et monitionibus literis Constantino & Leoni Augustis, pro restituendis, confirmandisque in pristinum venerationis statum sacratissimis Imaginibus Domini Dei, & Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, sanctæ eius Genitricis, atque beatorum Apostolorum, omniumque sanctorum Prophetarum, Martyrum & Confessorum; yet they would not hearken to him, but prosecuted those who violated their Edicts made against their adoration.

After the death of Pope *Paul* (b) one *Toto*, *Dux Nepefinæ Civitatis*, gathering together a great multitude of Soldiers and Rusticks out of *Tuscia*, and entering with them into *Rome*, in the house of *Toto*, elegerunt ibidem Constantinum fratrem ejusdem Totonis, Laicum existentem, to be Pope, whom many of them accompanying in their Arms in *Lateranensem Patriarcham*, continuo accersito *Georgio Episcopo*, compulerunt eum ut ordinem Clericatus eidem Constantino tribueret; who refusing at first to do it, they at last by threats and force compelled him out of fear, to ordain him a Deacon and Subdeacon at one time against the Sacred Canons: and enforced all the people to take an Oath to him; the next Lords day bringing him with a multitude of armed Souldiers into *St. Peters* Church, he was there consecrated Pope by the said *George* and two Bishops more. Et sic per anni spatium & mensem unum sedem Apostolicam invasam detinuit. Which *Christophorus* and *Sergius* his sonne bewailing, went to this *Constantine*, feining themselves to become Monks, received an absolution of their Oath from him, and then departing privily to *Desiderius* King of the *Lombards*, and *Theodoric* Duke of *Spoletum*, obnixè eundem Regem deprecati sunt ejus auxilium tribui, ut talis novitatis error ab Ecclesia Dei amputaretur. Whereupon they procuring forces from King *Desiderius* and entering *Rome* by night, after very many contests, apprehended Pope *Constantine* as an invader, uncanonically ordained. Then

Y

e Stephani 3.
Epist. 3 & 4.
Gent. Magd. 8:
c. 10. col. 707,
to 740.

Anno 719
* Surius, Tom.
3. p. 41, 42.

Anno 717
d Anastasius,
Luitprandus,
Barnes, Balazis,
in vita Pauli:
Paulus Diaconus
Rerum Roman.
lib. 22.
& 23. Centur.
Magd. 8. c. 10.

Anno 763
f Anastasius,
Luitprandus,
Barnes, Balazis,
Lydius,
Platina, Oruphrius in Stephano 4. Cent.
Magd. 8 c. 10.
16.

Chri.

Christophorus Pannonius, aggregans Sacerdotes ac Primates Cleri, & Optimates Militie atque universum exercitum, & Cives honestos, omnisque populi Romani cœtum a magno usq; ad parvum, pertractantes pariter concordaverunt omnes una mente, unoque consensu in persona beatissimi Stephani 4. and consecrated him Pope. After which, in a Council at Rome, Constantine was deprived, degraded, as ordained against the Canons, the Orders conferred by him whiles Pope, nulled, and the persons ordained by him either thrust into Monasteries, as Monks, or re-ordained: only the baptism conferred by them was reputed valid. After this, though Constantine excused himself, that he was made Pope against his will by the People and Souldiers, yet he was thrust Prisoner into a Monastery, and had his eyes there put out by a party of Souldiers, of which he died. Afterwards by the Council and assistance of Duke Maurice and Desiderius King of Lombardy, one Michael Schrivianus, qui nullo Sacerdotali fungebatur honore, was elected Archbishop of Ravenna by the Officers and Army with a strong hand: whereupon this Pope sent into France to King Charles, and by his assistance procured Michael to be ejected out of his Bishoprick, and sent Prisoner to Rome, and Leo an Archdeacon to be chosen in his place, who was ordained and consecrated Archbishop at Rome by Pope Stephen. Hereupon Desiderius seized some lands belonging to the Church of Rome, and refused to restore them upon this Popes Petition, who thereupon sent supplicatory Letters to King Charles and Charlemain into France for aid against him. Upon which Desiderius marching into Rome with an Army, entred into the Popes Palace and presence with armed Souldiers, shut him up in his Palace, apprehended Christophorus and Sergius who set up this Pope, and notwithstanding his intercessions on their behalf, put out their eyes, and thrust them into the Monastery of St. Agatha and Clare Scauri, where they soon after died, and this Pope too through grief.

Anno 772
c Anastasius in
Adriano 1.
Cent. Magd. 8.
c. 10. col. 742.
to 747. 928,
929. Blondus
Decad. 2. l. 2.
Regno l. 2.

(a) Pope Adrian the 1. being elected Pope after him, Desiderius for fear of Charles and Charlemain entering into Italy, desired Peace with him, promising with an Oath to do him all that right which he denied unto Stephen; whereupon the Pope demanded the restitution of the City of Faventia, the Dukedom of Ferrara, and other lands, *quas sancta memoria Pipinus Rex, & ejus filii Carolus & Carolomannus excellentissimi Reges Francorum, & Patricii Romanorum, beato Petro concedentes, obtulerunt*; who not only refused to surrender them, but seized upon more. After many supplicatory Letters for restitution, and treaties to that purpose spent in vain, Desiderius threatened to besiege Rome it self; whereupon the Pope dispatched Letters and Messengers to King Charles of France, his Patron, by Sea, *deprecavit ejus excellentiam, ut sicut suis Pater sancta memoria Pipinus, & ipse succurreret atque subveniat Sancta Dei Ecclesia atque afflicta Romanorum seu Exarchatus Ravennentium provincia, atque plenarias beati Petri justicias & ablatas Civitates ab eodem Desiderio Rege exigeret*. Whereupon Charles by his Messengers, exhorted him to restore all these Cities and Territories to the Church: who after many Messages and Treaties, gave this peremptory answer, *Se minime quicquam redditurum*. King Charles hereupon marched with a great Army into Italy, admonishing Desiderius without any battle, peaceably to restore those Cities and Lands to the Church, who yet refused to do it. After which Desiderius flying, and all his forces being dispersed, the Cities and Territories craving pardon, returned to their obedience to the Church of Rome, and took an Oath to continue faithfull to it. Charles having reduced all Places and Territories to their obedience, took his journey to Rome it self, beyond the Popes expectation: where being magnificently entertained, he made a New Grant and Donation of all the Lands formerly granted by Pepin to the Church of Rome, subscribed with his own hand, and the hands of all the Bishops, Abbots, Dukes and Secretaries then present. Then returning, he carried Desiderius and his wife Prisoners with him into France.

Anno 772.

b Gratian Distinctio 67.
Cent. Magd. 8.
c. 7. col: 1511.
c. 10. col. 748.
Sigbertus, An.
773. Centur.
Magd. 8. col.
928.

This Pope Adrian, Anno 774. holding a Council at Rome, consisting of 153 Bishops and Abbots, by way of gratitude, decreed the right of electing the Pope himself and all other Bishops, with their Investitures, and ordering the Roman See, unto Charles and his Successors; thus recorded by Gratian himself, Distinct. 63. *Adrianus, prefaced with this Rubrick, authorized by sundry Popes, Imperatoris huius habet eligendi Pontificem.* (c) Adrianus Papa Romam venire Carolum Regem ad defendendas res Ecclesie postulavit; Carolus vero Romam veniens Papiam obsedit, ibique relicto exercitu in sancta resurrectione ab Adriano Papa Romæ honorifice susceptus est;

est, post *ascensam resurrectionem reversus Papiam*, cepit Desiderium Regem: deinde Romanam reversus, Congruit ibi Synodum cum Adriano Papa in Patriarchatu Lateranensis in Ecclesia Sancti Salvatoris, qua Synodus celebrata est a 353. Episcopis Religiosis & Abbatibus, (a) Adrianus autem Papa cum universali Synodo tradiderunt Carolo, Ius et Potestatem eligendi Pontificem, et ordinandi Apostolicam sedem: dignitatem quoque Patriciatus ipsi concesserunt. Insuper, Archiepiscopos et Episcopos per singulas Provincias ab eo investituris accipere diffinivit; ut nisi a Rege laudetur et investatur Episcopus, a nemine consecratur; et quicunque contra hoc Decretum ageret, anathematis vinculo eum innodabit, et nisi resipisceret bona ejus publicari præcepit. In which Decree these things are very observable: 1. That this Council even in Rome it self, was called, constituted by *Charles the Great*, whiles King of *France*, before he was crowned Emperor. 2ly. That it granted to him no new thing, but an antient right belonging to the Roman Emperors, to wit the right, power of electing the Pope himself, and ordering the See Apostolic. 3ly. It granted him the dignity of a Patricius, or Protector of *Rome*. 4ly. That all Archbishops and Bishops in all Provinces (therefore in *France* and in *Spain*, as the Glosse observes, as well as other places) should receive their investitures from the Emperor alone. 5ly. That none of them shall be recommended, invested, or consecrated a Bishop by any person, unlesse first recommended and invested a Bishop by the King. 6ly. That whosoever should transgress this Decree, shall not only be excommunicated, but also forfeit his goods, unlesse he repented. What greater evidence for his absolute regal Supremacy over the Pope and all other Archbishops and Bishops in Ecclesiastical matters, then this Councils Decree held in *Rome* it self, and ratified by the Pope himself in *St. Peters* pretended unerring chair?

(a) Cardinal *Baronius* being unable to untie this Gordian knot, takes upon him to cut it quite asunder, obitimately denying, there was any such Council as this held, or any such Decree made; as doth his Apologist (b) *Gretzer* the Jesuit, who pretend it a forgery of *Sigebert*: But Pope *Leo* the 3d. mentioning it in his subsequent Decree recorded next after it by *Gratian*, and he in other Decrees there recorded by him; *Bartholomæus Buxiensis*, Dr. *Thierry*, and all other Glossers on *Gratian* glossing it as unquestionable: our antient Historian (c) *William of Malmesbury* and Pope *Gregory* cited by him, (d) *Eutropius* Presbyter, (e) *Platina*, (f) *Lupoldus*, (g) *Theodoricus de Niemi*, (h) *Marsilius Patavinus*, (i) *Radulphus de Columna*, (k) *Occam*, (l) *Johannis Semeca*, (m) *Antonius de Rosellis*, (n) Cardinal *Turre Cremata*, (o) Cardinal *Zabarella*, (p) Cardinal *Cusanus*, (q) Cardinal *Comeracensis*, (r) *Nauclerus*, (s) *Martinius Polonus*, (t) *Wernerus*, (u) *Chronicon Richepurgense*, (x) *Matthew Paris*, (y) *Mat. Westmünster*, (z) *Robertus Gagninus*, (a) *Boetius Epon*, (b) *Omphrius*, and (c) sundry others, mentioning and asserting its reality, it must needs be both unpardonable impudency and falsity for these shamelesse Lyars to gainsay it, without the least shadow of truth, or evidence to the contrary, near one thousand years after this Synod.

i De Translatione Imperii, Sect. Hoc itaque. k Part 3. Tract. 2. l. 3. c. 3. l In Distinctio. 63. m Part 2. Monarchia, c. 8. n In Distinct. 63. o De Schismate lib. sect. Quis. p Lib. 3. Concordia Cathol. c. 3. q De Ecclesie Autoritate, part 1. cap. 1. Sect. Ex eadem. r Ad Annum 772. s Ad Ann. 788. t Ad Ann. 784. u Chron: ad Ann. 774. x Anno 1112. y Anno 773. z Lib. 4. in Carolo Magno. a De Regal. nu. 16, 17. b In vita Gregorii 7. c Dr. Crakenhorp of the Popes Temporal Monarchy, c. 5. p. 75, to 80. Aventinus Annal. c. 4. Polychr. l. 5. c. 16.

The (a) 2d. Synod of *Nice* was summoned by the Decree of *Constantine* and *Irene*, as the Prologue to it attests, Imperantibus piissimis & Christo deditissimis Dominis nostris, cum matre sua *Irene*, per pium illozum Imperatorum sancte Obviam terrarum gubernantium Decretum congregata est. And in their Epistles to the Bishops, (divina voluntate, et nostra gratia jussuque sacraei nostri Imperii congregatis in Nicena Synodo:) treating of the benefits received by Christs incarnation, and his imperial office and duty, they assert: *Iesus Christus primus factus summus Sacerdos*, hujus appellationis reddidit NOS consortes, viri Sacerdotes, &c. Hanc igitur ob beatitudinem que nobis donata est, nobilitatisque causa qua Deus nos adoptavit, Imperatoria nostra & pia Majestas ad concordiam

a See Mat. Westm: Anno 773. Polychronicon, l. 5. c. 26. Cent. Magd. 8. c. 7. col. 511. c. 9. 572. Aventinus Annal. Boiorum, l. 4. Antoninus, Tit. 14. c. 1. sect. 6. Mutius, German: Chron. l. 7. Blondus Decad. 2. l. 1. Sigeberti Chron. Anno 772. Dr. Barons & Balazs in Hadriano a

a Anno 774. nu. 10, &c. b Apologia pro Baronio c. 1. l. 2. Contr. Republic. c. 1. c Hist. Angliz. l. 2. d De Juribus Imperat: l. e In vita Paschalis 1. f German. Principum, l. 8. g De Privilegiis et Juribus imperii ff. post. b De Translatione Imperii, c. 10.

Anno 787. Surius Concil. Tom. 3. p. 48. 50, 51, 78. 127, 138, 178. 182, 187, 190. Cent. Magd. 8. cap. 9. col. 588. &c. Paulus Diacon. Hist. Rom. l. 23.

diam et pacem universum Romanum Imperium erigere contendens, præcipue tamen sanctarum Dei nostri Ecclesiarum statum, qua possumus cura et consilio conservare intendimus. After which they granted all assembled in this Synod this Liberty. Damus quoque unicuique libertatem, ut sine omni formidine eloquatur, quæ secum animo deliberabit, quo veritas magis magisque elucescat: et intrepida voce audiat. Then speaking of *Tharaseus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who offered to accept that office when elected to it, as too heavy for his shoulders, omnibus libertatem dedimus, ut si quid adversus virum haberent, dicerent, ut purgare sese posset. After they direct, that the Letters of *Pope Adrian* should first be read in the Synod, Post id etiam duas quaterniones umbelicas conclusas legis, &c. ut per eas cognoscatis, quam sit Catholica Ecclesia sententia & iudicium. Sancta Synodus respondit: Servet Deus Imperium eorum, producat illorum tempora Deus, augeat Dominos eos gratia. Then they proceeded according to their instructions. When *(d) Tharaseus* President of this Synod would have caused another Book to be read before *Pope Adrian's* Letter, contrary to the Emperors direction, *Leontius gloriosissimus*, Imperatori a Secretis, dixit, Sacra & a Deo collecta Synodus meminert, in priore conventionione, Di obferantium magnorum Imperatorum nostrorum fuisse lectas literas, in quibus mentio fiebat sanctissimi & beatissimi Archiepiscopi veteris Romæ, et religiosissimorum Pontificum Orientis Synodicarum literarum, quas in duabus quaternionibus adducimus (which they ordered to be read first) de quibus vos, quid fieri vultis, admonemus? Sancta Synodus dixit, Legantur libelli beatissimi & sanctissimi Archiepiscopi veteris Romæ. Et legit eos *Nicephorus gloriosissimus ab Imperialibus secretis*. The Emperors Great Officers and Privy Counsellors being present in this Synod, directed the proceedings therein, as these passages, & *(d) presentibus simul & audientibus Illustrissimis juxta ac magnificentissimis Senatoribus, nimirum Petronio Petrosopho exconsule Patricio, & Theophylacto Comite Imperialis obsequii, Joanno regio ostiario, &c.* with others there named evidence. *Pope Adrian's* Letters there read, are thus directed, *(c) Dominis piissimis et serenissimis Atacozibus, &c. Constantino et Irenæ Augustis, Adrianus Servus servorum Dei.* In the beginning of his Epistle he writes, *Deus in Ecclesiæ suæ faciem respiciens, pietatem vestram & prædestinatam Serenitatem Imperatorie mansuetudinis, ad professionem fidei vocare non dedignatus est, quo omnem emendari improbitatem PER VOS contigat, veritatemque in lucem perducatur.* Then he subjoins, *Quemadmodum enim a Superioribus hæreseos schismatibus eramus conterriti; ita nunc rursum per vestram iussuionem (their summons to him) exultatione sumus perfusi: nam in regia vestra Civitate venerandum Imaginum causa iussistis retractari, &c. Nuper vero per piam vestram iussuionem de voluntate vestra instructi, Omnipotentis Deo pro vestro imperio precibus sollicitantes, gratiarum actione gloriam istius predicamus. Illud autem in stabilimentum & confirmationem regni vestri maxime sit, quod magnum opus hoc aggressi estis, quod sine mediatione vestra in hoc mundo vir fieri potest, &c. Vos autem partem habebatis cum eo, qui nunc in divina requiescit, Constantino Imperatore, & Helena ejus matre, qui orthodoxam fidem illustrarunt et confirmarunt, adeoque sanctam matrem vestram catholicam et spirituales, Romanam Ecclesiam exaltarunt, ut plane spes sit, eorum piam appellationem in vestra cognomenta piissima et a Deo data, transmutam, ut per omnem terrarum orbem nobis Constantinus, et nova Helena prædicetur, per quos sancta Catholica et Apostolica Ecclesia renovabitur, &c.* After which relating the story of *Constantines* baptism; he adds, *Non immemor accepti beneficii Ecclesias adificare cepit, &c. nec alia de causa, quam ut Christianissimum in lucem et veritatem, ubique multum probeheret, et omnes gentes a cultu idolorum et diabolica deceptione converteret;* which

^a Surius, p. 65.

^b Ibid. 72, 78, 91, 127.

^c Surius, p. 64, 65, 69.

which he esteemed his bounden duty. This Pope clozeth his Epistle with this submissive supplication: **Obsecrantes igitur ex animi serboze vestram mansuetudinem attestando, et veluti p̄sentes genibus aduoluti, et coram vestigiis pedum volutando; ego cum fratribus meis coram Deo supplico, obtestor, adjuro, sacras Imágenes in ipsa Regia Urbe, et in utrisque Græciæ partibus in pristinum statum restitui et firmari jubeatis.* In this Council there are (d) many passages concerning the propagation, defence, protection of the Orthodox faith, religion, and suppression of heresies by Christian Emperors; and these frequent Acclamations, Prayers for *Constantine* and *Irene*, who summoned and directed this Council, *Multi anni Imperatoribus, Constantino & Irene magnis Regibus: Orthodoxis Imperatoribus multi anni. Custodes fidei Domine protegas: Propugnatores Ecclesiæ Domine confirma. Nobis Constantini et nobis Helenæ æterna memoria: pacificam vitam da illis Domine. Amen.* As this Pope, so (e) *Tharafius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, in his Epistle to *Constantine* and *Irene*, written from, and in the name of this Synod, styles them: *Universi Populi Christiani Principes ac Duces; ad pietatem veritate sermonem contulistis, et orthodoxæ fidei pietatisque figuram descripsistis. Unde fidelibus tanquam faces ardentes relucetis, et periclitanti Ecclesiæ manum porrexistis. Nam et sanas doctrinas conservastis, et dissidentium unanimiter concordiam gubernastis: pietatis officia per vos sunt stabilita: Quamobrem, (c) Os noster impletum est gaudio, & lingua nostra exultatione. Quid enim splendidius magnificentiusque esse posset Principi, quam Ecclesiasticarum constitutionum firmitatem et stabilitum integrum conservavisse, &c? Neque putastis ferendum aut tolerabile, quod in reliquis omnibus rebus bene inter nos conveniret, de vitæ autem vestræ summa et præcipuo, nimirum fide et pace Ecclesiæ inter nos essent dissidia; maxime cum nostrum caput Unicum sit Christus, (nor the Pope) nos autem deinceps illius unius corporis membra, propter eam quæ inter nos communem fidem et sententiam.*

This idolatrous Synod of *Nice*, and Pope *Adrian* having confirmed not only the lawfulness of making, but adoration of Images, and *Elephantus* Archbishop of *Toledo* in *Spain* having broached an heretical Opinion concerning the Sonship of Christ; thereupon King *Charles* the Great, Anno 794. summoned a Council at *Frankford*, to which Abbot *Alcuinus* was called, who writ several Treatises against *Elephantus*. The Acts whereof begin thus, *Sacro incitante spiritu, ac zelo fidei Catholica (cintillam subfervescere, clementissimi & tranquillissimi gloriosique Caroli Regis, Domini terræ, Imperii ejus decreto per diversas provincias regni ejus ditioni subiecta, multitudo Antistitum sacris obtemperando præceptis, in uno collegio adgregata convenit. When they were late, præcipiente & Præsentente piissimo & gloriosissimo Domino nostro Carolo Rege, (Charles being not only present, but President in that Synod) jubente Rege, Elephantus his Epistle being read with a lowd voyce; the King thereupon made a long Oration against it; and then demanded, Quid vobis videtur? Cumque impetrata et concessa esset invisita dilatio per dies aliquot, placuit ejus mansuetudini, ut unusquisque quicquid Ingenii captu rectius sentire potuisset, per sacras syllabas die statuto ejus clementiæ oblatum, deferret. Whereupon Paulinus Bishop of Aquilegia and others rendered a refutation of Elephantus his Opinion, in the cloze whereof they made a large Prayer to God for King Charles his prosperous successe, and peaceable Government of the Church and Kingdom, and use these expressions: Sit Dominus et Pater, sit REX & SACERDOS, sit omnium Christiana.*

* Ibid. p. 69.

d Surin, Ibid. p. 83, 90, 138, 197.

e Ibid. p. 187, 188.

f Psalm 125

Anno 794
e Surin Concil
Tom. 3. p. 226,
231, to 252.
Regino lib. 3.
Cent. Magd.
8. cap. 9.
col. 616, 617.
* Alcuini
Opera, col. 903
to 1007.

b Sarius, Ibid.
p. 237, 247,
248, &c.

i Regino.
Abbas Vſper-
genſis Chron:
p. 270.
Sarius Concl.
Tom: 3. p. 210.
Cent: Magd. 8
c. 9. col: 640, to
651

Anno 796
a Epistola 29
col. 1539, 1540

b Col. 1462.
1502, 1503.

Christianum moderatissimus gubernator, auxiliante Domino nostro Jesu Christo, &c. After which followes an (e) Epistle of all the Bishops of Germany, France, Aquitain, and other places met in this Synod, to the Bishops and Clergy of Spain, reciting their Summons by King Charles, Domini Regis nostri, præcipua pietate et laudabili sapientia adſedente et auxiliante Nobis; by whose direction and assistance they had read, debated, and refuted Elepandus his Epistle: Then follows this Kings own Epistle to Elepandus, and the Clergy of Spain, with this inscription, Carolus Gratia Dei Rex Francorum, & Longobardorum, ac Patricius Romanorum, Filius & Defensor Sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ, &c. Wherein he refutes Elepandus his Opinion, makes a large, pious, Orthodox Confession of his faith, in imitation of Constantine the Great: adding, *Hanc igitur fidem orthodoxam, & ab Apostolicis traditam doctores, & ab universali servatam Ecclesia, Nos pro unione nostrarum partium utique in omnibus SERVARE & PRÆDICARE PROFITEMUR, quia non est in alia aliqua salus, nisi in illa.* Exhorting them to return to the Church, and embrace this faith, *Habetote Nos cooperatores salutis vestræ, Catholicæ pacis auxiliatores, &c.* In this Council he likewise (i) condemned the adoration of Images, against the Epistle and resolution of Pope Adrian, and the Council of Nice, which this Council revoked, as neither æcumenical, nor as any thing: *ut nec septima, nec aliquid diceretur, quasi supervacua ab omnibus abdicata est*, writes Abbas Vſpergenſis.

Our famous Country-man Flaccus Alchuinus Abbas, (Scholar to our Venerable Bede, and Tutor to the Emperor Charles the Great,) thus defines, describes the Office, duty of a (b) King, with the care he ought to have of the Orthodox Faith, Church, Religion, and Ecclesiastical affairs, asserting the Emperors Supremacy over the Church and Pope himself; *Regis est, omnes iniquitates, pietatis sue potentia opprimere, &c. Ecclesiarum Christi sint defensores et tutores, ut servorum Dei orationibus longa vivant prosperitate.* In his Epistola 1. to King Charles the Great, (to whom he usually directed his Epistles under the stile of, *a Deo dilecto, atque a Deo electo* David Regi, pouring out many fervent thanksgivings and prayers to God for him both in Verse and Prose) he writes, *Tota sancta Dei Ecclesia unanimo charitatis concentu gratias agere Deo omnipotenti debet: Qui tam piæ, prudentem & justum, his novissimis mundi & periculosis temporibus, populo Christiano perdonavit clementissimo munere Rectorem et Defensorem: qui præva corrigere, et recta corroborare, et sancta sublimare omni intentione studeat, et nomen Domini Dei excelsi per multa terrarum spatia dilatare gaudeat, et Catholicæ fidei lumen in extremis mundi partibus incendere conetur.* *Hæc est, O dulcissime David, gloria, laus, et merces tua in iudicio dici magni, &c.* Epist. 11. he writes, *Tres Personæ altissimæ in mundo fuerunt; Apostolica sublimitas, quæ beati Petri Principis Apostolorum sedem Vicario munere regere solet. Alia est Imperialis dignitas, et secundæ Romæ secularis potentia. Terna est Regalis dignitas, in qua vos Domini nostri Jesu Christi dispensatio Rectorem Christiani populi disposuit, cæteris præfatis dignitatibus potentia excellentiorem, sapientia clariozem, regni dignitate sublimiorem.* (b) *Ecce in te solo tota salus Ecclesiarum Christi inclinata recumbit. Tu binder scelerum; tu Rector errantium, tu Consolator merentium, tu exaltatio bonorum. Nonne Romana in sede, ubi religio maximæ pietatis quondam claruerit, ibi extrema impietatis exempla emerſerunt? Ipsi cordibus suis excæcati caput suum excæcaverunt. Nec ibi timor Dei, nec sapientia, nec charitas esse videtur:* Then relating sundry abuses fit to be redressed both in Rome and elsewhere: he infers, *Et his omnibus tibi plena scientia data est a Deo, ut per te sancta Dei Ecclesia (not by the Pope) in populo Christiano regatur, exaltetur, et conservetur.* Epist. 12. he useth these expressions

expressions of this *Charles*. O dulcissime decus populi Christiani! O defensio Ecclesiarum Christi! consolatio vitæ præsentis. Quibus tuam beatitudinem omnibus necessarium est votis exaltare, intercessionibus adjuvare, quatenus per vestram prosperitatem Christianum tueatur Imperium, fides Catholica defendatur, justitiæ regula omnibus innotescat. Ecce quid actum est de Apostolica sede in civitate præcipua (Roma) in dignitate excellentissima, quæ omnia vestro tantummodo servantur iudicio (not to the Popes, nor Synods) ut prudentissimo consilio sapientiæ vobis a Deo datæ, temperata consideratione corrigantur quæ corrigenda sunt, et conserventur quæ conservanda sunt; et quæ clementia divina gessit pietas extollentur in laudem illius, qui saluum fecit servum suum. (f) Epist. 13. Vestra clarissima voluntas in hoc omni laboret studio, ut Christi nomen clarificetur, ut ejus divina potentia per fortitudinis vestræ triumphos * multis terrarum regnis innotescat; quatenus non solum magnitudo potestatis te Regem ostendat, sed etiam instantia seminandi verbi Dei, in laude Domini nostri Jesu Christi PRÆDICATOREM EFFICIAT. Ideo divina gratia his duobus mirabiliter te ditabit muneribus, id est, terrene felicitatis imperio, et spiritalis sapientiæ latitudine, ut in utroque proficias, donec ad æternæ beatitudinis pervenias felicitatem: Parce populo Christiano, et Ecclesias Christi defende, &c. Epist. 14. He adds, Sanctæ religionis serboze omnibus præcellis. Felix populi qui tali Principe gaudet; cujus solium dissipat iniquitatem. Nam quod olim Apostolici Patres suis scriptis in confirmationem Fidei Catholicæ, diversis mundi partibus peragerunt; hoc vestra sanctissima sollicitudo implere non cessat. Hoc mirabile et speciale in te, pietatis mi Domine prædicamus, quod tanta devotione Ecclesias Christi a perfidorum doctrinis intrinsecus purgare tuerique niteris; quanto forinsecus à Paganorum vastatione defendere vel propagare curaris. His duobus gladiis (the two swords then by Gods appointment belong to the Emperor, not the Pope) venerandam excellentiam de terra levas; armabit divina Potentia: In quibus Victor laudabilis et Triumphator gloriosus eris. His Epist. 24. to the same King *Charles*, hath this Exordium, Gloria & Laus Deo Omnipotenti pro salute & prosperitate vestra; Dulcissime mi David, atque pro omni honore & sapientia, in quibus te speciali gratia omnibus supercellere fecit. Perpetua gratiarum actio resonet, & assidua sanctarum intercessio orationum ad Deum dirigatur, quatenus longæva prosperitate, feliciter vivas, valeas, et regnes, ad correctionem et exaltationem sanctæ suæ Ecclesiæ, ut sub protectione tuæ venerandæ potestatis secunda quiete Deo deserviat. After which craving his favor in two Ecclesiastical matters expressed in his Epistle; he concludes it thus; Tu prosperitas regni, tu salus populi; Tu Decus Ecclesiæ, tu omnium protectio fidelium Christi. Nobis igitur sub umbra potentia, & sub tegmine pietatis tua divina concessit gratia religiosam ducere vitam; atque secunda quiete Deo Christo deservire. Ideo sollicita mente, & pia intentione, pro tua prosperitate & salute curam habere, & intercedere justum & necessarium habemus Domine desiderantissime, atque omni honore dignissime David Rex. In his (d) Epist. 106. ad Karolum Imperatorem, he hath this passage: Unde patenter cognosce poterit, non tantum Imperatoria vestra prudentia potestatem a Deo ad solum mundi Regimen, SED MAXIME AD ECCLESIAE PRÆSIDIUM et sapientiæ decorem collatum. Siquidem præter Imperiales et publicas curas, evangelicas questiones Academicis vestris a nobis enucleandas inquiritis, &c. Epistola 83 & 84. contain an Admonition of this *Charles* to Pope *Leo*, where he styles himself *Karolus Dei gratia Rex, & Defensor Sanctæ Ecclesiæ*. Wherein among other things he

c Col. 1506,
1611, 1612,
1613, 1649.
* Many Pagan
Kings & Nations
were converted to Christianity
by his means, recorded
at large Cent.
Magd. 8, & 9,
cap. 2.

d Col. 1649

he admonisheth this Pope (who promised to do him *Fealty* upon the certificate of the Charter of his Election sent to him) *De Simoniaca subvertenda heresi, qua sancta Ecclesia corpus multis malè maculat in locis.* Then informs the Pope, *Nostum est secundum auxilium divinæ pietatis, sanctam ubique Christi Ecclesiam ab incurfu Paganorum, et ab infidelium devastatione, armis defendere foris, et intus Catholicæ fidei agnitione munire.* Vestram est sanctissime Pater elevatis ad Deum cum Moyfi manibus nostram adjuvare militiam, quatenus vobis intercedentibus Deo ductore et datore, populus Christianus super inimicos sui sancti nominis ubique semper habeat victoriam, &c. In his Poemata, Section 221. he writes thus to him. Tu decus Ecclesiæ, Rector, defensor, amator. And elsewhere. Rex Carolus, Caput orbis; Europæ venerandus apex: altaque disponens venturæ incensa Romæ. Plurima nempe tibi sunt emendanda per orbem. (f) Rex, O Rector, O Decus Ecclesiæ: Sæpe est quippe tuus populus; tu pastor ovilis. Ipsa caput mundi spectat te Roma Patrum; Rector et Ecclesiæ, per te rex rite regatur, &c. O pater, O Pastor, Rector, spes alma tuorum; Sit tibi vita, salus, sit sine fine, Vale. Most of his Writings, Poems, Epistles are full of the like expressions. In few words he writes of him, (g) Plurimos convertit populos ad caritatem Christi et laudes. Antiqui Saxones et omnes Frisones populi, instante Rege Karolo, alios præmiis, alios minis sollicitante, ad fidem Christi conversi sunt; besides many others.

e Col. 1730,
1748.

f Col. 1744.

g Epist. 105.
Col. 1648,
1669. Williel-
mus Malmisb:
De Gestis Re-
gum Angl. l. 1
c. 11. Cent.
Magd. 8. & 9.
cap. 2.
Anno 800
h Fredericus
Lindebrogus,
Codex Legum
Antiquarum, p.
829. 830. Cent.
Magd. 8. cap. 7
col. 517, 518,
519.

Charles the Great, whiles King of France, (the greatest Protector of the Pope, and See of Rome) by his Sovereign Ecclesiastical Authority, out of sacred Councils and Synods, collected a Book of Ecclesiastical Lawes and Constitutions, for the preservation and propagation of the Orthodox Faith, the peace, good government, and discipline of the Church; the discharge of his regal trust, duty, and salvation of his peoples souls, which he enjoined all Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priests, Monks Clergymen, and other his Subjects to observe, thus prefaced by himself: (h) Regnante Domino nostro Jesu Christo in perpetuum, Ego Karolus gratia Dei, eiusque misericordia donatus Rex et Rector regni Francozum, et devotus Sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ defensor, humilisque adutor, omnibus Ecclesiastica pietatis ordinibus seu seculari potentia dignitatibus, in Christo Deo æterno perpetua pacis et beatitudinis, salutem. Considerans pacifico pie mentis intuitu, una cum Sacerdotibus, & consiliariis nostris, abundantem in nos nostrumque populum Christi Regis clementiam, et quam necessarium est, non solum toto corde & ore eius pietati agere gratias incessanter, sed etiam continuo bonorum operum exercitatione ejus insistere laudibus, quatenus, qui nostro regno tantos contulit honores, sua protectione nos, nostrumque regnum, in æternum conservare dignetur. Quapropter placuit nobis vestram rogare solertiam, O Pastores Ecclesiarum Christi, & Ductores Gregis ejus, & clarissima mundi luminaria, ut vigili cura, et sedula admonitione populum Dei per pascua vitæ æternæ ducere studeatis, et errantes oves bonorum exemplo operum seu adhortatione, humeris intra Ecclesiasticæ firmitatis muros reportare satagatis: ne lupos insidians aliquem canonicas sanctiones transgredientem, vel paternas traditiones Universalium Conciliorum excedentem, quod absit, inveniens devoret. Ideo magna devotionis studio admonendi & adhortandi sunt, imo compellendi, ut firma fide et infatigabili perseverantia, intra paternas sanctiones se contineant. In quo operis studio, sciat certissime sanctitas vestra nostram vobis cooperari diligentiam. Quapropter et nostros ad vos direximus missas, qui ex nostri nominis auctoritate, una vobiscum corrigerent quæ corrigenda essent. Sed et aliqua Capitula ex Canonicis institutionibus, quæ magis vobis necessaria videbantur,

tur, subjungimus. Ne aliquis quæso hujus pietatis admonitionem esse præsumptuosam putet vel judicet, qua nos errata corrigere, superflua abscindere, recta coartare studeamus, sed magis benevolo charitatis animo suscipiat. Nam legimus in Regnorum libris, quomodo sanctus *Fofias* Regnum sibi, a Deo datum circumeundo, corrigendo & admonendo cultum veri Dei studuit revocare. Non ut me ejus sanctitati æquiparabilem faciam, sed quod nobis sint ubique Sanctorum semper exempla exsequenda, et quoscunque poterimus ad studium bonæ vitæ in laudem et in gloriam Domini nostri Jesu Christi congregare necesse est. Quapropter ut prædicimus, aliqua Capitula notare iussimus, ut simul nec eadem vos admonere studeatis, et quæcunque vobis alia necessaria esse scitis, ut et ista et illa æquali intentione prædicetis: Nec aliquid quod vestræ sanctitati populoque Dei utile videatur omittatis, sed pio studio admoneatis, quatenus et vestra solertia, subjectorum obedientia æterna felicitate ab omnipotenti Deo remuneretur.

These Ecclesiastical Lawes of his, with the Lawes of *Ludovicus Pius* his sonne, and *Lotharius*, collected, digested into 7. Books by *Abbot Ansegisus* (upon the command of *Ludovicus Pius*) contain in them all matters concerning the Orthodox faith, the Canonical Scriptures, the Sacraments of Baptism, & Lords Supper, Preaching, Cathedralising, sanctification of the Lords day, the Ordination qualification, duty, electing, installing of Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priests, Monks, Deacons, their respective offices, duties, orders, excesses, holy dayes, Churches, Chappels, Tithes, Churchlands, Excommunications, Masse, Sacriledge, Simony, Appeals, Ecclesiastical Judges, Synods, Consistories, Visitations, Vowes, Marriage, Virginity, Altars, Church-ornaments, Sanctuaries, Burials, Penance, and all manner of Divine and Ecclesiastical affairs; where those who please may peruse them for their satisfaction. This pious Emperor to reform all corruptions, abuses in Doctrine, Discipline in the Churches of France, Italy, Germany, summoned severall Councils under him, being present and president in most of them.

(c) Pope *Leo* the 3d. being distressed, *misi ad Carolum claves Sancti Petri, Urbisque Romæ vexilla, & alia munera, petens, ut Romanum populum Papa Sacramento fidei data subiceret*, against their will; upon this occasion, Anno 799. there was a great sedition raised at Rome against this Pope, whose Opposites as he was riding in procession from his Palace of *Lutera* to *St. Laurence Church*, threw him from his horse, put out his eyes, and cut off his tongue as they imagined, leaving him naked and half dead in the Streets, and afterwards thrust him into the Monastery of *St. Erasmus* as a prisoner; whence he escaping went into France, complained of this injury to *Charles* the Great, who Anno 800. marched to Rome accompanied with this Pope; where after 7. days stay calling an Assembly of the Bishops, Abbots, et omnem Nobilitatem Francorum et Romanorum, He acquainted them, that the principal cause of his coming to Rome, and convening them now, was, *De discutendis quæ*

obecta sunt Pontifici criminibus: ejus calumniatores mortiferum ei crimen imposuerunt. Rege autem hoc inquirente, cum nullus esset criminis probator, Pontifex assumpto Evangelii tertu coram Rege et omni populo ambonem conscendit, astantibusque accusatoribus invocata sanctæ Trinitatis nomine, jurejurando ab objectis se expurgavit, &c. Lo here King *Charles* before he was crowned Emperor sat as Supreme Judge in Rome it self, examining the Crimes objected against the Pope, who when witnesses failed, purged himself before him and all the people by his Oath, and was thereupon acquitted. Immediately after, (by way of gratitude for his restitution to the Papacy, and absolution from his objected crimes) King *Charles* coming on Christmas day to divine Service, this Pope *Leo* on a sudden rising from prayers, *Carolo, nihil minus speranti* (as *Abbas Uspergensis* relates, though others conceive it was by his own appointment) Papa coronam imposuit, et Imperatorem Romanum pronuntiavit, et a cuncto Romano populo acclamatum

a Capitularia Karol. & Ludovici Imperatoris, libri 7.
b Fredericus Lindebrogus, Codex Legum Antiquarum, p. 827.

Anno 800.
c Abbas Viper-
gensis Chron.
p. 177, 178.
Anastatius,
Luitprandus,
Platina, Barris,
Balzus, Onu-
phrius, Lydus,
in Leone 3.
Cent. Magd. &
col. 513. 940.
Baron. & Ann.
799.

tum est, Carolo Augusto a Deo (not Papa) coronato, Magno et Patristico, Imperatori Romanorum, vita et victoria. Post quas laudes, unctus ab Apostolico, et antiquorum more Principum, ab eo adoratur, ablato Patricii nomine, Imperator et Augustus appellatus est: Which (a) *Mantuanus* the Poet thus expresseth:

*Imperii tandem Roma applaudente Coronam
Imponit Carolo, tantique insignia Regni.*

b See here, c. 4. p. 35, to 40. Dr. *Crakehorps* of the Popes Temporal Monarchy, cap. 1, 2. & The Defence of *Anastatius* c. 14.

c De Gestis Pontif. Romanorum, p. 100. *Martilius Patavinus* Defensoris Pacis, pars 2. cap. 26.

d *Chronicon*. Lib. 5. c. 31, 32.

e Cited by Dr. *Crakehorps* Defence of *Constantine*, c. 14. p. 322, to 344.

f See *Martilius Patavinus*, Defensoris Pacis, pars 2. c. 17, 24, 25.

g *Signius* de Regno Ital. l. 4. *Anastatius* in Leone 3. Dr. *Crakehorps* Defence of *Constantine*, c. 14. p. 327, 328, 333, to 340.

h See here, p. 22, 23.

i *Distinctiones Fidei*, Tom. 1. Lib. 3. Artic. 2. c. 7. 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41.

(b) *Gratian*, *Anastatius*, *Onuphrius*, *Platina*, *Stella*, *Baronius*, *Alvarus Pelagius*, *Marta*, *Becanus*, *Schioppus*, *Bellarmin*, and other Pontificians conclude from hence, that the Pope is above the Emperor, and may, *de jure*, dispose of Empires, Kingdoms; and at his pleasure translate them from one Family and Nation to another. *Romani Imperii dignitas a Gracis per Papam, ad Gallos est translata, postea a Gallis ad Germanos secundum beneplacitum ejus. Ita est Imperium, quod antea a calo dari creditum fuit, nunc ad Papam manus devolutum.* Pipinum quoque Caroli huius filium illius partis Italiae regem declaravit hic Pontifex, quam nec ipse, nec ullus predecessorum suorum subicere poterant, writes (c) *Baleus* and others. But whosoever shall impartially consider these ensuing particulars, will at first discover the falsity and absurdity of these Conclusions: 1. The several Letters, supplications, addresses of Pope *Hadrian*, *Stephen*, *Leo*, and others, to *Pipin*, *Carolomannus*, and this King *Charles*, to protect and defend them against *Aistulphus*, *Desiderius*, the *Lombards*, *Romans*, *Exarchs*, and other their opposites, who deposed, expelled, and seized upon their persons, possessions from time to time; who thereupon restored these Popes to, yea confirmed them in their Papacy by their swords, and new Charters of Donations. 2ly. That they submitted themselves to them as their Lords, Patrons, Protectors, surrendered up *St. Peter's* Keyes, and the Roman Ensigns to them. 3ly. That the Pope, Council, Nobles and people of *Rome*, granted the power of electing, confirming the Pope, and the Government of the See and City of *Rome* to this *Charles* and his successors. 4ly. That before he was crowned Emperor he sat as Judge of this Popes crimes, when others refused out of fear to Judge him; that after his purgation he absolved and pronounced him innocent, then gave judgement of death, banishment against his false accusers and persecutors, beheading no lesse then 300 of them, as some record. 5ly. That *Charles* by way of conquest got actual possession of *Rome* and *Italy*; made himself Emperor thereof, his son *Pipin* King of *Italy*, and this *Leo* actual Pope, by his own sword alone, not by this Popes antecedent gift or donation, who never had any precedent right in, or possession of them. Hence (d) *Otto Frisingensis* and * *sundry others* truly observe, *Qualiter Carolus, assumpto Pontifice totoque populo, Augustus vocatus, Imperium a Gracis ad Francos transfudit: Huius virtute Regnum Francozum plurimum augmentatum est, omniumque Regnozum Marimarum, Romanum scilicet, ab Oriente ad Occidentem translatum.* Not by the Popes or *St. Peters* authority, as Pontificians fancy. 6ly. (e) That all this Popes Predecessors were subject to the Emperors, their elections approved, yea their persons judged, deposed by them from time to time, as the premises evidence. 7ly. That the people of * *Rome* by their unanimous acclamations and assents, rather elected and made *Charles* their Emperor, then the Pope, (who only declared, anointed, crowned him Emperor, ministerially, as other Archbishops and Bishops crown their Kings, as Cardinals, Bishops crown Popes themselves) not authoritatively, as disposers of their Crowns, Empires, Kingdoms, as Supream Lords thereof. 8ly. That this Pope, together with the people of *Rome*, and all present at *Charles* his Coronation cryed out, That God had made and crowned him Emperor (by his providences and his own victorious successes) not the Pope, or Romans, as *Carolo Augusto A DEO CORONATO*, &c. resolves. 9ly. That as the (f) High Priests and Priests anointing and crowning of *David*, *Solomon*, and other Kings of *Judah* and *Jerusalem* by Gods appointment under the Law, gave them no Jurisdiction or superiority over their persons or Kingdoms: So the Popes and Bishops anointing, crowning of Emperors, Kings under the Gospel, (warranted by no Gospel precept or prebend of *Christ*, *Peter*, or any other Apostle, Bishop, Priest) can much lesse do it. Hence (g) *Thomas Waldensis* (though a great Champion for the Popes and Bishops Jurisdiction and Supremacy) dogmatically resolves: 1. *Regia*

po-

potestas prima sui origine a Deo est, non a Sacerdote. 2. Quamquam ministerio Episcoporum Regibus imponatur * Corona, et insignia conferantur, non est propterea dicendum, Regiam illam dignitatem ortum habere a sacerdote. Quamquam ministerio Episcoporum solemnitates adhibentur Regibus unctionis, iurjurandi, fidei et coronæ; non tamen habet regia illa dignitas ortum a Sacerdotio, quamquam per ministerium Sacerdotis hoc habet a Deo; sicut nec ordinatus quisquam habet ordinationis ortum a Presule, aut Sacramentum Eucharistiæ a Sacerdote quolibet celebrante; ab homine enim est solennitatis ministerium: Deus vero solus largitur officium. Which he proves by St. Chrysostom, Tom: 1. Hom. 1. De unctione Samuelis in David Regem: On whose words he observes: Palam dicit, Deum coronasse Regem quem homo desperit, et ungitur quidem Ministerio hominis, sed Dei nutu. Ita quidem est et per hoc evidens, quod a Sacerdote non habet Rex originem. Vel iterato concludimus, quod Sacerdotium initium habet a Duce, quia Moyses unxit Aaron, Levit. 8. Nec tamen hoc verum est, nec quod autumat Doctor Adam, ideo regnum Cain defectisse, quia sine Sacerdote regnavit. Thus he most solidly and unanswerably determines: which quite subverts the Popes Supremacy over the Emperor from his bare designation, unction, coronation of him. 10ly. That all * the People of Rome and other Prelats present at this Coronation had a hand, voyce in this designation and coronation of Charles to be Emperor, & in translating the Empire to him from the Germans, as much as this Pope: Will it therefore follow, that all and every of them there present were paramount the Emperor, or Kings, and might dispose of the Emperor, Empire and Italy at their pleasure? If yea: then each of them was as great and omnipotent as this Pope. If not, then the inference is most absurd. 11ly. (a) *Marsilius Patavinus* long since thus discovers and refutes this inference of the Pope and his Parasites. *Quæ autem finaliter addebatur deductio, quoniam secundum Jurisdictionem ille superior est ad Romanum Imperatorem, ipsumque de jure instituere atque deponere potest, qui transtulit Imperium a Græcis in Germanos in persona Magni Caroli. Hic autem est Papa Romanus. Ergo Imperatoris superior, ipsumque instituere atque deponere potest.* Dicendum, quod si major indefinite sumatur, ex ipsa cum minore nihil inferitur, propter non fieri syllogismum ex indefinita cum particulari. Si vero signatur universaliter, ut dicatur; Omnis translator imperii Romani a Græcis in Romanos, superior est, &c. nisi determinetur subiectum, quam plures haberet hac propositio veras instantias. Si enim quis de facto & non de jure transtulisset imperium; aut si aliena, seu sibi ab altero tunc data potestate ad hoc, tanquam procuratori, vel quasi, qui sic inquam transtulisset (as this Pope did to Charles) non propter hoc solus superiorem Jurisdictionem haberet, nec potestatem justam Romanum Principem instituendi aut deponendi. Si vero determinata jam dicta priori propositione, ut omnis mortalis qui transtulit, aut transferre potest Romanum Imperium a Græcis in Germanos juste, autoritate propria, non sibi concessa per alterum, superior est secundum constitutam jurisdictionem ad Romanum Principem, ipsumque juste instituere atque deponere potest; Quæ huius annectitur secunda, videlicet, Romanus Episcopus, sive Papa est, qui transtulit Imperium, ut dictum est; neganda est tanquam omnino falsa: Nam eius opposita demonstrata est. l. 1. c. 15. &c. per Scripturam, & dicta Sanctorum atque catholicorum Doctorum, Lib. 2. c. 4, 5. sicque observatum de facto sine reclamatione fuisse per antiquos patres et pastores Romanos Episcopos, persuasimus (21. huius) ex approbatis historiis, Esto igitur Imperii translationem a Græcis in Germanos juste factam, &c. Dicotamen, quod non auctoritate Romanæ Papæ solius, aut cum suo solo collegio Clericorum, ut pridem diximus. Et propterea oportet attendere (secundum demonstrationes inductas, c. 12. 13, & 15. lib. 1.) quod ejusdem est autoritas prima secundum rationem relictam intendentibus, leges humanas statuendi, principatum instituendi, Principem assumendi, auctoritatem illi concedendi, & hæc omnia mutandi, destruendi, augendi vel minuendi, suspendendi, corrigendi, depnendi, transferendi, recreandi, & reliqua faci-

* Unctio et Coronatio nihil præstant Imperiali potestati, sed sunt tantummodo solennitates, & sunt honoris & officii causa, non necessitatis, nec quicquam hac actione Cæsari-bus accedat: as *Jacobus Almain*, De Potestat. Eccles. & Laic. q. 2. c. 10. *Ca-salius* l. 3. c. 4. *Hieronymus B.* de Corona, p. 68. *Impoldus* de Jure Reg. & Imperat. cap. 4 & 11. Dr. *Cræke* *henthops* defence of *Constantine*, c. 14. p. 341, 342 resolve. * See Dr. *Cræke* *henthops* Defence of *Constantine*, p. 323, to 341. where it is largely evidenced.

a Defensoriæ Pacis, pars 2. c. 30.

endi circa ea quæ jam dictam auctoritatem habenti principaliter, non ab altero expedire videntur, & per suam expresserit voluntatem: Cujus autem sit auctoritas supradicta, determinatum est, c. 12, 13. l. 1. (viz.) Legislator vel causa legis effectiva prima ac propria, esse populus, seu Civium Universitas, aut ejus valentior pars (quantitate) per suam electionem, vel per voluntatem in generali civium congregatione per sermonem expressam, præcipientem vel determinantem aliquid fieri vel remitti, circa civiles actus humanos, sub pœna vel supplicio temporali. Propter quod ubicunque legatur, & a quocunque dicatur translatum fuisse Imperium, aut alter quicunque Principatus, aut Princeps aliquis qui per electionem assumitur, instituitur per Papam, vel aliam personam singularem, aut per Collegium singulare aliquod provincia sive regni: si vera debeat esse Scriptura vel sermo, et valida seu iusta institutio, sive translatio talis, oportet fieri, aut factam esse auctoritate Legislatoris primi in provincia vel provinciis, super quas, a quibus, et ad quas debet institutio aut translatio fieri, aut facta fore. Ideo, si translatio Imperii Romani, vel Imperatoris alicujus institutio, dicatur aut scribatur rite facta fuisse per Papam Romanum solum, aut per ipsum cum suo solo collegio Clericorum, & verum sit huiusmodi dictum aut scriptum, oportet translationem aut institutionem jam dictam per ipsos intelligere factam, per auctoritatem illis concessam adhuc a Romani Imperii Legislatore humano supremo, per medium, aut sine medio, vel ab eis quidem non factam simpliciter, sed modo quodam, ut publicatam vel pronunciatam, auctoritate tamen prædicta.

But neither this Pope nor his successors had any such authority, either from the rightful Roman Emperor *Leo*, then residing at *Constantinople*, nor from the Universality or majority of the Nobles, Princes, Bishops, Clergy, People of the then Roman Empire, thus suddenly at *Rome* to translate the Empire from the *Grecians* to the *French*, and to intail it upon them; nor yet from God himself, or *St. Peter*, as I have proved at large in the precedent Chapters; and *Marsilius Patavinus* in his two whole Books intituled *Defensor Pacis*: Therefore it must needs be altogether illegal, invalid, injurious, yea an Antichristian Usurpation, as the forecited, together with *Dr. Barnes*, *Balans*, the *Century Writers*, *Morney*, *Jewel*, with * other Protestant Writers censure it; and the ill effects thereof, in sowing the seeds of perpetual enmity, desolation, schisms, wars between the Emperors, Churches, Bishops of the East and West, and since that between the Popes and German Emperors, unde tot strages, tot incendia, tot regnorum vastationes, schismata & bella plusquam civilia subsequuta sunt, as *Hieronimus Marius*, * *Balans*, and others observe. All which considered, the Pontificians grand Argument of the Popes Supremacy over all Kings, kingdoms, the Roman and Grecian Emperors and Empires, to remove and translate them at their Papal arbitrary pleasures, must fall quite to ground.

[6] *John*, a Bishop, being violently and in a strange manner murdered in *Gascogne*; thereupon 32 Archbishops and Bishops assembled in a Synod, at *Theodorus villam* in the County of *Lutzenberg*, and having drawn up a Writing, inflicting Ecclesiastical & pecuniary punishments on those who should assault or murder any Bishop, Priest, or Clergy man, tendered them to the Emperor *Charles* the Great, his Princes and peoples consideration and approbation; *Si Principibus placuerit, aliisque fidelibus suis, rogamus, ut conlaudetur et subscribatur.* After perusal of them, *Et conlaudatum et subscriptum est tam a Principe, quam a cæteris omnibus.* With this addition. *Si quis per industriam Episcopum occiderit, juxta id quod apud Triburia a 24 Episcopis decretum est, et quod ibi a nobis (Carolo magno & Ludovico) et a principibus totius Germaniæ benigne collaudatione conlaudatum est, et subscriptum est. Et hoc de nostro adjecimus: ut si quis in his supradictis sanctorum Canonum nostrique Decreti sanctionibus, Episcopis inobediens & contumax extiterit, primum canonica sententia feriat: Deinde in nostro regno beneficium non habeat, & alodiscus in annum mittatur. Et si annum & diem in banno permanserit, ad fiscum nostrum redigatur, & captus, in exilium religetur, &c. Et si omnibus volis ista placuerint, dicite. Et teris ab omnibus acclamatum est, Placet. Et Imperatores, et pene omnes Galliæ Principes subscripserunt, singuli singulas facientes cruces. Et ecclesiasticus ordo Deo et Principibus laudes referentes, hymnum, Te Deum laudamus, decantaverunt. Et sic soluta est Synodus.* Their Canons being all first approved and subscribed by the Emperors and their Nobles, with some Additions, to make them valid.

* *Dr. Craken-thorp* his *Defence of Constantine*, cap. 14.

* *Acta Pontif. Romanorum* in *Leone* 3.

Anno 806
b *Surius* *Concil.* Tom: 3. p. 270. *Centur. Magd.* 9. c. 9. De *Synodis*.

The 4. Synod of *Arelat*, convened *Caroli Magni Imperatoris iussu*, amongst other prayers to God for him, desire, *Carolus nostrum, Carolum Imperatorem fidei suæ conseruatione stabiliat, ut commissos sibi benigne regat, aqua disponat, & iure pietatis modifiet*. This Synod having drawn up 26. Canons, submitted them to his Royal censure, to correct, disapprove, or ratify them at his pleasure. *Hæc igitur sub breuitate quæ emendatione digna persperimus, poscentes ejus Clementiam, ut si quid hic minus est, ejus prudentia suppleatur, si quid secus quam se ratio habeat, ejus judicio emendetur; si quid rationabiliter taxatum est, ejus adjutorio, diuina opitulante Clementia perficiatur*. A clear acknowledgement of his Ecclesiastical Supremacy in and over Councils themselves, all their Canons concerning the Confessions of Faith, Sacraments, Bishops, Priests, and all Ecclesiastical affairs, being thus totally submitted to his judgement to alter, diminish, enlarge, reject or ratify at his pleasure.

[b] *Synodus Turonensis* 3. summoned by the Emperor *Charles the Great*, commends his extraordinary divine wisdom, industry and government, *et eo præcipue quod hic toto animo inuigilat, inuestigando quæ ad pietatem et veram religionem pertineant, quorum fructus hominem in bono beatitudinis collocat*. Exhorting and admonishing all Bishops and Priests, *ut operam darent, & alitibus eminerent, quibus & se bene operando, & sibi commissos verba & exemplis instruendo, regerent*: Whereupon the Bishops, Abbots, and Clergy in this Synod, quod a tanto Principe nobis injunctum est, pro paruitate nostra, pauca, quæ ad tantum opus pertinere aduertimus, et quæ secundum Canonum Regulam emendatione indigent, distinde per Capitula adnotabimus, serenissimo Imperatori nostro offendenda. After which, compiling 51. Canons (whereof the first is for the inviolable observation of their faith and allegiance to, and constant praying for the Emperor and his sons) they thus submit them wholly to his judgement to confirm or disallow. *Hæc nos in Conuentu nostro ita ventilabimus; sed quomodo deinceps piissimo Principi nostro, de his agendum placebit, nos fideles ejus famuli, libenti animo, ad nutum et voluntatem ejus parati sumus*.

The Bishops, Abbots and Clergy assembled in *Cablonensi Synodo* 3. sub Imperatore Carolo magno, thus Preface their Constitutions: *Quædam capitula quæ subter inserta sunt [in all 67.] eidem Domino Imperatori præsentanda, et ad ejus sacratissimum judicium referenda, adnotauimus; quatenus ejus prudenti examine, ea quæ rationabiliter decreuimus, confirmetur; sicuti minus aliquid egimus, illius sapientia suppleatur*. Their Canon 3. begins thus. *Oportet etiam, ut sicut Dominus Imperator Carolus, vir singularis mansuetudinis, fortitudinis, prudentia, iustitia & temperantia præcepit, scholas constituant, in quibus & literaria solertia disciplina, & sacre scriptura documenta discantur, & tales ibi audiantur, quibus merito dicatur a Domino; Vos estis sal terræ, &c.* Their Canons being drawn up as the Emperor prescribed: In the Cloze they thus submitted them to him: *Hæc itaque pauca de pluribus quæ necessaria persperimus, cum magna breuitate Domini Imperatoris prudenti judicio præsentanda adnotauimus; To confirm, alter, enlarge, or reject, as he thought fit in his Royal Judgement*.

The famous [c] Council of *Mentz* under *Charles the Great* who summoned it, consisted of 3. several Companies, sitting distinct one from another, The 1. of Bishops and other Clergymen; The 2. of Abbots and religious persons; *In tertia denique turma sederunt Comites & Judices, in mundanis legibus decertantes, &c.* All which concurred in the 56. Constitutions there made, as, *In his itaque omnibus omnes decreuimus, &c.* with the Acts of this Council attest. The Preface of the Bishops and Clergy to this Council, begins thus. *Gloriosissimo & Christianissimo Imperatori Carolo Augusto, veræ religionis Rectori, ac defensori Sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ, una cum prole sua ejusque fidelibus, vita & salus, honor & benedictio, cum victoria*

Anno 812.
a Surius Concil. Tom. 3. p. 270, 271, 273.
Laurentius Bochartus. Decreta Eccles. Gal. 5. Tit. 1. 9. cap. 20. Centur. Mag. 9. c. 9. de Synodis.

Anno 812.
b Surius Concil. Tom. 3. p. 274, 278. Centur. Mag. 9. c. 9. de Synod.

Anno 812.
c Surius Concil. Tom. 3. p. 273. Centur. Mag. 9. c. 9. de Synod.

Mat. 5.

Anno 813.
d Surius Concil. Tom. 3. p. 285. Centur. Mag. 9. c. 9. de Synod.

viſtoria ſine ſine manſura. Then relating their proceedings ſo ſoon as they aſſembled in this Council, they add^d: **Conſona voce gratias agimus Deo patri Omnipotenti, quia ſanctæ Eccleſiæ ſuæ tam plurimum et devotum in ſervitio Dei conceſſit habere Rectorem, qui ſuis temporibus ſacra ſapientiæ fontem aperiens, oves Chriſti indefinenter ſanctis reſcicit alimentis, ac divinis inſtruit diſciplinis; Chriſtianumque populum indefeſſo labore amplificare conatur, hilariterque Chriſti honorat Eccleſias, ac de fauce diri draconis multorum animas ſtudet eripere, et ad ſinum ſanctæ matris Eccleſiæ revocare, atque ad gaudia paradifi, atque ad regna cœleſtia omnes communiter invitare, ſanctæque ſapientiæ ſuæ devotiſſimo ſtudio cæteros Reges terræ transcendens.** If this were not the principal part of his Imperial, Regal office, care, truſt, duty, theſe Biſhops, Clergymen, and this whole Council, would never have thus bleſſed God, nor applauded the Emperor, nor left this teſtimony of his transcendent piety, care of the ſalvation of all his Subjects and peoples ſouls to poſterity: In this Council they compiled 56. Canons and Conſtitutions; which they thus moſt humbly tendered and ſubmitted wholly to the Emperors royal wiſdom or pleaſure. [a] **De his tamen omnibus valde indigemus veſtro adjutorio, atque ſana doctrina, quæ et nos jugiter admoneat, atque clementer erudiat, quatenus ea quæ paucis ſubter perſcrinimus capitulis, a veſtra auctoritate firmentur: ſi tamen veſtra pietas ita dignum eſſe judicaverit, et quicquid in eis emendatione dignum reperiatur, veſtra magnifica imperialis dignitas jubeat emendare: ut ita emendata, nobis omnibus et cunctæ Chriſtianæ plebi, ac poſteris noſtris proficiant ad vitam, et ſalutem, et ad Gloriam ſempiternam, vobisque inde merces, honor, et laus, et benedictio ac beatitudo permaneat in omnes æternitates ſeculi, Amen.**

a Surius,
Ibidem p. 286.

Tue Council of Rhemes, Anno 813. (a Domino Carolo piſſimo Cæſare mox^o piſcozum Imperatorum congregato, writes Surius) made ſeverall Canons and Conſtitutions which they intreated the Emperor to ratifie: witneſs the 33, 41, 42, 43, 44. Canons, wherein we have theſe paſſages. **Domini Imperatoris miſericordiæ implozanda, ut viſtum & neceſſaria a ſibi Prælatiſ conſequi poſſunt ſanctimonialia, & vita illarum & caſtitas ſecundum fragilitatem ſexus diligenter proviſa ſuatur. Ut Dominus Imperator, ſecundum ſtatutum bona memoria Domini Pipini, miſericordiam faciat, ne ſolidi qui in lege habentur, per Quadraginta denarios diſcurrant, ut in ſua eleemoſyna firmiter ſtatuat, ne quilibet in ſuum pergentibus ſervitium, ullatenus prohibere audeat manſionem, neque aliis quibus neceſſitas incumbit: Ut ejus magnificum, et cuncto Imperio ejus, ſuis et futuris temporibus firmetur Capitulum, ſive ab anno 30, a quo adhuc teſtes haberi poſſunt, ſeu etiam ab illo, a quo feliciffimum ejus ſumpſit exordium, qualiter omnes lites & jurgia in ſua miſericordia terminum habere potuiſſent. Ut de falſis teſtibus ejus ſimili modo piſſimum firmetur capitulum, qualiter & hoc, quod ille Bononiæ ſtatuit, firmiſſimum habeatur, & adhuc querantur, quatenus in ſua piſſima miſericordia, ſi qua neceſſaria ſunt augeantur, &c.** All theſe Canons ſtanding at the Emperors curteſie to ratifie, proves undeniably, that without his approbation and confirmation, they were meer nullities. Wherefore Aſtulphus Archbiſhop of Mentz, (as [e] Bocheſellus informs us) ſpake thus in that Synod; **Si Principi placuerit aliſque fidelibus ſuis, rogamus, ut conlaudetur, et ſubſcribatur. Et conlaudatum eſt, et ſubſcriptum eſt, tam a Principe quam a cæteris omnibus.**

[f] Luſovicus Pius his ſon ſucceeding this Emperor Charles, in the 1. year of his reign, (before he was crowned Emperor) was informed, that Pope Leo had commanded ſome Chief men in Rome to be ſlain, for conſpiring againſt him. **Ad quod perſcrutandum, vocatum ad ſe nepotem ſuum Bernardum, Italiæ Regem, Romam miſit: qui in urbe informatus, rei eventum per Heroldum Comitẽ Auguſto mandavit: Leo quoque miſiſ ad Imperatorem nunciis, de his quæ ſibi impoſita**

Anno 813.
b Surius Con-
cil. Tom. 3. p.
291, 293.

c Eccleſ. Gallie
canz decreto-
rum Addita-
menta ad tit.
20. l. 51.
p. 1371.

Anno 815.
Otto Friſin-
genſis Chron. l.
5. c. 33. Abbas
Ulſpergenſis
Chron. p. 180,
181.

posita erant, se expurgabit. Legati de his quæ Domino suo objiciebantur, regi Ludovico per omnia satisfecerunt. Lo here the Emperor in Rome it self, inquired by his Delegates of the Popes crimes for which he was accused, who by his special Legates purged himself from them before the King, and gave him full satisfaction therein.

This Pope Leo confirmed the forecited Decree of Pope Hadrian his Predecessor, *Jus eligendi Romanum Pontificem, ordinandi Romanam sedem, & concedendi investituræ Episcopis, &c. ratum habens*; as (a) Dr. Barnes and others record: Neither was this a Novelty in that age, since Pope Leo the 1. (as (b) Gratian resolves us) by this his Papal Decree, declared it near 270. years before. *Vota Civium, testimonia populorum, honoratorum arbitrium, & electio Clericorum in ordinationibus Sacerdotum constituentur.* Principibus vero atque Imperatoribus electiones Romanorum Pontificum atque aliorum Episcoporum referendas, **USUS ET CONSTITUTIO TRADIDIT**, pro schismaticorum atque hæreticorum dissentionibus, quibus nonnunquam Ecclesia Dei concussa, periclitabatur: contra quos legibus fidelissimorum Imperatorum frequenter Ecclesia munita legitur. Representabatur ergo electio Cleri coram Principibus, ut eorum autoritate roborata, nullus hæreticorum vel schismaticorum auderet contraire; et ut ipsi Principes tanquam devotissimi filii in eum consentient, quem sibi in Patrem eligi viderentur, ut in omnibus suffragatores existerent; sicut Valentinianus beato Ambrosio legitur dixisse, Noli timere, quia Deus qui te elegit, semper te adjuvabit, et ego adjutor et defensor tuus ut meum ordinem decet, semper existam. On which Bartholomæus Buxiensis, and Dr. Thierry in their Glosses, observe. *Hic duplex ratio redditur quare quondam Regibus et Imperatoribus electiones representabantur: scilicet, ut nullus hæreticorum et schismaticorum electionem contraherent, pro quibus sæpe Ecclesia periclitabatur, et ut ipsi Principes tanquam filii devotissimi, consentirent in electum, quem sibi viderint in patrem eligi, &c.*

(c) Pope Leo the 3. deceasing Anno 816. Stephen the 4th. without the Emperor Ludovicus his privity or licence, was elected and consecrated Pope in his place, contrary to Law, and the Decrees of Pope Adrian, Leo, and thus ancient usage: who post completam solenniter consecrationem suam quam maximis potuit itineribus ad Imperatorem venire contendit, Legatis cum excusationibus de sui consecratione præmissis, qui ejus animum lenirent. Meeting Ludovicus at Rhemes, and giving him an account of his coming to him, to expiate his offence, eum impositione diadematis coronavit, Romanorumq; Imperatorem proclamavit, eique omnem populum Romanum fidelitatem cum juramento promittere procuravit. Moreover he published this decree in confirmation of the Emperors right in electing Popes, though with some allay, thus recorded by (d) Gratian, Stephanus Parasitavit, dicens, Quia sancta Romana Ecclesia (cui Deo authore præsidemus) a pluribus patitur violentias Pontifice obante, quæ ob hæc inferuntur, quia absque Imperiali notitia Pontificis fit electio et consecratio, nec canonico ritu et consuetudine, ab Imperatore directi sunt Nuncii; qui vetent scandala fieri; Nolumus, ut cum instituendus est Pontifex, convenientibus Episcopis et universo Clero, eligant præsentem Senatu et populo qui ordinandus est, et sic ab omnibus electus præsentibus Legatis Imperialibus consecratur; nullusque sine periculo sui juramenta vel promissiones aliquas nova adinventionem audeat extorquere, nisi quæ antiqua erigit consuetudo, ne vel Ecclesia scandalizetur, et Imperialis magnificentia minuat. On which Papal Decree, Dr. Thierry, Bartholomæus Buxiensis, and the ordinary Glosses thus descant and paraphrase, Quia, Casus, Romana Ecclesia sæpe patiebatur molestiam in obitu Papæ in electione

a Pontificum Romanorum vic. x. p. 91. 92.
b Distinctio 63 cap. Vota.

Anno 816
c Dr. Barnes de Vitis Pontificum in Stephano 4. p. 98.
Ordo Frisingens. Chron. l. 5. c. 33. Abbas Vörspergens, Chron. p. 181.
Aimarius l. 4. c. 104. Theganus de Gestis Ludovici, c. 16. 17, 18. Philippus de Morney Mysterium Iniquitatis, p. 151, 152.
d Distinctio 63 cap. Quia.

successoris

successoris quia Muncii Imperatoris defuerant : ideo statuit Stephanus, quod electio Papæ non fieret, nisi præsentem populo, et Senatu, et Imperatore, vel ejus Legatis, ut scandala remoueantur, et eis præsentibus consecraretur, et nullus audeat extorquere juramenta vel promissiones nisi quæ fuerint de antiqua consuetudine.

Anno 817
*Distinctio 63.
c. Lætiis, Platina, Stella.
Balzus in Stephano 4.
phano 4.

This Pope *Stephanus* the 4. durst not presume to consecrate the Bishop of *Reatine* when elected by the Clergy and people, till his election was first approved and ratified by the Emperor *Ludovicus* his special Patent, according to ancient custom, as appears by his Letter to Earl *Guido*, registred by **Gratian*, who prefixeth this Rubrick to it.

Imperatoris Epistola in electionis confirmatione desideratur. Lætiis sagacitatis vestre apicibus, quod defuncto Ecclesiæ Reatinæ Antistite, Clerum & Plebem ejusdem el gisse sibi futurum Antistitem & a Nobis consecrandum, vestro studio directum esset, ne ipsa Ecclesiæ diu sine proprio constaret Pastore, fatebantur : nos de obitu prioris dolentes, nunc ipsum electum unanimitate & Canonica ipsius Ecclesiæ electione ut mandastis tam citissime ordinare omisimus, eo quod Imperialem nobis (ut mos est) absolutionis minime detulerit Epistolam : pro qua scilicet re ambiguum est nobis ; ideo voluntati vestræ in hoc parere distulimus, ne Augustalis animus durissime hoc quocunque modo perciperet. Sed scientes Ecclesiæ Dei sine proprio diu pastore non debere consistere, gloria vestra Mandamus (quoniam aliter nos agere non debuimus) ut a vestra solertia imperiali, ut prædicta consuetudo dicat, percepta licentia, et nobis, quemadmodum et vos scire credimus, Imperatoris directæ Epistola, tunc voluntati vestræ de hoc parebimus, eundemque electum Domino adjuvante consecrabimus, quod Charissime fili molestè nullo modo suscipias.

*Platina, Stella, Barnes, Balzus in Stephano 4. Cent. Magd. 9. ccl. 49.

Not long after, this Pope **Stephen* *Ludovici* pii pietate, probitate, & longanimitate animadversa, fingens ius *Carolo* & Successoribus ejus, a Pontifice *Hadriano* 1. & *Leone* 3. (viz.) eligendi *Romani Pontificem*, ordinandi *Romanam sedem*, et concedendi investituras *Episcopis, &c.* plurimum mali secum trahere, ius illud abrogabat, pronuntiaturque, ius eligendi Pontificem, debere esse penes Clerum, Senatum, populumque Romanum. Ne vero Imperator suum ius assereret vi, addidit Decreto *Hadriani* 1. & *Leonis* 3. interpretationem : Pontificem Romanum eligere licere sine Imperatoris auctoritate, sed non licere consecrare, sine præsentia *Cæsaris*, vel *Cæsarioz Legatoz*. Post hæc tempora Imperatoribus inuitis electionem Pontificis & investituram Episcoporum, Romana se es (paulatim) sibi usurpavit. After which this Emperor by his persuasions released his right and Prerogative in electing and confirming the Pope, formerly granted by Pope *Adrian*, and *Leo*, illam tantum prærogativam Imperatoribus servans, ut electus & consecratus Pontifex ad stabilendam amicitiam Legationem mittat Regibus *Francorum*.

b *Gratian*, Distinctio 63: Anastasius, Platina, Balzus, Barnes, & others in Paschali 1. vita. Naucierus et Sabellicus.

Ego *Ludovicus Imperator Romanus Augustus*, Statuo et concedo per hoc pactum confirmationis nostræ, tibi beato *Petro Principi Apostolorum*, et per te *Micario* tuo Domino *Paschali Summo Pontifici* et successoribus ejus in perpetuum, sicut a predecessoribus vestris usque nunc in vestra potestate, et ditione tenuistis et disposuistis *Romanam Civitatem*, cum Ducatu suo, et suburbanis atq; villis, culis omnibus et territoriis ejus montanis, et maritimis littoribus et Portibus, seu cunctis Civitatibus, Castellis, oppidis ac villis in *Tusciæ* partibus. Idem, quando divina vocatione hujus sacratissimæ sedis Pontifex de hoc seculo migraverit, nullus ex regno nostro aut *Francus*, aut *Longobardus*, de quibuscumque parte homo sub nostra potestate constitutus, licentiam habeat contra Romanos aut publice aut privatim conveniendi aut electionem faciendi, nullusque in Civitatibus aut in Territoriis ad Ecclesiæ beati *Petri Apostoli* potestatem pertinentibus, aliquod malum præterea facere præsumat, sed liceat Romanis cum omni veneratione, et sine qualibet perturbatione

batione honorificam suo Pontifici exhibere sepulturam, et eum quem divina inspiratione ad Pontificatus ordinem elegerint, sine aliqua ambiguitate atque contradiotione, more canonico consecrare, et dum consecratus fuerit, Legati ad nos, vel ad nostros successores Reges Francorum dirigantur, qui inter nos et inter illum amicitiam, et charitatem, et pacem consocient.

This Pope Stephen dying within 3. moneths after his return to Rome, Paschalis the 1. was elected by all the Priests, Clergie, as also by the Nobles, and all the People of Rome, & consecrated contrary to the forementioned Decrees of his predecessors, without the Emperors license first obtained, or his Umbassadors assent to, or presence thereat. Whereupon post completam solenniter ordinationem suam, to excuse this his innovation, presumption and contempt against the Emperors Prerogative Royal, munera & excusatoriam Epistolam misit, sibi non solum nolenti, sed etiam plurimum poenitenti Pontificatus honorem impactum asseverans. Missa ratum, alia legatione pactum quod cum predecessibus suis factum fuerat, & secum fieri & firmari rogavit (to wit, concerning the election of Popes by the Emperors license, and in the presence of him, or his Ambassadors, not otherwise, for the transgression wherof, he humbly craved the Emperors pardon, upon his repentance of, and enforcement thereunto against his will) & ea que petierat, in petrauit. The Emperor Ludovicus accepting this his submission and excuse, monet Clerum atque populum Romanum, ne in futurum Casaream maiestatem ledant, & ut majorum statuta seruent in creando Pontifice, wherein they had of late no lesse then thrice transgressed. This Emperor soon after crowned Lotharius his son King of Italy, and his companion in the Empire; who passing near Rome, Pope Paschal invited him to the City, and receiving him there honourably on Easter-day, apud sanctum Petrum, & regni coronam & Imp. Augusti nomen accepit, from this Popes hands who consecrated him. After his return from Rome, the Emperor was informed that Theodorus Pincernus, & Leo per seditionem privantur oculis, & truncanur capite, quod fideliter iuvarent partes Lotharii, which sedition and murder in Rome was by common fame and just suspicion, imputed to Pope Paschal, as the contriver or commander thereof, or at least conniver at it. Ludovicus thereupon, Legatos designat ad perscrutandam facti veritatem, viz. Adalindum Abbatem, & Humfridum Corritem Curiensem. Pope Paschal being informed of the Emperors intention, sent two Delegates, the one a Bishop, the other an Archdeacon to the Emperor, ad se purgandum ab infamia excitata seditionis & perpetratae caelis. Caesar autem (auditis etiam Ponticis Legatis) being unsatisfied with their excuses, jubet suos Legatos Romam proficisci, ut quid sit verum percunctentur. But the businesse being so smothered at Rome, that they could not find out the truth upon examination; thereupon this Pope, contra Synodis Episcoporum, Jurejurando se purgat, & interfectores in ea seditione absolvens, eos reos agit lese Maiestatis, (as if they were Traytors to the Emperor) and so Jure occisos esse pronunciat. All clear evidences of the Emperors Supremacy over this Pope.

The antient Right of Emperors and Kings to grant Licenses to elect Bishops upon Petitions of the Clergy and People, to confirm them after they were chosen Bishops, and install them in their Bishopricks, is most clearly evidenced by Marculfus a Monk, (flourishing as some conjecture about the year 660, though I conceive he lived nearer Ludovicus his reign,) in his Formula solennes publicorum privatorumque Negotiorum, cap. 1. De Episcopatu; containing the usual form of Christian Kings Charters in that and former ages, for conferring of a Bishoprick, and consecrating a Bishop, when elected and approved by the King, having some memorable expressions, evidencing the supreme care of the Church and Peoples souls to belong to Kings, who are to provide able godly Bishops under them, diligently to preach to the People, as well as govern them, and to pray for Kings prosperity. Ille Rex viro Apostolico illo Episcopo. Quamlibet nos ad ministrandum gubernandumque rerum statum preclis occupationibus regis sollicitudinis causa constringat: nihil tamen tam principale, quam ut, cum a Pastozali paululum oberrat plebs destituta preclidio, pro salute animarum hujusmodi personis loci Celsioris Pontificalem prospiciat committere dignitatem, in quibus maneat dupliciter sermo, ut populus Magistrum, actus Christi imitetur Discipulus. Qui plebem non minus pietate, quam severitate

A a

constringat

Anno 817
a Abbas Viper-
gensis Chroni-
An. 817 cap.
110. Ammonius
l. 4. c. 110.
Phil. Morney.
Historia Papa-
tus, p. 152.
Platina, Dr.
Baron & Hales
in Paschalis 1.
vix. Annales
Regum Ludovici,
Cent. Magd.
p. col. 322, 323
341. 404.

Anno 817
* Printed in
Fredericus Lin-
debrogius, Ce-
dex Legum An-
tiquarum, p.
1205, &c.
1213, 1214.
& Bibliotheca
Patrum, Colo-
niæ Agrip. Tom.
7. p. 564, 567.
566.

constringat qui sciat commissa sibi talenta assidua prædicatione sermonibus expolire, et adquisitam multiplicatamque gregis sui salutem, ad ovile dominicum nullis maculis sorditatum, valeat præsentare. Et quia cognovimus sancta recordationis Dominum ill. urbis ill. antistitem, evocatione divina ab hac luce migrasse, de cujus successione sollicitudinem congruam una cum Pontificibus vel Proceribus nostris plenius pertractantes, decrevimus illustri viro, aut venerabili ill. in ipsa urbe Pontificalem in Dei nomine committere dignitatem, quem plerunque apud animos nostros & actio probata commendat, et nobilitatis ordo sublimat, ac morum probitas, vel mansuetudinis & prudentie honestas exornat. Qua de re statuta præsentibus ordinamus, ut cum adunatorum cætera Pontificum, ad quos tamen nostre serenitatis devotio scripta pervenit, ipsum, ut ordo postulat, benedicere vestra industria studeat. Et voluntates nostra deliberationis referatis oraculis publicare. Quatenus dum Ecclesias sibi a dispensatione divina commissas, strenue regere atque gubernare videatur, nobis apud æternum retributorem mercedem suffragia largiantur, & ille pro peccatorum nostrorum mole indefinenter immensum Dominum debeat deprecari. Cap. 2. & 3. contain the form of a Mandate to consecrate a Bishop elect, and a Petition to the King for a License to elect a Bishop. * Cap. 4. Carta de Episcopatu, runs in this form. Dum juxta Apostoli dictum, omnis potestas sublimatur a Domino, et quatenus post Dominum in regia manet potestate, * taliter cuncta terrena debeant gubernari. Unde oportet nos salubri consilio retractare, ut illi in locis sanctorum instituantur Custodes, qui digne ipsum officium gubernandum apparere noverint. Igitur dum & vestra, & Cleri, vel Pagensium Civitatis ipsius adfuit petitio, ut relictæ urbe ill. prius regere & gubernare videamini, in suprascripta urbe ill. Cathedram Pontificalem suscipere deberetis. Et dum vos apud animos nostros & actio commendat probata, & nobilitatis ordo sublimat, ac morum probitas vel mansuetudo, & prudentia honestas exornat, cum consilio & voluntate Pontificum Procerumque nostrorum, juxta voluntatem & consensum Cleri & Plebeum ipsius Civitatis, in supradicta urbe ill. Pontificalem in Dei nomine vobis commissam dignitatem, Propterea per præsens præceptum decernimus ac jubemus, ut supradicta Urbs vel Res Ecclesie ipsius, & Clerus, sub vestro arbitrio & gubernatione consistant, et erga regimen nostrum semper fidem illibatam custodire debeatis, et juxta canonicam institutionem plebem vobis commissam assiduus prædicationum sermonibus expolire; & non minus pietate, quam severitate constringere studeatis. Et curam pauperum, vel necessitatem patientium cum ingenti dilectione procuretis, ut adquisitam multiplicatamque gregis vestri salutem, ad ovile dominicum nullis maculis sorditatum valeatis præsentare. Quatenus dum Ecclesiam vobis dispensatione divina commissam strenue regere atque gubernare videamini, nobis apud æternum retributorem mercedem suffragia largiantur, et vos immensum Christum pro nostrorum mole peccatorum assidue exorare debeatis. These forms extended as well to Popes and Patriarchs, as other Ordinary Bishops, who were not antiently elected nor consecrated, but by Kings and Emperors precedent Licenses, and special Charters or Letters of approbation, according to these forms, as the premises evidence.

Anno 819
b Chronicon, p.
181. Surlus
Concil. Tom:3
p. 293, 294.
Cent. Magd. 9.
cap: 9. col.
403, 404.

c Abbas Vſper-
gensis, Chron.
p. 181.

This Emperor in the year 819. (as (b) Abbas Vſpergensis & others inform us) summoned a General Council at Aquisgrane: wherein, secundum ardentissimam erga divinum cultum sibi calidius inspiratam voluntatem, multa magna & necessaria de emendatione sancte Dei Ecclesie, scienter & curiose pertractare cepit; admonishing, advising, yea assisting this Council what to do, & how to proceed in the reformation of abuses in sorts of Clergymen and religious Persons, whose respective offices, duties are at large defined by this Council in 145 Chapters, which when they had finished, hujus institutionis formam coram memorato glorioso Principi prolatam, the whole Council approving and applauding it as usefull for the Church, and containing nothing in it, which any person well advised could dislike; the Emperor when he had heard it read, approved it; and he with all there present cried out, Deo gratias; Nec immerito; quippe qui & occulta sua dispensatione, & gratissima inspiratione præfatum Principem, ut id fieri moneret, compulit, et ad effectum produceretur, miserando adiubet. Proinde omnium sententia statutum est, ab omnibus juxta virium possibilitatem modis omnibus observandum. In this Council (c) Legibus etiam Capitula quadam pernecessaria, que deceant addita sunt, as Vſpergensis, and the Title

tle to these Additional Lawes assure us. These (d) *Additional Lawes* are reduced into 4. Books consisting of 306. *Chapters*, concerning *Abbots, Abbesses, Monks, Nuns, Metropolitans, Bishops, Priests*, all sorts of Ecclesiastical persons, affairs, duties, vices, crimes, and their respective punishments: to which he prefixed this Preface; *Quia Scriptura testatur*, Quodcunque possumus, instanter operari debemus quia nulli ad bene operandum crastinus dies permittitur: Omnesque, *secundum Apostolum*, ante Tribunal Christi stabimus, ut unusquisque rationem pro his, quæ gessit, reddat; *Nobis præcipue*, (qui ceteris mortalibus conditione æquales existimus, & dignitate tantum superiores sumus, secundum Scripturam sacram, quæ dicit: Quoniam interrogabit opera nostra et cogitationes scrutabitur, rationes reddituri sumus) sollicita circumspectione, totaque mentis intentione satagendum est, ut bonis operibus jugiter insistendo, his quibus præesse videmur, modis omnibus, quantum nobis divina suffragante misericordia facultas adtributa fuerit, prodesse curemus. Sed quia omne datum optimum, et omne donum perfectum defurtum est, debemus continuis Precibus dominum humiliter exorare, faciemque illius humili confessione et congrua, prout ipse posse dederit, emendatione prævenire: ut sicut ejus est muneris quod regnamus, ejus sit pietatis quod foeliciter regnamus. Quatenus eo miserante, & regni gubernacula aequissimo libramine tenere, & ad eum qui Rex Regum est, et Dominus Dominantium, cum multiplici fructu administrationis nostræ, justitia scilicet, & pietate atque humilitate, sine fine cum eo regnaturi mereamur pervenire. Et quoniam per Apostolum suum nos adjutores suos appellare dignatus est: et Sancta Ecclesia, ejus videlicet sponsa, in Scripturis sacris hortus est appellata, quotidianis exercitiis adhibito sarculo bonæ operationis est excolenda. Ut sicut semper nociva in ea velut in bono agro emergunt: ita semper laboris boni studio eradiciuntur noxia, plantentur utilia. Oportet et Nos cunctis ejus necessitatibus nihil quibus possumus devote consulere: quatenus in ejus emendatione, quantum Dominus posse dederit, tota cum mentis devotione elaborantes, in aliqua parte ædificiorum illius, a fabricatore ejus, Domino scilicet Jesu Christo, aptari mereamur. Proinde notum sit omnibus fidelibus Sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ nostrisque Domino dispensante successoribus, quia cum nos nullis existentibus meritis, divina pietas genitore nostro a rebus humanis exempto, ad ejus Imperii culmen proverisset, quomodo aut qualiter desiderium divini cultus, quod ab ineunte ætate Christo inspirante, mente conceperam, ad effectum Domino suffragante perduceremus, et quid studii, quidve laboris progenitores nostri, præcipue tamen piæ recordationis genitor, in utilitatibus sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ exhibuerit adverteremus, et pia illorum facta non solum inviolata conservare, sed etiam imitari, pro viribus nobis a Domino concessis optaremus. Scilicet, ut si ve in Ecclesiasticis negotiis, si ve in statu Reipublicæ emendatione dignum prosperissemus, quantum Dominus posse dabat, nostro studio emendaretur. Et hætenus hinc inde mundanorum turbinum procellis emergentibus, diversissimisque occupationibus ingruentibus præpediti, ut optaveramus efficere nequivissemus, ejus rei gratia 4. Anno Imperii nostri accersitis nonnullis Episcopis, Abbatibus, Canonicis, & Monachis, & fidelibus obtinibus nostris studuimus eorum consulta sagacissima investigare inquisitione, qualiter unicuique ordini, Canonicorum videlicet & Monachorum, & Laicorum, juxta quod ratio distabat, & facultas suppetebat, Deo opem ferente consuleremus. Et quoniam licet sæpe de statu Ecclesiarum, et de ritibus præterito tempore ordinasset, et missos per singula loca destinasset, sed invidente Diabolo, per tyrannicam pravitatem præpeditum fuisset, oportebat ut hoc tempus paucis indultum ad communem Sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ, et omnium nostrorum utilitatem impenderemus, tribus videlicet modis, ut quæ bene inchoata erant, Deo auxiliante effectum obtinerent, et si quæ

d Fredericus
Lindebrogus
Codex Legum
Antiquarum,
p. 1127. &c.

bona voluntate sed incauta discretione, variis præpeditibus causis, inchoata fuissent, ut diligenter inspicerentur, et discrete, prout facultas suppetebat corrigere, si quæ etiam de his, quæ necessaria erant, deesse videremus, ut quærerentur, et Deo auxiliante ad effectum perducerentur, quatenus deinceps opus nostrum a nemine iuste posset reprehendi, et tam nostris quam futuris temporibus multorum saluti proficeret, et Deo opitulante stabile permaneret. Sed qualiter de his divina cooperante gratia, consulta fidelium pro viribus et temporis brevitate, licet non quantum debuimus & volumus, sed quantum a Deo posse accepimus egerimus, et quid unicuique ordini communi voto, communique consensu consulere studuerimus, ita ut quid Canonicis proprie de his, quidve Monachis observandum, quid etiam in Legibus mundanis, quid quoque in Capitulis inferendum foret adnotaverimus, et singulis singula observanda contraderemus. Tamen ut sive nostris, sive successorum nostrorum temporibus rata forent, et inviolabiliter Deo annuente conservarentur, libuit nobis ea quæ gesta sunt, ob memoriæ firmitatisque gratiam, in unum strictim congerere, et subiectis Capitulis annotare, et in publico archivo recondere, ut successores nostri Deo dispensante, nostra pia facta conservantes, et ipsi nihilominus bona facta sua successoribus suis servanda perdoceant.

^a Additio 2. cap. 23. Fridericus Lindebrogus, p. 1149.

^a Capitularia Caroli & Ludovici, lib. 1. Tit. 20. & lib. 6. Tit. 227.

^a Annalium Boiorum, lib. 4. 283, 284.

^a Capitularia Karol. & Ludovici Imperatoris, l. 2. c. 1. 2, 3, 4. Fridericus Lindebrogus, p. 858.

Amongst these (a) *Additional Laws* this is one, specially recommended to the Emperor by this Council, as a principal part of his Kingly office, and duty; *Quod in eligendis & constituendis Pastoribus, rectoribusque in Ecclesiis Dei, Regem magnum studium atque solertiſſimam vigilantiam et curam adhibere oporteat. Quia si aliter factum fuerit, & ordo Ecclesiasticus suam non habebit dignitatem, & Religio Christiana in multis labefactanda damna detrimenti sui patiatur, et animæ Regiæ vestræ periculum generabitur.* Moreover this pious Emperor, and Charles the Great, *Univerſos quoque Veteris ac Novi Testamenti libros, librorum imperitia, leſorum oſcitantia, interpretum incſcitia, & incuria temporum depravatos, ad annuſum et veritatem fontis coſpexit. Exſtat publicum Decretum, ut Canonici libri tantum legantur in Eccleſia, nec ſint in divinis Lectionibus tempiſque inter ſacra officia, inconditionis ſolaciuſ, barbariſmo que inconſuetis obſtrepere, in quibus quidam religioſi noſtra memoria, ſanctitatem collocant; as Joannes Aventinus informs us.*

All these particulars abundantly evidence the Supremacy of Charles the Great, and Ludovicus his ſonne, both as Kings and Emperors, in and over all Ecclesiastical persons, causes, and Popes themselves during their reigns, and that the care, protection, propagation of Religion, the Church, and their peoples salvation, belonged principally to, and were managed by them, as the chief branch of their Kingly office.

This Emperor Ludovicus Pius collected, published sundry Ecclesiastical Lawes and Constitutions, which he thus prefaced; *Omniſibus vobis aut viſu aut audiſu notum eſſe non dubitamus, quia genitor noſter, & progenitores, poſtquam a Deo ad hoc electi ſunt, in hoc præcipue ſtuduerunt, ut honoꝝ Sanctæ Dei Eccleſiæ, et ſtatus Regni decens maneret. Nos etiam juxta modum noſtrum eorum ſequentes Exemplum, ſæpe veſtram devotionem de his admonere curabimus, et Deo miſerante, multa jam emendata et coꝛrecta videmus. Unde et Deo juſtas laudes perſolvere, & veſtra bone intentioni multimodis, debemus gratias referre. Sed quoniam complacuit divina providentia noſtram mediocritatem ad hoc conſtituere, ut ſanctæ ſuæ Eccleſiæ et regni huius curam gereremus (obſerve it) ad hoc certare, et nos et filios ac ſocios noſtros diebus vitæ noſtræ optamus, ut tria ſpecialiter Capitula, et a nobis, et a vobis, Deo opem ferente, in huius regni adminiſtratione ſpecialiter conſerventur; id eſt, ut deſenſio et exaltatio vel honoꝝ ſanctæ Dei Eccleſiæ, et ſervozum illius congruus maneat, et par, et Juſtitia in omni generalitate populi noſtri conſervetur. In his quippe maxime ſtudere, et de his in omniſibus placitis quæ vobiſcum Deo*

Deo auxiliante habituri sumus, vos admonere optamus, sicut debitorum sumus. Sed quanquam summa hujus ministerii in nostra persona consistere videatur, tamen & divina auctoritate, & humana oratione, ita per partes divisum esse cognoscitur. Unde apparet, quod ego omnium vestrum admonitor esse debeo, et omnes vos nostri adiutores esse debetis. Nec enim ignoramus, quid unicuique vestrum in sibi commissâ portione conveniat, & ideo prætermittere non possumus quin unumquemque juxta suum ordinem admoneamus. Sed quoniam scimus, quod specialiter pertineat ad Episcopos, ut primum ad sacrum ministerium suscipiendum justè accedant, & in eodem Ministerio religioso vivant, & tam bene vivendo, quam recte prædicando populo sibi commissis, iter vitæ præbeant: & ut in Monasteriis in suis Parochiis constitutis sancta religio observata sit, unusquisque juxta suam professionem veraciter vivat, curam impendant. Omnes vos in hoc sacro ordine constitutos, et officio Pastoralis functos, monemus atque rogamus, ut in hoc maxime elaborare studeatis, et per vosmetipsos, et per vobis subjectos, quantum ad vestrum ministerium pertinet, nobis veri adiutores in administratione ministerii nobis commissi existatis, ut in judicio non condemnari pro nostra & vestra negligentia, sed potius pro utrorumque bono studio remunerari mereamur. Et ubicunque per negligentiam Abbas aut Abbatissa, vel Comitis, sive * vassi nostri, aut alicujus cujuslibet persone, aliquod vobis difficultatis in hoc apparuerit obsaculum, nostræ dignoscentiæ id ad tempus insinuare non differatis, ut nostro auxilio suffulti, quod vestra auctoritas exposcit, famulante, ut decet, potestate nostra, facilius perficere valeatis.

This pious King and Emperor employed (a) Abbot *Assegius* to collect all his own, his Fathers King *Charls* the Great, and other his Predecessors Ecclesiastical Lawes (made by the advice of their Nobles as well as Bishops) scattered in divers Schedules, into one Volume, and to present them to him, for the honour and good of the Church, who accordingly collected, digested them into several Books, Chapters, intituled, *Capitularia Caroli Magni, & Ludovici*, consisting of 7. Books, and near 1600 brief Chapters or Constitutions, besides 4. Books of Additions to them, printed all together in * *Fridericus Lindebrogus* his *Codex Legum Antiquarum*, wherein are comprised all sorts of Laws, Canons, Constitutions relating to the Orthodox faith, worship, service of God, Scriptures, Sacraments, all Ecclesiastical persons, duties, matters, Christians whatsoever, to whom he prescribed these Laws, by his Royal authority, (corrected, augmented by advice of his Nobles, as the Titles to each Book declare) and sundry penalties, as having the principal care of the Church and people of God committed to him, for which trust he was to give a strict account at the day of Judgement. In his 7th. Book cap: 375, 376. he thus ratified all the precedent Lawes. *Hæc omnes Constitutiones quas summam breviterque perstrinximus, sicut plenius in Canone continentur, manere perenni stabilitate sancimus. Si quis ergo Clericus aut Laicus harum sanctionum obediens esse noluerit, si Clericus fuerit, excommunicationi subjaceat. Si vero Laicus fuerit, & honestioris loci persona, medietatem facultatum suarum amittat, fisci juribus profuturam: si vero majoris loci persona est, amissione rerum suarum multatus, in exilio deputetur. Quæcunque a Parentibus nostris diversis sunt statuta temporibus, manere inoblata et incorrupta circa sacrosanctas Ecclesias precipimus. Nihil igitur a privilegiis immutetur, omnibus qui Ecclesiis servant tuitio deferatur. Quia temporibus nostris addi potius reverentia cupimus, quam ex his, quæ olim præstituta sunt, immutari.*

About the year 824. *Lotharius*, both Emperor and King of *Italy*, in the time of Pope (a) *Eugenius* the 2d. appointed Magistrates in *Rome* and through all *Italy*, qui jus Romano populo dicerent, eo quod libertate, quæ sub *Carolo Magno & Ludovico* nisi essent, abuterentur; statuit etiam, juxta antiquum morem, ut ex latere Imp. mitterentur qui judicariam exercentes potestatem justit. & omni populo facerent, & tempore, quo visum foret Imp. ratori, æqua lance penderent. Yea he made this Law to prevent the tumults about elections of Popes: *Volumus, ut ad electionem Pontificis nemo audeat venire, neq; liber, neq; servus qui aliquod impedimentum inferat, exceptis illis tantum Romanis quibus antiqua fuit consuetudo, per constitutionem Sanctorum Patrum, concessa eligendi Pontificem. Quod si quis contra nostram iussionem facere ausus fuerit, exilio afficiatur. Illud enim propter*

* See *Friderici Lindebrogii Glossarium, tit. Vassus.*

a *Fridericus Lindebrogus Codex Legum Antiquarum, p. 825, 826, &c.*

* *Francfurti 1613.*

Anno 824. a *Platina*, *Barnes, & Barnes*, in vita *Eugenii 2. Aimonius l. 4. c. 110. Mornay Hist. Papatus, p. 154. Author vitæ Ludovici.*

supra

Anno 827.
b Abbas Ulper-
 gensis Chron.
 p. 183. Ana-
 stasius, Platina,
 Balazus, Barnes,
 in vita Gregorii

4.
c Aimonius l. 4.
 c. 14. l. 5. c. 14.
 16. Flodoardus
 Hist. Remen.
 l. 2. cap. 20.
 Theganus de
 Gestis Ludovici,
 Mornay Hist.
 Papatus, p. 155.
 156. Centur.
 Magd. 9. c. 9.
 col. 405. Regi-
 no & Sieber-
 tns. An. 835.

Anno 829.
d Surius Concil.
 Tom. 3. p. 421,
 422. Centur.
 Magd. 9. c. 9.
 col. 404.

e Eisd. 7.

f Ibid. c. 31. p.
 428.

Anno 829.
g Surius Concil.
 Tom. 3. p. 358,
 359, 360, 361.
 Cent. Magd. 9.
 c. 9.
 Preuves des Li-
 bertez de Legli-
 se Gallicane,
 c. 11. p. 450.
 254.

superiores tumultus adjectum videtur, ut ad vitanda Comitiorum dissidia, aut Legati Regis, aut Rex ipse, si in Urbe adessent, consecrationi Pontificis interessent, sic enim subsequentibus annis est observatum, & postremo nova lege sancitum.

By reason of this new Law, (*b*) Gregory the 4th. was elected Pope (Anno 827.) by the people, sed ante non est ordinatus, quam Imperatoris Legatus Romam veniens, electionem populi qualis esset, examinavit: Et Gregorius Papatum intrare noluit (*futura pericula timens*) donec Imperator ejus approbasset electionem. This (*c*) Pope coming to the Emperor Ludovicus in France, under pretext to reconcile Lotharius to his Father, but in truth to foment and promote his sons and some French and German Bishops conspiracies to deprive him of his Empire, (for which they were afterwards condemned and banished) and to excommunicate those Bishops who adhered to Ludovicus; they returned him this answer: *Si excommunicatus adveniret, excommunicatus abiret*, who departing thence, returned not with that honour he expected.

The (*d*) Synod of Mentz under the Archbishop Rabanus Maurus, assembled by the Command of this Emperor Ludovicus Pius, Anno 829. sent all their Canons with a Preface before them to this Emperor, with this inscription: *Domino Serenissimo & Christianissimo Regi Ludovico, verè Religionis Serenissimo Rectori, ac Defensori Sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ: una cum uxore & prole sua, omnesque fidelibus, vita & salus, honor & benedictio, cum victoria sine fine manfura. Dignissima reverentia vestra patefecimus nos humiles simul vestri Rabanus cum Coepiscopis eius, &c.* wherein they have this notable passage touching Princes Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. *Petimus, ut sicut apud antecessores vestros Reges atque Imperatores, qui ante vos fuerunt, honorem sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ habuit, & per immunitatem eorum possessiones Ecclesiasticæ inconculsæ persisterunt, manentesque in eis semper inlæsæ perseveraverunt; ita apud vos modernis temporibus incontaminatæ permanent.* Selo enim Dei oportet vos defendere Ecclesiæ Christi, qui vobis Regnum in terra et dominationem tribuit, ut per nullius suggestiones iniquas vestram concessionem quam in Eleemosynam vestram Ecclesiis Christi contulistis, finitis permutari. Quia inhonestum est ut hoc, quod non solum Christianis temporibus a Christianis Imperatoribus, sed etiam a Paganis regibus tempore Gentilitatis ad honorem Dei collatum est, vestris temporibus in vestro Regno permutetur: Nam legimus apud (*e*) Esdræ, quod Artaxerxes Rex Esdræ scribæ legis Dei per Epistolam mandaverit, Ego Artaxerxes, &c. De Christianis vero Regibus & Imperatoribus non necesse est aliqua exempla ponere, cum omnes qui rectæ fidei, et sani dogmatis fuerint, a Constantino Imperatore, (qui primus Imperatorum Christianam Religionem defendere, atque honorem Ecclesiarum Dei amplificare cepit) usque ad vos, semper in hoc studio solerter laboraverint, ut Ecclesia Dei pacem et tranquillitatem haberet, quatenus cultus Dei incontaminatus foret, et servire jus sine impedimento, Deo delectabiliter deservirent. At the end of their last Chapter they conclude with this Petition to the Emperor: (*f*) Hæc vero quæ vobis transmissa sunt, petimus, ut vestra auctoritate firmentur. Et si quis adversarius illis existere voluerit, prævalere non permittatur. Deienim cooperatores vos esse debetis, et adiutores sanctæ ejus Ecclesiæ, quatenus Religio Christiana incontaminata temporibus Regni vestri usque ad finem servetur.

In the year of our Lord 829. the Religious Emperors (*g*) Lewis and Lotharius commanded a general Fast to be kept throughout their Realms, to divert Gods wrath and judgements, and likewise summoned 4. Councils, at Paris, Mentz, Lyons, and Tholose, to reform both in the Clergy and Laity, Church and State, all sins, vices, errors, corruptions, contrary to Gods word, which had brought plagues, wars, and other judgements on them, to appease Gods wrath against them and their Subjects. *Et quia nos magis in hoc peccasse cognoscimus, qua forma salutis omnibus esse debuiamus, et omnium curam gerere, et per auctoritatem Imperialem præbitorum acta ne tantum ad crescerent, corrigere cupimus,* (write these Emperors in their summons of, and pious prologue to the Council of Paris) wherefore, totius Ecclesiæ sibi commissa (mark it) generalitati consulere gestientes. they summoned these Councils to assist them in this their general desired reformati-

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on. Consultu Episcoporum, Sacerdotum & Optimatum ceterorumq. fidelium nostrorum. Whereupon the Bishops and others assembled in the Council of Paris, Orthodoxorum Principum iussionibus obedientes, compiled several Constitutions and Rules for the reformation of themselves and other Christians, which they digested into three Bookes. The first, for the reformation of the corruptions, lives of Bishops, Priests, Monks, abuses in Gods worship, and prophanations of the Lords day. The 2d. describing the respective duties, and regulating the enormities of Kings, Civil Magistrates, Officers, and sinnes of the people, in relation to Gods worship and service. The 3d. relating both to Kings, Bishops, Priests and people.

In the 2d. Book they thus describe the office and duty of a King, Cap. 1. *Quid sit Rex, quid esse, quidque cavere debet.* (a) *Rex a recte agendo vocatur. Si enim pie, & iuste, & misericorditer regit, merito, Rex appellatur: si his caruerit, non Rex, sed Tyrannus est, &c. Quia ergo Rex a regendo dicitur, primo ei studendum est, ut semetipsum suamque domum, Christi adjuvante gratia, ab operibus nequam emaculet, bonisque operibus exuberare faciat, ut ab ea ceteri subiecti bonum exemplum semper capiant; ipse etiam salutaris Christi praeceptis fideliter atque obedienter obsecundet, & recte agendo eis quibus temporaliter imperat, in pace & concordia atque charitate ceterorumq. bonorum operum exhibitione, quantum sibi divinitus datur, consistere faciat, et dictis atque exemplis ad opus pietatis et iustitiae, et misericordiae solerter excitet, attendens, quod pro his Deo rationem redditurus sit, quatenus ita agendo sanctorum Regum, qui Deo sincere serviendo, placuerunt, post hanc peregrinationem consors efficiatur.* De Rege autem qualis esse, vel quid cavere debeat, ita in Deuteronomo legitur, Cum ingressus fueris terram, quam Dominus Deus tuus dabit tibi, & possederis eam, habitaverisque in illa. et dixeris, Constituam super me Regem, sicut habent omnes per circuitum Nationes: eum constitues, quem Dominus Deus tuus elegerit de numero fratrum tuorum. Et post pauca. Non habebit Uxores plurimas quae alliciant animum ejus, neque Argenti & Auri immensa pondera. Postquam autem fuderit in folio regni sui, describat sibi Deuteronomium legis hujus in volumine, accipiens exemplar a Sacerdotibus Leviticae tribus, & habebit secum, legetque illud omnibus diebus vitae suae, ut discat time- re Dominum Deum suum, & custodire verba, & Ceremonias ejus, quae lege prae- cepta sunt: nec extolletur cor ejus in superbiam super fratres suos, neque declinet in partem dextram vel sinistram, ut longo tempore regnet ipse & filii ejus super Israel. Attende quod timor Dei & custodia praeceptorum ejus, & humilitas, quae non patitur eum extolli super fratres suos, & iustitia relictio non solum Regem, sed & fi- lios ejus longo faciet regnare tempore, Ut ergo Princeps extollentiam cavere debeat: Eccle- siasticus admonens ait, Principem te constituerunt? noli extolli, sed esto in illis, quasi unus ex ipsis. In Proverbiis, Rex qui Judicat in veritate pauperes, Thronus ejus in aeternum firmabitur. Item, Misericordia & veritas custodiunt Regem, & ro- boratur Clementia Thronus ejus. Quanta igitur felicitatis sit bonus Rex, quantave infelicitatis si nequam fuerit; Beatus Cyprianus, eximius Martyr Christi, de Duo- decim abusionibus; Scribens, inter cetera ita ait, Nonus iniquus, abusionis gradus est, Rex iniquus; etenim Regem non iniquum, sed correctorem iniquorum esse o- portet. Unde in semetipso nominis sui dignitatem custodire debet. Nomen enim Regis intellectualiter hoc retinet, ut subiectis omnibus rectoris officium procuret: sed qualiter alios corrigere poterit, qui proprios mores, ne iniqui sint, non corrigat? Quoniam Ju- stitia Regis exaltatur solium, & veritate solidantur gubernacula populorum. Justitia ve- ro Regis est, neminem injuste per potentiam opprimere, sine acceptione personarum inter virum & proximum suum judicare: advenis & pupillis & viduis defensorem esse: fur- ta cohibere, aulteria punire, iniquos non exaltare, impudicos & histriones non nutrire, impios de terra perdere, parricidas & pejerantes vivere non sinere, Ecclesias defendere, pauperes elemosynis alere, justos super regni negotia constituere, senes & sapientes & so- brios Consiliarios habere. Magorum & hariolorum Pythonissarumque superstitionibus non intendere, iracundiam differre, patriam & fortiter & iuste contra adversarios defen- dere, per omnia in Deo vivere, prosperitatibus non elevare animum, cuncta adversa pa- enter ferre, fidem Catholicam in Deum habere, filios suos non sinere impie a- gere, certis horis orationibus insistere: ante horas congruas non gustare cibum: Vx e- nim terrae, cujus Rex est puer, & cujus Principes mane comedunt. Hac regni prosperitatem in praesenti faciunt, & Regem ad Coelestia regna meliora perducunt. Qui vere

a Surius Con- cil. Tom. 3. p. 389, 393. Centur. Mag. 9. c. 9.

Deut. 17.

Eccles. 32.

Prov. 29.

Prov. 29.

Eccles. 10.

vero secundum hanc Legem non dissentat, multas nimirum aduersitates imperii tolerat. Idcirco enim saepe pax populorum rumpitur, & offendicula etiam de regno suscitantur, terrarum quoque fructus diminuantur, & seruitia populorum praeediuntur; multi etiam dolores prosperitatem regni inficiunt, & horum & librorum mortes tristitiam conferunt, hostium incurfus provincias undiq; vastant, bestiae armentorum & pecorum greges dilacerant, tempestates veris & hyemis terrarum fecunditatem, & maris Ministeria prohibent, & aliquando fulminum ictus segetes, & arborum flores, & pampinos exurunt. Super omnia vero Regis iniustitia non solum praesentis Imperii faciem fuscet, sed etiam filios suos & nepotes, ne possint se regni hereditatem teneant, obscurat. Propter piaculum enim Solomonis regnum domus Israel Dominus de manibus filiorum ejus dispersit, & propter meritum David Regis, lucernam de semine ejus semper in Hierusalem reliquit. Ecce quantum iustitia Regis seculo valet, intuentibus perspicue patet; Pax populorum est, tutamentum patriae, immunitas plebis, munimentum gentis, cura languorum, gaudium hominum, temperies aeris, serenitas maris, terra fecunditas, solatium pauperum, hereditas filiorum, & sibi metipsum sibi futura beatitudinis. Attamen sciat, quod sicut in Chrono hominum primus constitutus est, sic et in penis, si iustitiam non fecerit, primatum habebiturus est. Omnes namque quoscunque peccatores sub se in praesenti ha-

3 Reg. 12.

* Here, p. 126, 127.

Lib. 7. Sententiarum cap. 49.

1 Reg. 6.

Ibidem, c. 48.

buit, supra se modo in illa futura poena habebit. (After which they insert the * forecited passage of Fulgentius in Libro de veritate Praedestinationis & Gratiae.) * Isidorus, Qui recte utitur regni potestate, ita praestare se omnibus debet, ut quanto magis honoris celsitudine claret, tanto semetipsum mente humiliet. Proponens sibi exemplum humilitatis David, qui de suis meritis non tumuit, sed humiliter sese desiciens, dixit; Vilis incedam, & vilis apparebo ante Dominum qui elegit me. Item Isidorus. Qui intra seculum bene temporaliter imperat, sine fine in perpetuum regnat, & de Gloria seculi huius ad aeternam transmeat gloriam: qui vero prave regnum exercent, post vestem fulgentem & lumina lapillorum, nudi & miseri ad inferna torquendi descendunt. Reges a recte agendo vocati sunt, ideoque sicut recte agendo, Regis nomen tenetur, ita peccando amittitur. Nam & viros sanctos proinde Reges vocari in sacris eloquiis, eo quod recte agant, sensusque proprios bene regant, & motus resistentes sibi rationabili discretione componant. Recte igitur illi Reges vocantur, qui tam semetipsos, quam subiectos bene regendo modificare noverunt. Quidam ipsum nomen regiminis ad immanitatem transvertunt crudelitatis; dumque ad culmen potestatis venerint, in Apostasiam confestim labuntur: tantoque se tumore cordis extollunt, ut cunctos subditos in sui comparatione despiciant, eosque quibus praesse contigit, non agnoscant. Et paulo post. Dum mundi Reges sublimiores se ceteris sentiunt, mortales tamen se esse agnoscant, nec regni Gloriam, qua in seculo sublimantur, adspiciant: sed opus quod secum deportant, intendant. Item non post multa. Reges quando boni sunt, muneris esse Dei, quando vero mali, sceleris esse populi. Secundum meritum enim plebium, disponitur vita rectorum, testante Job: Qui regnare facit hypocritam propter peccata populi. Irascente enim Deo, talem Rectorem populi suscipiunt qualem pro peccato merentur. Nonnunquam pro malitia plebis, etiam Reges mutantur, & qui ante videbantur esse boni, accepto regno fiunt iniqui. His ita praemissis, studendum est Regi, ut non solum in se, verum etiam in sibi subiectis Regis nomen adimpleat: provideatque ut populus sibi subiectus, pietate, pace, charitate, iustitia et misericordia, atque concordia, et unanimitate, ceterisque bonis eruberet operibus, ut haec habentes, Dominum secum habere mereantur; sciatque certissime, quod non solum de se, verum etiam de ipsis Dominus ab eo fructum bonae operationis exacturus est. After which they thus proceed, Cap. 2. Quid sit propriè Ministerium Regis? Regale Ministerium specialiter est populum Dei gubernare et regere cum aequalitate et iustitia, et ut pacem et concordiam habeant, studere: ipse enim debet primo Defensor esse Ecclesiarum et servorum Dei, viduarum, orphanorum, ceterorumque pauperum, necnon et omnium indigentium. Ipsius enim terror & studium huiusmodi in quantum possibile est, esse debet primo, ut nulla iniustitia fiat; deinde, si evenerit, ut nullo modo ea subsistere permittat, nec sibi delitescendi, siue audaciam male agendi cuiquam relinquat, sed sciant omnes, quoniam si ad ipsius notitiam pervenerit quippiam mali quod admiserint, nequaquam incorruptum & insultum remanebit, sed iuxta facti qualitatem, erit & modus iusta correctionis. Quapropter

Job 34

propter in Throno regiminis positus est, ad iudicia recta peragenda, ut ipse per se provideat, & perquirat, ne in iudicio aliquis a veritate & aequitate declinet: *Scire enim debet, quod causa quam iuxta ministerium sibi commissum administrat, non hominum, sed Dei causa existit, cui pro Ministerio quod suscepit, in examinis tremendi die rationem redditurus est.* Et ideo oportet, ut ipse qui iudex est iudicium, causam pauperum ad se ingredi faciat & diligenter inquireat, ne forte illi, qui ab eo constituti sunt, & vicem eius agere debent in populo, iniuste aut negligenter pauperis oppressiones pati permittant. De Ministerio autem Regis ita Job loquitur: Cum federem quasi Rex circumstante exercitu, eram tamen marentium Consolator. Auris audiens beatificabat me, & oculus videns testimonium reddebat mihi, quod liberafsem pauperem vociferantem, & pupillam cui non esset adiutor. Benedictio perituri super me veniebat, & cor viduae consolatus sum: Iustitia indutus sum, & vestiui me sicut vestimento & Diademate iudicio meo: Oculus fui caeco, & pes claudus: Pater eram pauperum, & causam quam nesciebam diligentissime investigabam: conterebam molas iniqui, & de dentibus illius aufererebam pradam. *Solomon: Rex qui sedet in folio iudicii dissipat omne malum intuitu suo.* Item, Dissipat impios Rex sapiens, & curvat super eos fornicem. Item, Iudex sapiens vindicabit populum suum, & principatus sensati stabilis est. Item, Rex Iustus erigit terram, & vir avarus destruit eam. In Libro Sapientia. Diligite Iustitiam, qui iudicatis terram, sentite de Domino in bonitate, & simplicitate cordis quaerite illum. Item ibi. Audite ergo Reges & intelligite, discite Iudices finium terrae: praebere aures vos qui continetis multitudines & placetis vobis in turbis Nationum, quoniam data est a Domino vobis potestas & virtus ab altissimo, qui interrogabit opera vestra, & cogitationes scrutabitur: quoniam cum effectis Ministri eius, non recte iudicatis, neque custodistis legem Iustitiae, neque secundum Dei voluntatem ambulastis: Horrende & cito apparebit vobis, quoniam iudicium durissimum in his qui praesunt, fiet: Exiguo enim conceditur misericordia: Potentes autem potenter tormenta patientur: Non enim subtrahet personam cuiusquam Dominus: nec reverebitur cuiusquam magnitudinem: quoniam pusillum & magnum ipse fecit, et aequaliter pro omnibus cura est illi. Fortioribus autem fortior inilat cruciatus. * *Isidorus.* Principes seculi nonnunquam intra Ecclesiam potestatis adeptae culmina tenent, ut per eandem potestatem disciplinam Ecclesiasticam muniant. Caterum intra Ecclesiam potestates necessariae non essent, nisi ut quod non praevalet Sacerdos efficere per Doctrinae sermonem, potestas hoc imperet per disciplinae terrorem. Saepè per regnum terrenum, Coeleste regnum proficit, ut qui intra Ecclesiam positi contra fidem et disciplinam Ecclesiae agunt, rigore principum conterantur ipsamque disciplinam quam Ecclesiae * utilitas exercere non praevalet, cervicibus superbiorum potestas principalis imponat: et ut venerationem mereatur virtutem potestas impertiat. Cognoscant Principes seculi Deo debere se reddere rationem propter Ecclesiam, quam a Christo tuendam suscipiunt. Nam siue augeatur pax, & disciplina Ecclesiae per fideles Principes, siue solvantur, ille ab eis rationem eriget, qui eorum potestati suam Ecclesiam credidit. Sunt & alia utriusque testamenti oracula copiosa, quibus assatim adstruitur, quod Rex Ministerium sibi commissum secundum voluntatem Dei exercere & adimplere debet, quae hic ob prolixitatem vitandum praetermittuntur. Cap. 3. De periculo Regis, & quod bene agentes remunerare, & male vero agentes sua Authoritate comprimere, causamque pauperum ad se ingredi debeat facere. And Cap. 4. Quod aequitas Iudicii, Stabilimentum Regni, & ejus iniustitia, sit ejus everfio: are worthy perusal to these purposes, but overticious to insert; I shall only recite some passages of Cap. 5. Quod regnum non ab hominibus, sed a Deo, in cuius manu omnia regna consistunt, datur. Nemo regnum a progenitoribus regnum sibi administrari, sed a Deo veraciter atque humiliter credere debet duri, &c. which they prove by Prov. 8. 14, 15, 16. Dan. 4. 25. Dan. 5. 21. Jer. 27. 4, 5, 6. Hosea 8. 4. Job 34. 30. *Isidorus* exponit, Irascente Deo, talem rectorem populi suscipiunt, qualem pro peccato merentur. Constat ergo quia non actu, non voto, neque brachio fortitudinis humanae, sed virtute, imo oculo Iudicio dispensationis divinae regnum confertur terrenum. Et ideo cuicumque ab eo committitur, ita illud secundum ejus voluntatem disponere et gubernare procuret, quatenus cum eo, a quo illud suscepit, feliciter, in perpetuum regnare valeat; quoniam nihil prodest cuiquam terreno regno principari, si (quod absit) contigerit eum aeterno errore fieri. After which description of a

2 Pat. 19.

Job 29.

Prov. 20.

Ecc. 10.
Prov. 29.

Sap. 1.

* See here, p.
152.

* Humilitas.

Kings office and duty, they thus humbly submit all their Constitutions and Resolves in this Council to the Emperors wills, and desire their confirmation of them so far as they should think expedient, as these passages evidence; (a) *Nos fidelissimi ac devotissimi salutis vestra procuratores, iuxta parvitatem sensus nostri, prout brevis temporis permisi, secundum sanctam devotionem et ordinationem vestram, de causis ad religionem Christianam, nostrumque ministerium atque periculum pertinentibus; necnon et de his quæ ad nostram correctionem et emendationem pertinere perspeximus; siue de his, quæ populis generaliter annuncianda, & admonenda prævidimus, capitulatim in præcedentibus adnotavimus libellis, vestræque Serenitati legenda, immo probanda obtulimus, &c. Et quanquam de his quæ præmissa sunt, vestro ardentissimo desiderio prius satisfacere elegerimus, nequaquam tamen hæc quæ specialiter ad vestram personam ministeriumque pertinere cognovimus, oblivioni tradimus, sed potius vestræ salutis prospicientes, nonnulla capitula necessaria, in secundo huius operis libello, ad nomen ministeriumque vestrum pertinentia, periculumque cavendum, solerti studio congestimus, & vobis familiariter admonitionis gratia, porrigenda devotimus; ut ea diligenter inspicendo, legendo & audiendo, aperte & distincte Vestra cognoscat Celsitudo, de quibus, & pro quibus, in memoratis conventibus nostris, secundum virum nostrarum possibilitatem fideliter salubriterque, egerimus. Lib. 3. c. 8. to 27. they use these Petitions. Petimus humiliter Excellentiam vestram, illud etiam specialiter necessarium vestræ suggerere Pietati durimus: similiter etiam obnixe ac suppliciter vestræ Celsitudini suggerimus: similiter et hoc a vestra pietate necessarium durimus expetendum. Illud etiam obnixe vestram sanctam piissimamque devotionem suppliciter monendo deposcimus. Iterum, suppliciter admonendo vestræ suggerimus Serenitati: Poscimus etiam, ut Celsitudo vestra. Iterum monendo magnitudini vestræ suppliciter suggerimus. Similiter deposcimus, Rogamus etiam vestram pietatem, et hoc humiliter obsecrando admonemus, &c*

^a Ibidem, pag. 405, 406, 407, 408;

^a Ibid. Page 385.

^a Ibid. p. 409, 410.

Anno 830. Bibliotheca Patrum, Tom. 9. Paris 1. p. 553.

^b Ibid. p. 563, 564.

^a Lib. 1. Cap. 50. De Observatione Die Dominica. Quapropter specialiter atque humiliter a Sacerdotibus Imperialis Celsitudo flagitanda est, ut ejus a Deo ordinata potestas, ob honorem & reverentiam tanti diei, cunctis merum incutiat, ne in hac sancta & venerabili die mercatus & placita, & ruralia quæque opera, necnon & quaslibet corrigationes, ullius conditionis homines facere præsumant. And they conclude thus, ^a Lib. 3. Cap. 27. Porro de Episcopali libertate, quam Deo annuente, vestroque adminiculo suffragante adipisci vult Dei servitium peragendum cupimus, suo in tempore vobis dicenda atque vobiscum conferenda reservavimus.

[a] Agibardus Episcopus Lugdunensis, begins his refutation of the heretical position of the deposed Felici Orgellitani Episcopi, (dedicated to Ludovicus Pius the Emperor) with this Prologue; Christianorum religiosissimo, Christi amatori, ideoque victori ac triumphatori piissimo, Augusto, Domino gloriosissimo Ludovico Imperatori. Pie igitur, & Domine Rector, CAPUT ORBIS, decus mundi, Catholicorum omnium insignis gloriatio, qui illustratis fidem, Propagatis et pacem. Obsecro mansuetudinem vestram, ut in contemplationem Filii Dei, qui vestrum iuvat imperium, præfatum Opusculum perlustrare non dedignemini, ut vestro acerrimo iudicio probetur, aut improbetur: quia si probatur, illis quibus profuturum est, ad legendum commendatur: si autem improbat, auctor ejus per vos emendatur. If this learned Bishop thus wholly submitted his Treatise concerning one of the highest points of Faith (to wit, the Unity of the two Natures of Christ in one person) to this Emperors approbation, correction, or rejection, and gave him these Titles, no doubt he esteemed him the supreme Judge thereof. Moreover, he dedicated to him his Treatises (b) De insolentia Judæorum, & De Judaicis superstitionibus, Quem Deus omnipotens, & præordinavit Rectorem piuum (Ecclesiæ suæ) futurum temporibus valde necessariis, sublimaverit prudentiam vestram, & studium Religionis super ceteros vestri temporis mortales: (whether Popes or Bishops) unde dubium non est præparari vos ad remedium temporibus periculosis. Cum hac igitur ita se habeant, obsecro tranquillissimam longanimitatem vestram, ut præbeatis patientissimam aurem vestram, vicibus quibus ego infimus servorum vestrorum, minus necessarium puto esse admonendam sanctissimam

sanctissimam sollicitudinem vestram de re tam necessaria, quæ aut sola, aut præcipua est, cui præ cæteris succurrere debeat gubernatio vestra, &c. Et quidem si (sicut nunc multa necessitas poscit) ausi essemus aut valuisse-
mus, auribus vestris ingerere damna animarum quæ per vasa Diaboli, fidelibus infe-
runtur, adhiberi animis juberet pietas vestra remedium; Making it one prin-
cipal part of his Imperial office, care, trust, to suppress all Heresies, Blasphemies,
and Jewish Superstitions repugnant to the Scriptures, the Honor of God, the Dignity
of Jesus Christ, and prejudicial to his peoples souls. He wrote two Treatises to this
Emperor, [a] *Contra damnabilem opinionem putantium, Divini Judicii veritatem, igne,*
vel aqua, vel consilio armorum pateferi; desiring him to take away such trials, as un-
just, unreasonable, unchristian, and against the word of God.

c Ibid. p. 571,
572. 604.

Pope Gregory the 4th. coming into France about the year 833, with an inten-
tion (as Ludovicus suspected) to raise up a Civil Warr, and joyn with Lotharius his
sonne (conioyned with him in the Empire) to deprive him; this Emperor summon-
ed Agobardus, amongst other Bishops siding with Lotharius, to appear before him;
who refusing to appear, thereupon the Emperor called an Assembly of such French
Bishops as sided with him against Agobardus, (c) *Cujus hæc fuerunt capita ad verum ip-
sius contumaciam, pro confirmanda Gallicana libertate.* 1. Episcopum Romanum

Anno 833
c Aimonius l. 5.
c. 14, 16. The-
ganus de Gestis
Ludovici. Mon-
ney Hist. Pa-
patus, p. 155,
156.
c B. bl. Patr.
Tom 9, pars 1
p. 512.

vocandum Papam, Fratrem, non autem Patrem, neque Pontifi-
cem. 2. Imperialem potestatem plus posse in administranda Ec-
clesia quam Pontificem. 3. Cæsarem non debonestandum præ-
sumptuosa excommunicatione. 4. Posse unum aliquem Pontifi-
cem abjici sine injuria sedis Apostolicæ. 5. Episcopos in causa fi-
dei Iusjurandum præstare solitos Imperatori. 6. Agobardum Pri-
matum Aquitanix, nullam deinceps habituram potestatem in excom-
municando, nullamque Jurisdictionem in cæteras Parochias, si obe-
diret potius Pontifici quam Cæsari. 7. Privandum Episcopum

confortio et honore, qui potius Pontificis quam Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ
Concilio obediret. In answer whereunto, Agobardus writ two particular Treati-
ses, wherein he endeavoured, as far as he could, to answer these particulars, excu-
sing his not appearing, by reason of the publike tumults, and to diminish the Empe-
rors Supremacy, as subordinate in some sense, to the Pontifical Jurisdiction; which
Treatises he dedicated and sent to the Emperor. In his Treatise (d) *De Conspiratione*
utrinque Regiminis, Ecclesiastici & Politici, & in quibus Ecclesiastica dignitas præful-
geat Imperiorum Majestati, though he maintains the Popes Supremacy in some re-
spects; yet he expressly resolves; *Certe clementissime Domine, si nunc Gregorius Papa*
irrationabiliter, & ad pugnandum venit, merito et pugnatus, et repulsus recedet,
si autem pro quiete & pace populi & vestra laborare nititur, bene & rationabiliter obtem-
perandum est, illi non repugnandum. Si enim quod vestra voluntate, et po-
testate, cum consensu Imperii vestri factum est, & postea in Apostolica se-
de roboratum, hoc vult in pristinum reducere statum, satis rationalis & opportunus est
ejus adventus. Quia nullatenus quod ita est constitutum a vobis, de-
betis mutare; nec enim sine gravi periculo, et reatu animæ fieri po-
test in his sacratissimis diebus Paschalibus. He concludes thus, *Quia*
nemo dubitat de nullo alio opere præstatis, tam chare D'um placare, quam de sollicitu-
dine et administratione Pacis et unitatis Ecclesiæ, vestra solertissi-
ma Religio elaboget, ut omnis anima fidelis proficeat in fide et cog-
nitione Dei, quæ res omnibus rebus Deo clarior est, hujus rei nifus merita vestra ap-
propinquare faciat Apostolicis meritis.

d Bibliotheca
Patrum, Tom.
9. p. 616.

(a) Synodus Aquisgranensis summoned by the Emperor Ludovicus Pius Anno 833.
gave him this account of their proceedings. Ibi de statu Sanctæ Ec-
clesiæ, admonente Serenissimo atque totius religionis devo-
tissimo præfato Imperatore (Ludovico) tractare cepissemus:
Revolutis igitur a vestra nobis benignissima devotione, col-
latis tribus Capitulis, id est, ut ventilarentur, &c. Vestram siquidem nihilo-
minus supplici admonitione & affectu charitatis excellentiam admonentes, si quæ sunt Ec-
clesiasti-

Anno 833
a Surius, l. 1. c. 1.
3. p. 109, 410;
415, 417, 419;
420, 421. Cen-
tur. Magd. 9
c. 9.

ecclesiastici juris vestra piissima gubernatione erigenda, ut per vos vestrosque Christiana Religionis committiones, subleventur, &c. Hac nos fideles, & devotissimi famuli & Oratores vestri, juxta parvitatem sensus nostri, secundum sanctam ordinationem vestram, de his quæ a nostram, & consecrationum subjectorumque nostrorum correctionem & emendationem pertinere persequimur, &c. Sed nunc quia de his quæ præmissa sunt, vestro ardentissimo desiderio prius satisfacere studuimus, illud tamen quod ad vestram specialiter personam ministeriumque pertinere cognoscimus, nullatenus oblivioni tradidimus, sed potius vestre salutis prospicientes, nonnulla capitula necessaria fideliter collegimus, & vobis familiariter admonitionis gratia devoteq; porrigenda devovimus. Similiter quadam ad filios vestros pertinentia, quadam vero ad committiones vestros non minus pertinentia. Which Constitutions commonly begin thus; being farr from arrogating any supreme Legislative, or Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction to themselves, but ascribing all to the Emperor, **Petimus humiliter Excellentiam vestram, &c. Rogamus etiam vestram Pietatem propter divinam misericordiam, vestramque salutem.** Et hoc humiliter admonemus. Innotescimus vobis, quod ea quæ in Capitulis vestris nobis tractanda commisit, &c. Vestram interea Deo amabilis Auguste petimus clementiam. Similiter est postulandum. Meminimus in posteris Conventibus nonnulla capitula ab Episcopis vestra admonitione fuisse tractata, atque statuta, pro necessitate, & communi salute, utrorumq; ordinum, Ecclesiasticorum scilicet & secularium, sed nescimus quibus impediens obstaculo, quasi oblivioni tradita. Ideoq; affectu devoto supplici admonitione admonemus, & ad exorandum precamur, ne ista quæ nunc licet per pauca prælibavimus, ad statum Sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ, simili modo oblivioni tradantur, sed pro seculo omnibus inconcussa habeantur atque conserventur, &c. All they concluded being invalid without his imperial Sanction, and care to see the same put in due execution.

Anno 835
a Joannes Trithemius, De Ecclesiasticis Scripturis.
Sigeberti chronicon, Anno 843. Bibl. Patrum, Tom. 9. pars 1. p. 613.
Centur. Magd. 9. col. 515. Aimonius, l. 5. c. 20. Crantzius Metropolitani. l. 1. c. 27.
* Bibl. Patrum, Tom. 9. pars 1. p. 641, 642.

(a) *Theodulphus Abbas Floriacensis*, postea *Aurealensis Episcopus*, for conspiring with the Emperor *Ludovicus Pius* his sons, and exciting them to depose their Father from the Empire, was imprisoned by the Emperor, whom he afterwards presenting with some sacred *Hymnes*, was thereupon released by him: After which he presented him with this Panegyric *Poem*, expressing his Supremacy over all Ecclesiastical as well as Temporal persons, his extraordinary piety in promoting Religion, protecting, instructing, edifying the Church and people committed to his charge, both by his precepts and example.

* *Inclyte Cæsar ave, Ludovice serene, valeque;
Et tibi cunctipotens, det bona cuncta Deus.*

*Quis te totus laudat, veneratur, amatque,
Et monitis paret sedulus unde tuis.*

Primus in orbe micas, nulli es virtute secundus;

Viribus arripotens, te scio nemo parem:

Arma es Pontificum, venerandi culmina juris.

Tu vigil instant er, ad meliora levas.

Tu decus es Cleri, populi, seu norma salutis.

Judicii callem arriter æquus ames.

Hæc facis, et facienda doces quæ ad sidera tollunt:

Quæ mergunt, solers semper ad ima caves, &c.

Est et Scripturis patulus tibi sensus in alinis,

Lectio te quarum pascit alitque frequens.

Corporeis epulis satiaris corpore parcè;

Sed tua divina mens alimenta sitit;

Nam cibus illatus satiat tua viscera parcus;

Sed cibus æternus mentem, animumq; cibatur.

Plus epulas animæ quam carnis diligit ipse;

His carès ad tempus, has sine fine sitis, &c.

Quæ mala sunt refuges, bona quæque amplecteris ultra.

Inde Deus tecum Rex benedictæ manet.

Ecclesiæ sanctæ dilectus filius extas,

Quam tibi commisit, unicus ipse Patris,

Hanc

Nota.

Hanc tu constanter Doctrinis imbuis almis,
Incolis, augmentas, instruis, ædificas:

Nemo fide Christi nam te præstantior extat.

Plus orthodoxus est tibi nemo super,

Est tibi nemo super, similis pietate vel altu:

De te vera loqui me tua facta probant.

Divitias mundi canto sectaris amore,

Quis tibi constanter regna beata paras, &c.

Regius hac fastus, tua non devotio quarit,

Cui semper dulcis gloria Christus inest.

Moribus eximius, rutilus bonitate coruscas,

Semper adhaerere est tibi velle Deo.

Teque, tuas laudes liquido depromere nulla

Vox potis est, quas nunc nostra camæna tacet.

[a] *Jonas Aurelianus* (his Successor) thus seconds *Theodulphus*;

En adest Cæsar, pius & benignus,

Orbe et in toto rutilat Cornuscus,

Atq; præ cunctis bonitate pollet.

Hic decus quidem Ecclesiæ, Paterque,

Ornat hanc solers, juvat, fovetque,

Erudit, amat, colit, instruitque

Dogmate largo, &c.

Anno 845
a Bibl. Patrum
Tom. 9. pars 1
p. 642.

This [b] *Jonas Aurelianus* Episcopus hath this memorable passage concerning *Charls* the Great, and *Ludovicus Pius* the Emperors diligence, to protect and instruct the Church of God committed to their care, not the Popes; *Obeunte pia memoria pio Principe Carolo, Ecclesiam iis inclitus filius ejus (mutu divino) regendam tuendamque suscepit. Eisdem piissimi Principis solertissimo studio, Ecclesia ita quotidie, Domino opitulante, ad meliora succrescit, ut omnibus sacra fidei perspicuum sit, eam et in fidei sinceritate salubriter roborari, et in cognitione divinarum Scripturarum sapienter dilatar, et spiritualiter fructificari, &c. Quia igitur idem clarissimus Deo Princeps, divinoq; plenius amore succensus, & cælesti gratia adjunctus (Ludovicus) eandem Ecclesiam sibi traditam instanter erudit, armisque spiritualibus munit, et dictis et exemplis incessanter ad alta sustollit, dignum est, ut sicut Pater illius (Carolus) Magistri ejusdem Claudii (Tauronensi Episcopi) adhibita sanctarum Scripturarum auctoritate damnavit errorem; ita nihilominus iste gloriosus filius ejus (Ludovicus) nulli pietate, sapientia, fortitudine & puritate secundus; discipuli ejusdem Felicis (Urgilitanensis Episcopi) blasphemias damnaret blasphemias, divinarumque Scripturarum telis confodiat, ECCLESIAMQUE SIBI COMMISSAM, Christo secum regnante, ab his et hujusmodi erroribus immunem liberamque reddat. Quod quidem qualiter ejus pio sagacissimoque studio actum sit, in processu huius operis patebit.* Moreover, this [c] *Jonas Aurelianus*, in his *Præfatio*, Orusculo Carolo Regi porrecto, adversus *Heresim* Claudii Præfatis Taurinensis, (which he writ at the command of his father *Ludovicus Pius* the Emperor) gives this character of his religious zeal and care to defend the Faith and Church of Christ committed to his Government (not the Popes.) *Quantus, Dominus noster gloriosissimus genitor vester, Deus dilectissimus Ludovicus Cæsar, religiosissimus, in fidei sinceritate, totius bonitatis virtute, proborum morum claritudine, sapientia & sanctitatis dote, divinique amoris ac favoris fervore, et in Ecclesiasticis negotiis (Domino administrante) ad honorem et cultum divinum pertinentibus augmentandis, et gubernandis emineret, quantumque Ecclesiam Christi precioso sanguine redemptam, SUOQUE REGIMINI DIVINITUS COMMISSAM (motum Patris tui videlicet pii & omni-*

b De Cultu Imaginum, l. 1.
Bibl. Patrum,
Tom. 9. pars 1.
p. 58. b.

Anno 846
d Bibl. Patrum,
Tom. 9. pars 1.
p. 90, 91.

mi,

ni, Caroli nobilissimi Augusti imitatus, imo supergrediens) disciplina liberalium artium educaverit, et utriusque testamenti sancti paginis, atque erimiorum Patrum dictis, ad propellenda hæreticorum dogmata venenata, et instruerat, et instrui fecerit, cunctis Catholicæ Apostolicæque fidei filiis perspicuum esse non ambigitur; quoniam revera id quod dicitur in promptu esse cernitur. Is namque Deo dilectissimus Princeps, inter cetera bonitatis sue studia, erga divinum cultum amplificandum multiplici modo ferventia, quendam Presbyterum, &c. ut Italicæ plebis (qua magna ex parte a sanctorum Evangelistarum sensibus procul aberant) sana doctrina consultum ferret Taurinensi, præfulem subrogari fecit Ecclesiæ, &c. Then giving him an account of his Book against Claudius, he thus prostrates it to his correction. Quicquid minus responsum, minusque præmissis prævis obiectis contrarium repererit, suæ sanctorum uberiusque intelligentiæ scriptis et dictis, ob honorem et defensionem sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ, suppleat.

Anno 648
a Bibliotheca
Patrum, Tom.
9. pars 1. p. 546

[a] Lupus Abbot of Ferraria in his 64. Epistle ad Regem Carolum, among other instructions to him, ut pacificè sollicitèque regnatis, hactenus memorabile passage; *Nec vos cuiuslibet ita vos subiciatis, ut ad ejus arbitrium omnia faciatis: cur enim regum nomen prætenditis, si regnare nescitis? Ut pace cunctorum dixerim, non expedit vobis et populo, ut aliquem vobis æquetis, (whether Pope or Bishop) nedum præponatis, &c. Si filius hoc non est concedendum, quanto minus aliis? VITEM VOS GERERE DEI QUIS IGNORAT? At ipse dicit, Gloriam meam alicui non dabo. Non a mittentur ergo a vobis, monitores quos b. julos vulgus appellat, &c. Ne mutatis Potentes, & quos cum vultis extenuare potestis. Therefore neither Popes, nor Prelates; both made, deposed by Emperors and Kings.*

Anno 850
b Anastasius,
Platina, Barns,
Barus in Leone
4. Cent.
Magd. 9. col.
499, 500. Nau-
clerus & Sa-
bellicus.
* Distinct. 63

About the year 850. Pope Leo the 4th. a Clero & populo eligitur, & nescio Imperatore consecratur Pontifex, interposita tamen cautione *de salbo ejus Jure*: perchance by this Papal Decree, Lothario & Ludovico Augustis, registred by * Gratian. Inter Nos & Vos pæli s. r. e. statutum est, & confirmatum, quod electio & consecratio futuri Romani Pontificis, non nisi justè & canonicè fieri debeat, (to wit, by the Emperors consent.) This Pope afterwards super multis criminibus accusatus, præcipue quod Consilium inisset de transferendo Imperio iterum de Gallis ad Constantinopolitanos: Lotharius Imperator ergo profectus Romam, ea de re Leonem apud se dilatum **convenit**; wherupon Leo, juramento se purgavit, consuevit Pontificum more, & delatores delationis sue dant pænas. This Emperor therefore was paramount this Pope.

Anno 853
c Surius Concil.
Tom. 3. p. 469,
470, 474. Cen-
tur. Magd. 9.
c. 9. Florenti-
nus Hist. Rem.
Ecc. I. 5. c. 8.

c K. Charles & Ludovicus his son, summoned, presided in, directed, ratified the Synod apud Medardum in suburbio Sueffionensi, Ann. 853. wherein Laymen as well as Bishops were present. Idem Rex Carolus Episcopis apud urbem Sueffionum in Monasterio Sancti Medardi **convenire præcepit**, ubi posthabitis secularibus curis, ipse quoque Rex adesse dignatus est. Ut non solum devotione, Ecclesiæ se filium esse ostenderet, verum etiam sibi opus esset, **Potestatem Regia potestate monstraret.** Cum itaque præsul's diversarum Ecclesiarum, pro Rege multa humiliter et prudenter proponente, tractata sunt potius quadam quam diffinita essent, &c. *¶ Rex absque ulla ambitione Synodum solus ingressus, simpliciter cum Episcopis resedebat; where, the degrading of [d] Ebbo Archbishop of Rheims, was debated, approved, and the placing of Hincmarus in his See, justified, ratified; Ebbo being deprived, and thrust into a Monastery by Ludovicus Pius, for sedition and Treason against him, with other Bishops, where he did 7. years penance. After which, the crimes and insufficiency of many Bishops were there examined: Statuitq; sancta Synodus, annuente pio Principe, ut i non i Legati dirigerentur, &c. Et quæ ipsi per se non valerent corrigere, judicio proximi futuri Concilii, et potestati Regi revelarent. Obtentum est etiam a devotissimo Rege, ut incesti, &c. Postremo, quod a quibusdam conservabatur, præfixum est generaliter ab omnibus custodiendum, ne ullæ Res Ecclesiasticæ absque Regis cohibentia (some read it conniventia) commutentur.* After which, Cunctis secundum regulam ecclesiasticam canonicè & diligenter patratis, decretum & judicatum est, a sancta et venerabili Synodo, assentiente et favente Christianissimo et gloriosissimo Rege Domino CAROLO, hæc omnia gestis inferi, et in conspectu Synodali relegi, et rata omnia judicata, cunctorum manibus, et subscriptione canonica, perpetuo inconvulsa et inviolabiliter permansura, firmari.

d Cent. Magd.
9. c. 7. col. 344.
c. 8. col. 272,
c. 9. col. 418.
Aimonius, l. 4.
c. 105. Floren-
tinus Hist. Rem.
Ecc. I. 5. c. 8.

Concilium

[a] Concilium Valentinum, Anno 855. Convened propter causam Episcopi Civitatis ipsius, criminibus diffamati, ex Iussione pii Principis (Lotharii Imperatoris) having made 23. Canons, and given judgement against an Archdeacon, *Ut vigor legis & pax Ecclesiarum sub tutela pii Principis nostri, integro jure salva consistere valeat*; they supplicated the King, *Quod iudicium nostrum tam necessarium, et publicæ disciplinæ Ecclesiasticæ defensionis, omnino suppliciter postulamus, ejusdem pii Principis auctoritate muniri.* Without which their Canons and Sentences were both invalid: subjoyning thereunto the Law of the Emperor Constantine the Great, *De confirmando iudicio Episcoporum.*

Anno 855
a Surius Con-
cil. Tom. 3. p.
475, 480. Cen-
tur. Magd. 9. c.
9.

[b] Synodus Trevirensis, Anno 855. hath this Prologue, evidencing that the Emperor Ludovicus the 2d. summoned it, prescribed the Bishops therein both by word of mouth and writing, what heads or Chapters they should consider, frame, and then return them all to him when finished, to examine, alter, ratify as he saw cause; *Capitula quædam et commonitorium, Imp: Ludovicus suis Episcopis de statu sui Regni considerare præcepit: De conversatione Episcoporum, Presbyterorum, et cæterorum Clericorum; de doctrina et prædicatione in populo; de conscriptione librorum, & restauratione Ecclesiarum; de ordinatione Plebium & Xenodochiarum; de Monasteriis virginum seu fæminarum, quæ secundum regulam Sancti Benedicti, vel ea quæ secundum canonicam auctoritatem disposita esse debent*; adding, *Quicquid in præfatis ordinibus extra ordinem est, aut per negligentiam præpositorum, aut per desidiam subditorum, vehementer cupio scire, et secundum Dei voluntatem vestrumque sanctorum consilium, sic emendare desidero, ut in conspectu Dei nec ego reprobus sim, neque vos et populus in commissis iram suæ indignationis incurreat.* Quomodo autem istud rationabiliter questum & monitum perficiatur, vobis hoc ad tractandum, ac nobis renunciandum commitimus. De minoribus quoque causis quæ generaliter omnes, specialiter aliquos tangunt, et indigent emendatione, volumus, ut posthac illas quærat, et ad nostram notitiam reducat, sicut est de Comitibus, et eorum Ministris, &c. sicut in reliquis causis, quæ ad peccatum nostrum pertinere possunt, ac populi nostri. These heads, exhortations, and admonitions of the Emperor being communicated to, and read before this Synod, omnes unanimiter pro nostra indole omnipotenti Deo devotissime gratias egerunt, quia populo suo tam piissimum quamque Sanctissimum Principem dedit, qui cuncta ordinabiliter et rationabiliter disponere cupit. After which the Bishops returned him an answer to each head in writing, which being read before the Emperor, in Augustali aula residens, tractaturis de statu sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ, et pace, divina dispositione commissi sibi Imperii, ac generali totius populi salute, præsentibus Optimatibus suis, dixit; Crebro vestram fidelitatem retroactis temporibus commonuimus, ut secundum normam Christianæ religionis vivere unusquisque nostrorum fidelium cogeret, &c. Which ended, he enacted several Lawes and Constitutions for the benefit and Peace of the Church, with a *Sancimus autem; Sancimus nihilominus, &c.* Concluding, *Hæc olim sæpe inconvencata, & Augustali nostra sanctione promulgata, quia ex parte in aliquibus videntur neglecta hactenus, acriori ulcisci debuerat examine, &c. destinaturi post modicum Legatos strenuos emendata inquirere. Qui verò negligens repertus fuerit, propriis honoribus nostro privabitur iudicio.*

Anno 855
b Surius Con-
cil. Tom. 3. p.
480, 481, 483.
Centur. Magd.
9. c. 9.

Nicholas the 1. (as [c] Anastasius with others inform us,) being elected Pope by the unanimous assent of the Senators, Clergy, and People of Rome, was consecrated and installed in his See in the presence of the Emperor Ludovicus the 2d. by his approbation and assent. After which the Pope, with the Nobles and Great men of Rome out of love and respect going to visit the Emperor in a place called Quintus, where he fixed his seat, the most excellent Emperor so soon as he saw the Pope, obvius in adventum eius occurrit, frangumque Casar equi Pontificis suis manibus adprehendens, pedestri mox, quantum sagittæ jactus extenditur, trahit. After the Emperor had feasted him, Augustus, cuius amore fæ-

Anno 858
c In vita Nich.
1. See here, p.
79. See Plati-
na, Onuphrius,
in his Life,
Baronius in his
Annals, Simo-
neta, l. 5. c. 11.
Centur. Magd.
9. cap. 7. col.
num 336 2.

a See here, p 74
 b Gratian Dis-
 tinct. 10, 95
 Surius Concl.
 Tom. 3. p. 513,
 516. Ana-
 stasius, Platina,
 Balzus, Barnes,
 Luitprandus,
 Stella. Onu-
 phrius, in Ni-
 cholaio 1.
 Centur. Magd.
 9. c. 10, col.
 504, 505.
 Alvarus Pela-
 gius lib. 1. De
 Planct. Ecclef.
 Artic. 4, 6.
 See Here, p. 37,
 38, 39, 80.
 c 2 Chron: 9.
 8. 2 Chron: 19
 6, 7. Prov: 8
 15. Psal: 88. 1
 d John Squire,
 Exposit. on 2
 Theff. 2. v. 3, 4.
 Sermon 8.
 e See Centur.
 Magd. 5. to 13
 cap. 7, 9, 10.
 p. 329, 330.

f John Squire
 on 2 Theff. 2.
 v. 3, 4. Sermon
 8, 9, 10.
 Dr. Downham
 ham de Anti-
 christo l. 4. c. 10
 Anno 865.
 g Aventinus
 Annalium Boi-
 orum l. 4.
 p. 329, 330.
 Cent. Magd. 9.
 col. 338, 339,
 552, 553. Re-
 gin. & others.

num Imperialis equi supercandens, accompanying him in his return, cum pervenissent spaciocissimum itineris locum, Imperator equo descendit, equumque Pontificis iterum, ut meminimus supra, traxit, dulcissimisque osculis invicem perornantes, luciflua gratulati sunt. What this Emperor then voluntarily did out of overmuch courtship and humility only, some (a) Popes have since claimed and prescribed as a bounden service, vassalage, & incumbent duty: Which so puffed up this Pope with Antichristian pride, insolency, that he presumptuously, b Imperatores & seculares Principes decreto exclusit ab omnibus Clericorum Conciliis; nisi quando causa ageretur de fide. Ne Lai- ci de Clericorum vita judicent, Pontificem nec solvi, nec ligari posse decernit a seculari po- testate; quem constat a pio Principe Constantino DEUM appellatum, cum nec posse DEUM ab hominibus judicari manifestum est. When as this Pope and other Parasites who make use of his reason, had quite forgotten, 1. That it appears not by any authen- tick Historyes, that Constantine the Great ever gave the Title of God, to the Pope. 2ly. Admit he gave it to one Pope out of the contemplation of his piety, and the spirit of God dwelling in him, yet this extended not to his Successors, especially to such who were devils incarnate in their actions, 3ly. That the Scripture never called the Pope, nor St. Peter, God; much lesse made either of them a God in truth: but it particularly, frequently styles Kings, and Temporal Judges (Gods Vicegerents on earth, (c) sitting in his throne, executing Judgement and Justice in his stead) Gods; to wit, in a qualified sense, not in reality and essence. Exod. 4. 16. c. 7. 1. c. 22. 28. Josh. 22. 22. Psal. 82. 1, 6. Psal. 136. 2. Psal. 138. 1. 1 Cor. 8. 5. Therefore they being thus frequently called Gods by God himself in sacred Writ; may lawfully judge, condemn, depose Popes and Priests, who are but men, and never stiled Gods in Scripture. 4ly. Kings being thus stiled Gods, and sitting on Gods Throne, the Pope who is but a man, and sits only in St. Peters chair at most, not Gods own throne, hath not the least power or pretext (by this Popes own argument, inference) to judge, much lesse depose, dethrone these Gods, as they have most antichristianly presumed. 5ly. Sundry Emperors, Kings notwithstanding this stile of God given to the Pope by Constantine, did e frequently before and after Pope Nicholas his time both judge & depose Popes, Patriarchs, Metropolitans, Bishops, Priests, for their Heresies, Treasons, Schisms, rebellions, and other crimes, as the premised and subsequent examples and Eccle- siastical Historyes evidence. This therefore is a nonsense argument for a Pope, espe- cially in his own case, to exempt himself from the Emperors Supreme Jurisdiction. 6ly. His exempting all inferior Clergymen, as well as Bishops, Popes from Empe- rors, Kings, and Civil Magistrates censures, powers, though Constantine never stiled them Gods, is an argument, that every Priest whatever, is as much a God, as the Pope himself in this respect, and equal to him in Authority; which subverts Popes pretended Sovereign Monarchy, and sole Deity, appropriated only to those who sit in Peters imaginary, but f Antichrists real Chair at Rome. 7ly. About the year 865. Gun- therus (g) Archbishop of Coler, and Thegandus Treverer si, for approving the divorce of the Emperor Lutharius from Theberga for incest with her brother, in the Synod of Metz, after long attendance at Rome, were by this Pope Nicholas imprisoned, de- posed, excommunicated, without sight, hearing, reason, or cause alleged, against all rules of Justice: who complained to the Emperor of this his Tyranny, and likewise writ a notable Epistle to him in answer to his Letter, after their release, in their own names, behalfs, and their fellow Bishops, in justification of the Emperor and them- selves, against his pretended supremacy over them: wherein they have these pas- sages amongst others, Subito & de i proviso sententiam injustam, temerariam, nefa- riam, Christiana religioni repugnantem, de chartula effutisti, satis proterve tuis fra- tribus, atque conservis illuxisti, & c. Tu Pontificis quidem personam pra te fers, at Ty- rannum agitas: sub cultu Pastoris Lupum sentimus. Titulus Parentem mentitur, tu te factis Jovem ostentas. Cum sis Servus servorum, Dominus dominantium esse contendis, atque juxta disciplinam Christi Servatoris nostri infimus ejus omnium mini- ster templi Dei: Tu vero libidine dominantium in praeceptis abis, quicquid tibi libet, licet. Fucus factus es Christianis. Hisce de causis nos cum fratribus nostris & collegis. neque Edictis tuis stamus, neque vocem tuam agnoscimus, neque tuas Bullas, contrariaque finemus. u eos qui Senatus consultis impiis non parent, impietatis condem- nas, usdem sacrificiis interdicis. Nos tuo te ense jugulamur, qui edictum Domini Dei- que nostri conspuis, concordiam collegii discindis, pacem, immortalem caelestis Princi- pis te feram, violas. Spiritus sanctus auctor est omnium Ecclesiarum, qua longissime

& latissime terrarum orbis porrigitur. Civitas Dei nostri cuius municeps sumus, ad universos cæli cardines pertinet, Major est urbe, quæ Babyloniam, a sacris Matribus appellatur, ut quæ divinitatem usurpat, cælo se æquat, se æternum fore, neque unquam errasse, aut errare posse gloriatur. This Pope presumed to send this insolent Letter to this Emperour Lotharius, to deprive him of his *antient Right* of conferring *Archbishopricks* and *Bishopricks*, without the Popes consent, which his Predecessors durst not attempt, prefaced by [a] *Gratian* with this Rubrick; *Auctoritate Apostolica, non Regio favore, Episcopus est eligendus: Porro scias quod relatum est nobis, quod quicumque ad Episcopatum in regno tuo provehendus est, non nisi* faventem tibi permittas eligi. Idcirco Apostolica auctoritate, sub divini iudicii obtestatione, injungimus tibi, ut in Reverenti Urbe, & in Agrippina Colonia nullum eligi patiaris, antequam relatum super hoc nostro Apostolatu fiat.* But neither he nor his Successors would depart with this flower of their Crown to the Pope, as is evident by the 63. *Epistle* of this Pope *Nicholas* the 1. to the Bishops under King *Lotharius*, Anno 863. to grant a license to the Clergy and people to elect a Bishop in *Ecclesia Cameracensis*, void above 10. moneths, by sundry other instances collected by [b] *M. Pierre Pishou*, a learned French Advocate, and Pope *Pelagius* his *Epistle Laurentio Episcopo*, *Gratian* Dist. 63.

Concilium Pistis celebratum, Anno 863. (as *Surius* confesseth) videtur potius quidem esse Regni Procerum Conventus, quam Episcoporum Synodus; *Carolus enim Rex, & Episcopi, Abbates quoque & Comites, et cæteri in Christo fideles, ex diversis Provinciis convenerunt.* Wherein they recte and ratified, *plura Capitula Prædecessorum Regum et Synodorum.* Ut autem hac qua observanda supra scripsimus ac pronuntiavimus, nunc & de cætero certius & expessius, a nobis atque Successoribus inconvulsa serventur, propriis manibus his subscribere communi consensu decrevimus, ea conditione servata, ut omni, in cunctis ordinibus lex juris debiti, & honor ab omnibus obdienter & fideliter, cooperante Domino, conservetur.

The [d] *Council of Worms* Anno 866. is thus prefaced, *Dum studio amatoris Christi, ac iussione excellentissimi glorioſique Domini Ludovici Regis, cujus tanta erga Deum devotio erat, ut non solum in rebus humanis, verum etiam in causis divinis maximam semper sollicitudinem gerat, apud Vormariam Civitatem, &c. convenissemus.* After which followes a Confession of faith, and 80 Chapters or Canons there agreed on, published by this Kings approbation.

After the death of Pope *Nicholas* the 1. *Hadrian* the 2d, notwithstanding some dissents, was elected Pope, collectis omnibus tam Episcopis cum universo Clero, quam primoribus urbis, cum obsecrandis sibi populis, & ad Lateranensem Patriarchium certatim a Procerum & plebis multitudine deportatur; Imperator Legatos ad eligendum Pontificem Romanam misit, Clerus & populus auctoritatem eligendi Pontificem sibi vindicaturi, non quaſita Imperatoris auctoritate, neque accersitis Legatis eligunt. Quod audientes tunc missi Principes, moleste tulere, indignati scilicet non quod tantum virum nollent Pontificem, quem nimium anxie cupiebant, Sed quod se dum præſentes essent, quiritæ non invitaverint, nec optatæ a se futuri Præſuli electioni interesse consenserint. Qui acceptæ ratione, quod non Augusti causa contemptus, sed futuri temporis hoc omisum fuerit omnino prospectu, ne videlicet Legatos Principum in electione Romanorum Pontificum, mos expectandi, per huiusmodi fomitem inoleſceret, omnem suæ mentis indignationem medullitus sedare, ac salutandum electum etiam ipse humiliter accipere. Denique omnes hunc certatim coram isdem Legatis rare, & ad unum Pontificatus apicem provehendum trahere, ac anxie nitentur portare, nisi blanditiis Senatorum & consiliis aliquantulum sedari fuissent: (the Emperor having not yet assented to his election:) Quorum omnium unanimis desierum audiens *Hludovicus Christianissimus Imperator*, cognoscens etiam, qualiter in eo decretum suis subscriptionibus roboraverunt, valde gavisus est, &c. Et* mox Imperialem scribens Epistolam, cunctos Romanos quod dignum tanto elegisset officio conlaudavit, per quam videlicet innuit, nulli quippiam præmi fore ex consecratione ipsius quoquo

a Distinctio 63
* Forte fecit
eos jurare ei fidelitatem, quod
Clerici non
debent facere
Laico, Can. 22
quæ 5 Glosſa

b Preuves des
Libertez de
Leglise Gallie
cane, a Paris,
1651. c. 15.
p. 550. ſect. 8

Anno 863
c *Surius* Con-
cil. Tom. 3. p.
486. 489. 491.
Centur. Magd.
9. c. 9.

Anno 866
d *Surius* Con-
cil. Tom. 3. p.
520.

Anno 867
e *Annaſtanius*,
Platina, Onu-
phrius, Fasci-
culus Tempo-
rum, Barnes,
Balxus, Cent.
Magd. 9. c. 10
in *Hadriano* 2.
p. 330.

* *Floardus*
Histor. Re-
menſ. Eccleſiæ,
l. 3. c. 17. *Ad-
rianus* Papa
conſenſu *Luo-
dovici* Impera-
toris, in Ponti-
ficatu ſucceſſit.

quoque modo pollicendum; cum ipse hanc non suorum suggestione, sed Romanorum potius unanimitate commotus ardentissime cuperet provenire. Maxime cum reddi, qua ablata fuerant, non auferri ab Ecclesia Romana vel deperire quippiam se diceret amare. After the Emperors approbation of his Election by his Letters sent to Rome, he was consecrated and installed Pope, not before.

Anno 870.
a Flodoardus
Hist. Eccles.
Remons. l. 1. c.
19, 10. l. 3. c.
1, 2, 3, &c.
where it is at
large recorded.
Pierre Pythou
Preuves des Li-
bertez de Leg-
lise Gallicane,
c. 15, 17.

b Pierre Pythou
Ibid. p. 68, 69,
&c. 262, 265,
302, to 310,
319, 329, 330,
331, 346, 347,
348, 349, 792,
1296, 1297.
c Bibl. Patrum
Tom. 9. pars 2.
p. 43, 44, 45,
46, &c.

d 2 Par. 23.

* Here p. 191,
192, 193.

Hincmarus Archbishop of *Rhemes* in *France* (elected, consecrated by the consent of *Carolus Calvus*) succeeding *Ebbo*, (a) who for his Treason against the Emperor *Ludovicus Pius*, to deprive him of the Empire, and thrust him into a Monastery, was deprived of his Archbishoprick, upon the Emperors complaint against him in *Synodo apud Theodonis Villam*, but after *Ludovicus* his death, restored to it by *Lotharius*, with whom he confederated) the Kings of *France* having an antient Right and Prerogative annexed to their Crowns, to conferre all Archbishopricks and Bishopricks within their Realms, to grant Licenses to elect them to the Clergy and people, and to approve or reject them when elected, as Archbishop *Hincmarus* informs us, in his *Epistola ad Carolum Regem, pro Sylvanectensi Ecclesia Pastore viduata*: in his *Epistola ad Clerum & plebem Beluacensis Ecclesia*: & *Epistola ad Hludovicum 3. Francorum Regem, pro electione Episcopi Beluacensis*, and *Pierre Pythou* manifestly proves by many evidences; as likewise to (b) deprive, imprison, banish, execute Bishops persons, and confiscate their Estates for Treason and other crimes, against their Oathes of Fealty and Homage to them, being the Kings Lieges and Vassals, as *Pythou* proves at large.

This Archbishop *Hincmarus* in his *Epistola 1. ad Ludovicum Balbum Regem*, c. 9. resolves thus: (c) *Sollicite unicuique ambulandum est cum Deo suo, et Regi præcipue, qui sub tantis erit poenis in futuro sæculo, si malus fuerit, super quantos fuit in isto sæculo, in quo se a malitia non corripserit, et non fecit iudicium et iustitiam, et non ambulabit sollicite cum Deo suo.* And in his *Epistola 2. ad Carolum Crassum Imperatorem*, he exhorts and intreats him: *At Ecclesiam Gallicanam pene collapsam restituatis, vestrique sapienti consilio, et potestatis auxilio relebetis, &c.* Then shewing him the means to effect it, he concludes: *Si enim Domine mi Rex, huius Regni Ecclesia, et ministri ejus, ac populus hæc per vos obtinuerint, quantam mercedem et remunerationem inde apud Deum, et bonum nomen apud sæculum habebitis, ex verbis Apostoli pensare potestis, 1. Cor. 5. 20. Si ergo Apostolus spiritu Dei plenus de uno peccatore converso tantam remunerationem præmittit, colligat sapientia vestra, quantam de tantorum salute ac profectu remunerationem apud Deum habebitis.* *Epistola 3. & 4.* he prescribes many excellent rules, *pro recta novi & juvenis Regis institutione*, making the care and defence of Religion, and the Church, the suppression of all heresies and sins, the principal part of a Kings Office; observing, that (d) *in sacra Regum historia legimus, quia Principes Sacerdotum quando sacra unctione Reges in Regnum sacrabant, Coronam, significantem victoriam, ponentes super capitacorum, legem in manum eorum dabant, ut scirent, qualiter se ipsos regere, et pravos corrigere, et bonos in viam rectam deberent dirigere, &c.* Unde *Principi terra magnopere providendum atque cavendum est, ne in his Deus offendatur, per quos religio Christiana consistere debet, & ceteri ab offensione salvari.* Et ideo, quia res Ecclesiasticas divino iudicio tuendas et defendendas suscepit, consensu ejus, electione Cleri ac plebis, et approbatione Episcoporum provinciæ, quisque ad Ecclesiasticum regimen absque ulla venalitate prohiberi debet. He describes the Office of a King at large out of the Scripture, *St. Cyprian, Augustine*, and others: *Regum est Deum timere et colere, &c.* as in the * *Council of Paris*. Adding, *Rex de administrationis talento sibi credito reddat rationem in die iudicii.* *Epist. 6. c. 27, 28.* Here records: *Imperatorum auctoritate convocatas generales Synodos, et in historiis Ecclesiasticis, et in Epistolis Apostolicis sedis Pontificum reperimus. Et Sanctus Gregorius Reges Francorum Synodos in Gallicis et Belgicis provinciis convocare, sæpe commonuit. Epist. 9. c. 2. Habet vos*

vos (Reges) sancta mater Ecclesia pios pudicitie et castimonie custodes ac defensores.

(e) Pope *Arian* the 20. writing to this Archbishop *Hincmarus*, to excommunicate *Charles* the *Balde* K. of *France*, for seising upon the Realm of *Lotharius*, to send *Hincmarus Landanensis Episcopus*, and other Bishops of *France* to a Synod at *Rome*, and enjoining him several other things, to the prejudice of the Rights of the Crown and Church of *France*: thereupon he communicated his Letter to the other Bishops, King and Nobles of *France*, & writ a memorable Epistle to this Pope in answer thereunto: wherein amongst other things, he informes him, That K. *Charles* and others denyed the matter, fact wherewith he was charged, as false, averring the quite contrary for verity: That, *nec legali nec regulari iudicio convictus apparerent: Nos vero quicquam* (though the meanest Peasant) *a communione prohibere non possumus, quinimo hac prohibitio non sit mortalis, sed medicinalis, nisi aut sponte confessum, aut aliquo, seu seculari, seu Ecclesiastico iudicio nominatum aut convictum*; much less then could he excommunicate his King, it being contrary to the Canons of the Council of *Africk*, where St. *Augustine* was present; yea to the very Laws, Canons, Decrees of the See Apostolick, and Popes themselves, there cited by him: That the Nobles and French Bishops, to whom he had shewed his Letter, affirmed, That Popes did not excommunicate K. *Astulphus*, or *Desiderius* King of the *Lombards*, who invaded their possessions in *Italy*: Neither did this Kings Grandfather *Pipin*, nor Father K. *Charles*, conquer them, & restore the Pope & Church to their Right, *Excommunicatione Apostolica, sed virtute hostili: Dicunt etiam, secularem scripturam dicere, quia omne Regnum seculi huius bellis quaritur, victoriis propagatur, & non Apostolici vel Episcoporum excommunicationibus obtinetur: & Scripturam divinam proponunt dicere, Quia Domini est Regnum, per quem Reges regnant, & cui voluerit dat illud, ministerio Angelorum & hominum, (not of Popes) &c. Sicut volumus de vestris orationibus habere adiutorium, nolite querere nostrum dissidium; & petite Dominum Apostolicum, ut quia Rex et Episcopus simul esse non potest, & sui antecessores Ecclesiasticum ordinem, quod suum est, et non Rempublicam, quod Regum est, disposuerunt, non precipiat nobis habere Regem, qui nos in sic loquutus par- tibus adjuvare non possit contra subitaneos et frequentes Paganorum impetus, et nos Francos non jubeat servire, cui nolumus servire: quia istud iugum sui antecessores nostris antecessoribus non imposuerunt: et nos illud portare non possumus, qui scriptum esse in sanctis libris audimus, ut pro libertate et hereditate nostra usq; ad mortem certare debeamus, &c. Non convenit ulli Episcopo dicere, ut Christianum, qui non est incorrigibilis, non propter propria crimina, sed pro terreno Regno alicui tollendo vel acquirendo, nomine Christianitatis debeat privare, cum cum diabolo collocare, quem Christus sui morte, & suo sanguine de potestate Diaboli venit redimere, & Christianos pro fratribus suis animas suas docuit ponere. Propterea si Dominus Apostolicus vult pacem querere, sic pacem querat, ut rixam non moveat: quia non nos concredemus, ut aliter ad Regnum Dei pervenire non possimus, si illum, quem ipse commendat, terrenum Regem non habuerimus.
After which rendring many substantial reasons why he neither could nor ought to obey his command in excommunicating K. *Charles*, or withdrawing himself from all communion with him, upon his Papal command, he subjoyns, *Consulendum qualiter nos Episcopi, & ego precipue, in quem tantam comminationem intentastis, erga Regem nostrum gerere debeamus; cum beatus Augustinus, Apostoli exponens sententiam, dicat: Apostolica dominatio, et omnis anima sublimioribus potestatibus subdita sit, &c. Et beatus Petrus dicit: Subjecti estote omni humane creature propter Dominum, sive Regi, quasi prexcellenti, &c. Omni humane creature, inquit, Doctor sagacissimus, omni dignitati hominum, omni personæ, omni principatui, cui vos divina dispositio subdi voluerit: Hoc est enim quod ait: Propter Dominum, quia non est potestas, nisi a Deo: & qui potestati resistit, Dei ordinationi resistit. Item S. Augustinus sermone Evangelii Johannis, &c. Noli dicere, quid mihi & Regi? Noli dicere possessiones tuas, quia ad ipsa humana jura renuntiasti, quibus possidentur possessiones (Ecclesia.) Et si per jura Regum possidebunt (Episcopi) possessiones, non possunt ut Regi de Ecclesiasticis possessionibus obsequium non exhibeant, sicut antecessores mei suis antecessoribus exhibuerunt.**

e Epistola ad
Hadrianum 2.
Papam. Bibl.
Patrum Tom.
9. pars 2. p.
216, to 230.
Cen. Magd 9.
c. 8. col 356,
357. Phil p. de
Morney Hist.
Papatus, p 162,
176 Flodoar-
dus Hist. Eccl.
Remensis l. 3. c.
12, 21, 22, 23.

Prov. 8. 15.
Dan. 2. 21.
c. 4. 17, 25.
c. 5. 18, 19.

Rom. 13.

1 Pet. 2.

exhibuerunt. Quapropter Domine Pater reverendissime, consulite secundum privilegium sedis vestrae, subjectioni nostrae, ne talia nobis cu uscumque suggestione mandetis, unde inter Episcopalem auctoritatem et Regalem potestatem, inter Ecclesiam et Rempublicam tantum scandalum possit oriri, quod facile ac sine dissidio religionis, vel detrimento Ecclesiasticarum rerum, unde servi, & ancilla Dei debeant nutriri, & Ecclesiastica negotia contineri posse a non possit sedari, &c. De eo, quod pusillitati mea vestra rescripsit sublimitas, ut eundem Hincmarum, & alios tres Episcopos omnium Episcoporum Regni, Domini Caroli vicem ferentes, a Synodo Romam mitterent: Vestra sciat auctoritas, quia nec praedictum Hincmarum, nec etiam quemlibet Episcoporum Diocesanos Remorum, minime autem aliarum Provinciarum Episcopos, nisi Dominus Rex illis praeciperit, Romam, vel in aliquam partem, mea commendatione, mittendi habeo potestatem, nec ipse ego ultra fines sui Regni absque illius scientia progredi valeo. A strong evidence of the French Kings Ecclesiastical Supremacy. He writ (f) another Epistle to this Pope, almost to the same effect, which I pretermit.

f Extant in
Bibl. Patrum,
Tom. 9. pars 2.
p. 217, 218.

Anno 870.

At the same time there fell out a great difference between Charles King of France and Pope Adrian, who writ a most insolent, imperious, scurrilous Letter to him; whereupon he returned this notable reply, in an Epistle to this Pope, (penned, as I conceive, by Archbishop Hincmarus, being printed with his Epistles) answering all the clauses of his unchristian Libel.

g Bibliotheca
Patrum Tom.
9. pars 2. p.
220, 221, &c.
Cent. Magd. 9.
c. 8. col. 356,
357, 358, 359.

(g) Sanctissimo ac Reverendissimo Patri, Hadr'ano summo Pontifici & Papae, Carolus Dei gratia Rex & spiritualis filius vester. Legimus in lib. Paralip. filios Israel mente pacifica ivisse ad Prælium: quia non livoris vindicta, sed obtinendæ pacis gratia dimicaverunt. Quod rursum dicimus, quia cogitis nos indecentibus potestati Regiæ Literis vestris inhonoratum, inconvenientibus Episcopali modestiæ vestræ mandatis gravatum, contumeliis & opprobriis dehonestatum, aliter quam vellemus mente pacifica vobis rescribere, ut tandem animadvertatis, quamquam perturbationibus humanis obnoxium, in imaginem tamen Dei ambulantem esse nos hominem, habere sensum, paternam & avitam successione Dei gratia Regio nomine ac culmine sublimitatem: & quod his majus est, Christianum, Catholicum, fidei Orthodoxæ cultorem, sacris Literis ac legibus tam Ecclesiasticis quam secularibus ab infantia eruditum, nullo crimine publico in audientia Episcopali legaliter ac regulariter accusatum, minime autem convictum. Et, ut (quæ superaddere poteramus) alia taceamus, ne nos potius jactare, quam vera dicere videamur, licet legamus Apostolum plura de se dixisse ob aliorum salutem necessitate compulsum: Quoniam sæpe humiliter vobis locuti, benigna & pacifica atque honorabilia nobis scripta impetrare nequivimus, ut quietam pacis venerationem, quam apud antecessores vestros nostri decessores & nos habuimus, quoquomodo obtinere possemus: Scripsimus vobis per Aistardum Episcopum, & mansuetudinis nostræ legatum, singillatim ac viritum, quam inconvenientiam pro Hincmaro quondam Landunensi Episcopo, ex nomine vestro nobis scripta fuerunt, quæ nos a vobis processisse non credebamus, putantes nos ratione comperta ab incompetentibus, quæ aliorum instinctu nobis eatenus scripta fuerunt, calamum revocare. Sed spe vana frustratis, aliter nobis quam sperabamus evenit. In capite quippe Literarum, quas per præfatum Aistardum Episcopum nobis vestra direxit paternitas, auditam laudabilem charitatis & sapientiæ nostræ magnitudinem, vos prætulisse invenimus, & mox de comperto murmure, & tumultuoso clamore indebitæ reprehensionis adversus paternitatem vestram nos denotatos, reperimus: sicque auditam nostram sapientiam collaudastis, ut quasi honestius, & revera onustius, nos solitis contumeliis afficere volueritis, quem non per insipientiam, sed per industriam in murmuratione & clamore contra debitam charitatem delinquere demonstrabitis, & quasi ad ora vasculi melle illiti, & de eodem fonte, quo & ante missæ Literæ istæ posteriores, nobis perniciosum poculum propinaverunt, fatentes illa, quæ aliorum instinctu, & non a vobis processisse credamus, vestra fuisse.

Nam in præcedentibus Literis nos perjurum, tyrannum, ac perfidum, & distractorem rerum Ecclesiasticarum, non confessum nec ordine judicario legaliter ac regulariter convictum, vocastis: in istis autem murmurationis crimen nobis impegistis, & tumultuosi clamoris nævum imposuistis, arguente Domino carnalem Israel per Prophetam, unde nos coarguitis, Quia non feceris iudicium, sed clamorem. Et Apostolus, Omnis, inquit, clamor & indignatio tollatur à vobis: Et non levius malum est murmuratio, his quibus nos antea denotastis, dicente Apostolo, Neque murmuraveritis,

Ephes. 4:

1 Cor. 10.

ris, sicut quidam illorum murmuraverunt, & à serpentibus perierunt. Et ut beatus dicit Gregorius, Nullus murmurans Regnum Dei intrare permittitur. Hinc colligendum est, quantum peccatum sit murmuratio quæ Regnum Dei intercludit. Sicut & illa peccata gravia, post quorum enumerationem dicit Apostolus, *Qui talia agunt, Regnum Dei non possidebunt.* Et non ut scripsistis tumultuoso clamore paternitatem vestram indebite reprehendimus, sed quæ nobis ex vestro nomine scripta fuerunt, non multorum vocibus quibus tumultus fieri solet, sed nostra tantum voce rescripsimus. Et quoniam talia vos misisse & a sancta Romana Ecclesia, in omnibus semper discretissima atque cautissima, dictata fuisse, nequaquam credidimus; Quia ipsa sancta sedes cum modestia & discretionem semper corripere, & salubriter corrigere, secundum uniuscujusque personam & ordinem solita fuit suggestimus. Igitur si male locuti sumus, testimonium perhibere de malis; si autem bene, quid nobis succensetis? Scriptum est Abraham licet sanctum, ut a Deo sanctificatum hominem, tamen eidem Deo dixisse: *Nunc perdes justum cum impio? non est hoc tuum, qui iudicas omnem terram?* Et non ingratis hoc Dominum suscepisse: Et nos arguitis, quoniam humili placatione vobis suggestimus, non esse vestrum non confesso, nec legaliter aut regulariter convicto, regia etiam potestate gratia Dei prædito, talia sicut plebeio, & de criminibus confutato scribendo impingere, scientes, quam grave sit fratri (quod nobis impactis minus est) dicere *fatue*, nullique detrahendum vel contra fas maledicendum: minime autem Regi, ut Apostolica doctrina, atque Sancti in Saulis jam a Domino reprobati reverentia, & Salomonis sapientia, ac Nabuthæ prodit historia.

Invenimus etiam in eisdem literis nobis datum consilium (si forte dici potest consilium, quod est Domini exemplo contrarium, & decretis Sanctorum invenitur adversum) scilicet (ut verbis vestris dicamus) *Omnia quæ a sede Apostolica, cui per Dei gratiam præsidetis, directæ sunt, alacri mente percipere, animo grato amplecti, & humili semper debemus intentione recipere.* Scriptum est enim nobis ex vestro nomine, *Nos perjurum, tyrannum, ac perfidum & distractorem verum esse Ecclesiasticarum.* Et hæc alacri mente percipere, animo grato amplecti, & humili semper debemus intentione recipere? Nisi scriptor forte velit nos cum vulgo Æthiopes vocare argenteos, & ideo quis nobis pulcher videatur, qui a nomine bellus vocatur, & sibi cantare cum Persio, *Quicquid calcaveris rosas fiat*; illudque Propheticum incurrere: *Va his qui ponunt amarum in dulce*; Cum Dominus dicentibus ad se Judæis: *Nonne bene dicimus nos quia Samaritanus es tu, & demonium habes?* quod recognovit, tacendo consensit; & patienter repulit, quod dictum fallaciter audivit, dicens: *Ego demonium non habeo.* Cujus pro modulo nostro in hoc exemplum secuti, qui non indignatus ex ratione ostendere se peccatorem non esse, qui ex virtute divinitatis poterat peccatores iustificare; de his quæ in nobis non recognovimus humiliter & patienter apud paternitatem vestram nos excusavimus, ne, si penitus taceremus, tales, quales denotabamur, tacendo & consentiendo esse nos fateremur; & quasi confessi & nostra confessione convicti judicaremur.

Et hoc hortamentum, quod in literis ex nomine vestro ab Aethardo Episcopo nobis delatis invenimus, scilicet, ut omnia, quæ a sede Apostolica nobis veniunt, humili semper debeamus intentione recipere, non solum, ut præmisimus, Evangelicæ veritati, sed etiam decretis sanctorum invenitur adversum. In quorum decretis legimus, *Eum absolvi non posse, qui in seipsum dixit mortis causam, qua edicta in alium puniretur, falsum videlicet testimonium: cum omnis, qui sibi fuerit mortis causa, major homicida sit.* Et hinc decreverunt, *Ut quicumque sub ordinatione, vel Diaconatus, vel Presbyterii, vel Episcopatus, mortali crimine dixerint se esse pollutos, a supradictis ordinationibus submovendos.* Et nos, si ad talia nobis impacta tacendo consentiremus, non solum a regimine regio, verum & a Catholicæ Ecclesiæ communione nos ipsos sequestraremus. Non igitur talia nobis ex parte sedis Apostolicæ & nomine vestro scripta, mente alacri percipere, & animo grato amplecti, & humili semper debemus intentione recipere, quæ, sicut in eisdem literis ex sententia sapientis Salomonis subjungitur, *Quasi stimuli, & sicut clavi in altum defixi esse videntur*: quia culpas delinquentium nesciunt palpare, sed pungere. Cui sententiæ item Sapientis verba referimus, quibus dixit: *Præquam interrogas, ne vituperes quenquam; & cum interrogaveris, id est, probaveris, corripe iustum*, sicut Nathan David regem prius interrogavit, & interrogatione probatum corripuit: & cum causa correptionis defuit, humiliter adoravit, veluti in sacra historia legimus. *Mandate et scribite, quæ vestro et nostro ministerio congruunt, ut decessores vestri nobis et nostris decessoribus mandaverunt*, atque scripserunt, & alacri mente, gratoque animo recipiemus.

Gal. 3.

Joan. 18.

Genes. 18

Matth. 5

Jac. 4.

Rom. 12.

Act. 23.

1 Reg. 24. 26.

Prov. 24.

3 Reg. 21

Esa. 5.

Joan. 8.

Con. Val. can. 4

Eccles. 12.

Eccles. 13.

3 Reg. 12.

2 Reg. 7.

Li

Literæ autem ex nomine vestro semper sine interrogatione, id est, sine probatione nos pungunt, & peccata, pro quibus invitum pungunt, sponte confessa, vel ordine judiciario legaliter ac regulariter comprobata non ostendunt, & cum peccata manifesta & probata desint, fomentis benignæ adhortationis & allocutionis non refovent: reprehendente hinc Domino populorum rectores asperos, atque dicente, *Vos autem cum austeritate imperabatis eis, & cum potentia.* Quibus Apostolus regulam dedit commonitionis, singulis dicens: *Argue, obsecra, increpa in omni patientia & doctrina:* misceas temporibus tempora, terroribus blandimenta: Dirum magistri, pium patris ostendentes affectum, id est, indisciplinatos & inquietos debent durius arguere: obediētes autem ac patientes, ut in melius proficiant, obsecrare: negligentes autem & contemnentes, debent utique increpare aut corripere: & de criminalibus peccatis aut ultro confessos, aut ordine judiciario comprobatos, atque convictos, secundum modum culpæ, legaliter ac regulariter judicare. *Noluit Apostolus, inquit beatus Augustinus, hominem ab hoc nomine judicari ex arbitrio suspitionis, vel etiam extraordinario usurpato judicio: sed potius ex lege Dei, secundum ordinem Ecclesiæ, sive ultro confessum, sive accusatum atque convictum. Alioquin illud cur dixit? Si quis cum frater nominatur, aut fornicator, aut idolis serviens, &c. nisi quia eam nominationem intelligi voluit, quæ sit in quenquam, cum sententia ordine judiciario atque integritate proferitur. Nam si nominatio sufficit, multis damnandi sunt innocentes: quia sæpe falso in quenquam crimen nominatur. Plerique autem boni Christiani propterea tacent, & sufferunt aliorum peccata, quæ noverunt, quia documentis sæpe deferuntur, ut ea quæ sciunt, iudicibus ecclesiasticis probare non possint. Quamvis enim vera sint quadam, non tamen iudici facile credenda sunt, nisi certis indiciis demonstrantur, nisi ordine judiciario comprobentur: ut si per iudicium malis ab Ecclesiæ communione auferri non possunt, tolerantur potius, ne perverse malos evisando, quisque ab Ecclesiâ ipse discedens, eos quos fugere videtur, vinciat ad gehennam.*

Quod scriptum est in eisdem ex nomine vestro literis, quia sane non patienter Pontificii vestri monita, & correctiones, nos audisse comperistis, liquido pater, adhuc perfectæ aliquid charitatis minus duntaxat haberet, de qua dicit Apostolus: *Charitas pateriens est, benigna est, non inflatur, non irritatur, non agit perperam, omnia suffert, omnia sustinet.* Cujus charitatis modum & perfectionem in benignitate, ac patientia, in humilitate, & sufferentia, exemplo sanctæ paternitatis vestræ in literis vestris discere admodum cuperemus, si Deus nos inde honorare dignaretur.

Quod & in hoc possemus addiscere, si in his, quæ ex nomine vestro nobis scripta, sanctitati vestræ rescripsimus, *sustineretis modicum quid insipientiæ nostræ, & supporteretis nos,* sicut magnus Petrus, Apostolicæ & primæ Sedis primus Episcopus, non solum patienter, sed & gaudenter adeo suscepit reprehensionem suam a coapostolo suo Paulo sibi ostensam, ut ejus epistolas, in quibus se reprehensum legerat, cum maximo favore laudaverit. Non enim ita supputate eas laudare poterat, nisi legisset: & quia legit scriptum, reprehensum se in eis invenit: & quoniam eam granditer laudavit, quam gratanter justam reprehensionem suam accepto tulerit patienter, ostendit. Et cum a minoribus suis reprehensus fuit, cur ad Gentiles intraverit, non eis nudo & tumido sermone respondit, ut omnia quæ egerat patientissime sustinerent: nec aliquid in eorum querela de sua potestate dixit, sed humili ejus ratione placavit, atque in causa reprehensionis suæ etiam testes adhibuit. Quia si in querela fidelium, ut beatus dicit Gregorius, aliquid de sua potestate diceret, profecto Doctor mansuetudinis non fuisset.

Si igitur pastor Ecclesiæ Apostolorum princeps, signa & miracula singulariter faciens, non dedignatus est, in causa reprehensionis suæ, rationem humiliter reddere: quanto magis, inquit Gregorius Apostolicæ sedis Pontifex, nos peccatores cum de re aliqua reprehendimur, nostros ratione humili placare debemus? Literæ autem ex nomine vestro nobis directæ, non humili nos ratione placarunt: nec contra rationem nos ex ratione & autoritate quæsisse monstrarunt: sed indebita increpatione os nostrum oppilare studuerunt, quum Dei gratia, libera adhuc fronte de his, quæ nobis per literas ex nomine vestro directas impacta sunt, loqui possimus.

Scriptum est etiam in præfatis literis nobis ex nomine vestro directis de Hincmaro hoc modo. * *Volumus, & auctoritate Apostolica jubemus, ipsum Hincmarum Laudunensem Episcopum vestra fretum potentia, ad limina sanctorum, nostramque venire clementiam. Quo sane veniente, veniat pariter accusator idoneus, quia nulla possit auctoritate legitima respui: & tunc in præsentia nostra, & totius sedis Romanæ synodali collegio,*

* Note the insolent stile of this Pope to this King.

gio, causa illius prudenti ventilata examine, ac diligenter inquisita, secundum Deum & sacrorum Canonum constitutiones spiritu Dei prolata, sine proelatione aliqua finiatur.

Quæ relegendes, licet contra morem decessorum ac prædecessorum vestrorum hoc dictum invenerimus, id est, *umbrosum seculi typhum inducere in ecclesiam suam, qua lucem simplicitatis & humilitatis diem Domini videre desiderantibus præfert*; tamen de voluntate non dubitavimus. Quia humano animo facile potest subripi, quod ex deliberatione conveniat immutari. Sed valde mirati sumus, ubi hoc dictator Epistolæ nobis per *Alardum* Episcopum delatæ scriptum invenit? **esse Apostolica auctoritate præcipiendum, ut Rex corrector iniquorum, et districtor reorum; ac secundum leges Ecclesiasticas atque mundanas ultor criminum, reum legaliter & regulariter pro excessibus suis damnatum, sua fretum potentia, Romam dirigat**: maxime autem illum, qui & ante depositionem contra custodiam publicam, & contra quietem moliri in tribus Synodis extitit deprehensus, sicut in gestis Episcopalis paternitati vestræ directis continetur, & post depositionem suam, & per se, & per quoscunque potuit, a sua pervicacia non quievit. Sed non miramur, si in posterioribus literis ex nomine vestro nobis directis, est infuscitum, ut legaliter ac regulariter damnatus, qui nullis legibus decernitur, a quoquam gradu seu rebus aut facultatibus redonandus, antequam si contra custodiam & quietem publicam moliri non fuerit deprehensus, renovato Apostolicæ sedis auctoritate iudicio in provincia, qua fuerit iudicatus, forte inveniatur innoxius, Regia nostra potentia ad vestram veniat fretus, cum se authore damnato debeat zelus rectitudinis, non clementia resolutionis: quæ si non de eodem foramine, de eodem tamen conamine manarunt, de quo & anteriores fluxerunt, in quibus continetur, ut res omnes *Hincmaro* commissæ Ecclesiæ, donec ad propria reverteretur, nobis committeretis, ut indemnes consisterent, & aliquod dispendium non incurrerent.

Conc. Afric.
Can. 1.

Unde, sicut vobis rescripsimus, & nunc iterum vobis scribere non piguit, sed exigente causa necessarium est: **quia Reges Francorum ex Regio genere nati, non Episcoporum vicedomini, sed terræ Domini hactenus fuimus computati**: & ut *Leo* ac Romana Synodus scripsit, *Reges & Imperatores, quos terris divina potentia præcepit præesse, ius distinguendorum negotiorum Episcopis sanctis iuxta divalia constituta permiserunt; non autem Episcoporum villici extiterunt*. Et sanctus *Augustinus* dicit; *Per iura regum possidentur possessiones: non autem per Episcopale imperium Reges villici fiunt, actoresque Episcoporum*. Et Dominus, *Quæ sunt Cesaris, Cesar: & quæ sunt Dei, Deo reddi præcipit*; qui etiam censum regi reddidit. Et Apostolus voluit serviri Regibus, **voluit honorari, et non conculari Reges**; *Regem*, inquit, *honorificate*. Et iterum, *Omnis*, inquit, *anima potestati sublimioribus subdita sit: Reddite ergo omnibus debita*. Et paulo superius: *Ideo necessitate subditi estote, non solum propter iram, sed & propter conscientiam*. Et si revolueritis regesta decessorum ac prædecessorum vestrorum, talia imandata, sicut habentur in literis ex nomine vestro nobis directis per *Alardum* Episcopum, **decessores nostros a decessoribus vestris accepisse nullatenus invenietis**: Unde pauca de pluribus vobis scribere necessarium duximus.

Mat. 22.

Mat. 17.

1 Pet. 2.

Rom. 13.

Sanctus *Gregorius*, merito vitæ & sapientiæ doctrina Apostolicæ sedis Pontifex, & toti orbi colendus, Francorum Regibus *Theodorico* & *Theodeberto* prædecessoribus nostris, de præiudicio cuiusdam Episcopi, non ita, ut vos nobis scripsistis, pro eo, qui pro meritis suis ac regulariter iuste depositus est, scripsit hoc modo. *Frater & coepiscopus noster Ursinus Taurinæ Civitatis antistes, in parochiis suis, quæ intra Regni vestri sunt terminos constituta, grave omnino dicitur præiudicium sustinere: adeo ut contra Ecclesiasticam observantiam, contraque Sacerdotalem gravitatem, & contra sacrorum Canonum definita, nullo ejus exigente crimine, alter illis nunc meruerit ordinari*. Et quia parum visum est, si in licitis non iungerentur illicita, etiam res Ecclesiæ suæ (ut fertur) ablatae sunt. Quod si ita se veritas habet, quoniam nimis intolerabile est, ut virtute opprimeretur, cui culpa non nocuit, præmissa paternæ salutationis alloquio, petimus, ut quod excellentia vestra amore Ecclesiastica reverentiæ, & aequitatis contemplatione, sponte potest impendere, nostra studeat benignius intercessionem concedere: & iustitiam illi, sicut de aequitatis ejus bona confidimus, faciat in omnibus custodiri, atque patefacta veritate, quod illicitè actum est corrigi. Pro utilitate ergo animæ vestræ hæc apud vos nostra exhortatio locum inveniat, &c.

Sed

Sed & ad Romanum Exarchum, minoris dignitatis, quam simus Dei gratia Regiæ potestatis, de quodam Episcopo scripsit hoc modo. *Peruenit ad nos, Blandum Ortonensis civitatis Episcopum, longo jam tempore, in civitate Ravennatia vestra excellentia detineri, & sit ut Ecclesia sine rectore, & populus quasi sine pastore grex fuit: & ibidem infantes pro peccatis absque baptismo moriantur.* Et rursus. *Quia non credimus, quod eum excellentia vestra, nisi ex aliqua probabilis excessus causa tenuerit, oportet, ut habita Synodo, palam fiat, si quod in eum crimen intenditur, & si talis in eo culpa reperiatur, quæ ad usque degradationem Sacerdotii deducatur; aliam ordinationem necesse est inquiramus, ne Ecclesia Dei in his, sine quibus eam Christiana non patitur esse Religio, inculta ac destituta maneat. Sin autem excellentia vestra aliter se habere, quam de eo quod dicitur esse, persisterit, eum ad Ecclesiam suam reverti concedat, ut officium suum in commissis sibi animabus adimpleat.* Quibus mandatis B. Gregorii prædecessoris vestri de his, qui nec dum iudicio Synodali legaliter ac regulariter pro criminibus suis fuere depositi, collatis cum scriptis ex nomine vestro ac nobis directis, ex eo qui legaliter ac regulariter pro suis excessibus iudicio Synodali habetur depositus, ut eum nostra fretum potentia Romam mittamus, quæ potius sequenda sint, iudicate. *Nos autem auctoritatem vestram iudicaturam potius credimus, ut ea sequamur, quæ decessores ac prædecessores vestri secundum Scripturarum tramitem, prædicationemque majorum scripserunt, quam illa, quæ scriptor sæpe dictæ Epistolæ ex nomine vestro nobis directæ confinit.*

Ait enim beatus Augustinus libro ad Iannuarium, *Omnia talia, quæ neque sanctorum Scripturarum auctoritatibus continentur, nec Conciliis Episcoporum statuta inveniantur, nec consuetudine universalis Ecclesiæ roborata sunt, rescenda existimo.* Et S. Leo, de his quæ a sacris Canonibus habentur ita præfixa, & eisdem Apostolicæ sedis sunt promulgata decretis, *ut nulla possint ratione convelli, constituit; ut omni penitus auctoritate sit vacuum, quicquid ab illorum fuerit constitutione diversum.* Ac si cum Paulo diceret, *Quia sibi ipsi Apostolica sedes in suis constitutionibus esse non potest contraria; Licet nos, aut Angelus de cælo Evangelizet vobis præter quod Evangelizavimus vobis, anathema sit.* Sed ut in controversia Quintiliani legitur, *Floribus vafricia nebulonum ventificatis apes mortuas esse, quibus mellificandum fuerat; De Scripturis sacris B. Petrus agi demonstrat, loquens de Pauli Epistolis, Quæ indocti & instabiles, inquit, depravant, sicut & ceteras Scripturas ad suam ipsorum perditionem: Et de traditionibus Ecclesiasticis S. Innocentius, Dum, inquit, unusquisque non quod traditum est, sed quod sibi visum fuerit, hoc existimat esse tenendum, inde diversa in diversis locis aut Ecclesiis, aut teneri, aut celebrari videntur, ac sit scandalum populis, qui, dum nesciunt traditiones antiquas humana præsumptione corruptas, putant sibi aut Ecclesiis non convenire, aut ab Apostolis vel Apostolicis viris contrarietatem indutam.* Contra quem morbum S. Celestinus salubre cunctis celebravit antidotum, dicens: *Nulli Sacerdoti suos liceat Canones ignorare, nec quicquam facere quod Patrum regulis possit obviare. Quæ enim a nobis res digna servabitur, si decretalium norma constitutorum, pro aliquorum libris licentia populis permissa frangatur? Et sanctus Gelasius in decretis suis: Patres nostri, Catholici videlicet & docti Pontifices, in unaquaque secta, quolibet tempore suscitata, quicquid pro fide, pro veritate, pro communionem Catholicam atq; Apostolicam, secundum Scripturarum tramitem, prædicationemq; majorum, facta semel congregatione sanxerunt, inconvulsam voluerunt deinceps firmumq; constare: nec in eadem causa denno quæ præfixa fuerant retractari, qualibet recenti præsumptione permiserunt.*

Videndum est igitur, quid hic trames sanctarum scripturarum, & prædicationum majorum definiant. Scriptum quippe legimus in sacra historia dixisse Dominum per Prophetam Josaphat Regi, *In pio præbes auxilium, & his qui oderunt Dominum amicitia iungeris: & idcirco iram quidem Domini merebaris, sed bona opera inventa sunt in te, eo quod absteris lucos de terra Juda.* Et in Evangelio semel & secundo ac tertio monitum, & non obedientem ad correctionem debitam, Dominus sicut Ethnicum & publicanum jubet haberi.

Et beatus Gregorius in decretis suis, sicut in gestis Synodi invenire potestis, pervasorem non solum rerum alienarum, sed etiam Ecclesiæ sibi commissæ anathematizatum definit: verum et si alius hoc egerit, is qui præest Ecclesiæ, si hoc vel ipse fieri præcipit, vel sine sua præceptione factum digna punire animadversione neglexerit, eum anathematizat: satis ergo mirari non possumus, unde scriptor Epistolæ, nobis ex nomine vestro delatæ, hanc legem apud se auro sculptam produxit, quam

Domini

Galat. 1.

2 Pet. 3.

Ad Decentium
Episcopum
Eugub.

Epist. 2.

2 Paral. 19.

Matth. 18.

Deut. 17.
Gal. 3.

Dominus digito suo non scripsit, nec scribendam cuiquam inspiravit, neque ordinatam per Angelos in manu Mediatoris illius dedit: quam non paganus indixit, non Christianus induxit, non Ecclesiasticus vir decrevit, quæ de se sub isto cælo sicut non atramento manu iustitiæ, ita nec Spiritu Dei vbi scripta personant: qua me Regem a Deo constitutum, et gladio ex utraque parte acuto: ultore scilicet notentium & defensore innocentium insignitum, ad vindictam malefactorum, ut exponit Apostolus, laudem vero bonorum, rei atque damnati, atque anathematizati fauctorem esse præcipit, jubemus ut Hincmarum sacrarum legum prævaricatorem, sancti Sacerdotii vituperatorem, Regiæ dignitatis contra regulam Apostolicam dehortatorem, regni perturbatorem, perjurum, & seditionum authorem, Ecclesiæ sibi commissæ afflictorem, facultatum Ecclesiasticarum sacrilegum, fraudatorem, ac extirpatorem Episcoporum, ac totius populi nostrarum partium scandalizatorem, alienarum rerum pervasorem, & veniendo contra subscriptiones & professiones suas a seipso damnatum, potentia Regiæ fretum, Romam venire faciamus.

Rom. 13.

Quis igitur hanc imberberam legem infernus edomuit? Quis tartarus de suis abditis & tenebrosis cuniculis eructavit? Contra quam literis sacris ostensi nobis est via, quam sequamur, appositæ formæ, cui imprimimur. *Clamavit, inquit, Propheta ad Regem Israel, & ait: Servus tuus egressus est ad præliandum cominus: cumque fugisset vir unus, adduxit eum quidam ad me, & dixit: Custodi virum istum, qui fuerit lapsus, erit anima tua pro anima ejus, aut talentum argenti appendes. Dum autem ego turbatus hac illucque me vertirem, subito non comparuit. Et ait Rex Israel ad eum, Hoc est iulicium tuum, quod ipse decrevist. At ille statim absterxit pulverem de facie sua, & cognovit eum Rex Israel, quod esset de Prophetis. Qui ait ad eum, Hæc dicit tibi Dominus: Quia dimisisti virum dignum morte de manu tua, erit anima tua pro anima ejus, & populus tuus pro populo ejus. Reversus est igitur Rex Israel in domum suam audire contentens, & furibundus venit in Samariam. Quanam vos dementia cepit scientes dixisse Christum Dei virtutem & Dei sapientiam? Per me Reges regnant, & conditores legum iusta decernunt. Et sacri Canones (sicut credimus, & in Apostolicis literis sapius legimus) Spiritu Dei conditi, & totius mundi reverentia sunt consecrati; propterea videamus, quid de huiusmodi sancti Canones & sacra leges decernant: Ait enim S. Africanum Concilium, Et illud petendum (quin apud terræ Principes) statnere dignetur, ut si quis cuiuslibet honoris elatus iudicio Episcoporum quocumque crimine fuerit damnatus, non liceat eum sive ab Ecclesiis quibus præfuit; sive a quolibet homine defensari, interposita pœna damni, pecunie atq; honoris, quo nec astatem, nec sexum excusantium esse præcipiant.*

3 Reg. 22.

Prov. 8.

Cant. 29.

Et tunc Valens, Gratianus & Valentinianus constituerunt, Ut quicumq; residentibus Sacerdotibus fuerit Episcopali loco detrusus, & nomine, si aliquid contra cultum publicum, vel contra quietem moliri fuerit deprehensus; rursusque Sacerdotium petere, a quo videtur expulsus, procul ab urbe quam infecit, secundum legem divæ memoriæ Gratiani, centum millibus vitam agat, sit ab eorum cælibus separatus, a quorum est societate discretus; Siq; huiusmodi peroris illicitum, huius legis tenore, sacra nostra active secreta, & imperare scripta, omnibus abjectis per culpam Sacerdotio peritis, quæ imprecata sunt infecta permoveant, scituris his, quorum defensione nituntur, absque sui præensione non futurum, si hoc eis pollicetur suffragium, qui divinum non videntur meruisse iudicium. Unde & Leo Papa apud principalem potestatem petuit de Eutiche scandali & pravitate auctore, Ut ab eo loco, qui Constantinopolitanæ urbi nimis vicinus erat, longius transferretur, ne frequentioribus solatiis eorum, quos ad impietatem suam traxit, uteretur.

Et Gregorius Paulum Diadime civitatis quondam Episcopum, quousque omne, quod dilapidavit, vel de substantia tulit Ecclesiæ, restitueret, in monasterium mittendum esse decrevit. Et si forte post depositionem suam inverecunde ac mente perversa aliquando de Episcopatu loqui, aut rursus ad hoc qualibet aspirare præsumptione tentaverit, Domini corporis & sanguinis communionem privatum, in monasterio eum usque ad diem obitus sui, ad agendam penitentiam retrudi, studio Joannis Primæ Justinianæ Episcopi iussit, ut perpetrati sceleris maculas dignus disceret fletibus emendare, juxta legem Justiniani Imper. qui in libro Constitutionum decrevit, Ut si quis Episcopus expulsus, ausus fuerit ingredi civitatem, d. qua repulsus est, vel exire de loco, in quo degere iussus est, jubemus eum in monasterio, in alia Provincia constituto tradi, ut quæ in Sacerdotio peccavit, degens in monasterio corrigat. Quas leges ab Imp. et Regibus nostris videlicet prædecessoribus, promulgatas atque decretas, nos immutabilitate et irrefragabilitate convenit conservare, sicut Apostolicæ sedis Antistites

ad Dominos & terræ Principes scripserunt : Ait enim *Leo* ad *Leonem Augustum*, *Debes*, inquit, incunctanter advertere Regiam potestatem tibi non ad solum mundi regimen, sed maxime ad Ecclesiæ præsidium esse collatam, ut ausus nefarios comprimendo, quæ bene sunt statuta, defendas, & veram pacem his, quæ sunt turbata, restituas.

Et *Gelasius* ad *Anastasium* : Etenim *Imperator Augustus*, si contra leges publicas aliquid (quod absit) quispiam fortasse tentaret, nulla id ratione potuisset admitti. Quas etiam leges principales autoritate promulgatas, non solum quibuscumque Episcopis, sed etiam ab ipsis Apostolicæ sedis Pontificibus, ipsius præmiæ sedis Antistites observari debere scripserunt, sicut beatus *Leo* ad *Leonem Augustum* libere demonstrat, dicens, Non se refragari debere edicta Imperialia, vel ea quæ sui decessores secundum tramitem scripturarum prædicationemque majorum statuerant. Si quæ, inquit, destruxi, ego ædifico, prævaricatorem me constituo, & eis me ultionum conditionibus subdo, quas non solum auctoritas beata memoria Principis Martiani, sed etiam ego mea consensione firmavi.

Epist. 10

de Anath. vinc.

2 Tim. 2.

Heb. 5.

Epist. 10.

Prov. 8.

Et *S. Gelasius* ad *Anastasium Imperatorem*, Si, inquit, quantum ad ordinem publica pertinet disciplina, cognoscentes imperium tibi superna dispositione collatum, legibus tuis ipsi quoque parent religionis Antistites, ne vel in rebus mundanis excluso, videantur obviare sententiæ : Quo, oro te, affectu eis convenit obedire, qui pro erogandis venerabilibus sunt attributi mysteriis. Quod & nos juxta hortamentum beati *Gelasii* incunctanter atque libenter exequi cupimus in his, quæ ad suum ministerium pertinent, cunctis generaliter Sacerdotibus recte divina tractantibus, & potissime sedis illius Præsulis, quem cunctis Sacerdotibus divinitus summa voluit præeminere, & subsequens Ecclesiæ jugiter pietas celebravit : sicut nostri decessores ac progenitores orthodoxi Imperatores, & Reges egerunt, ut & Apostolicæ sedis Pontifex, & reliqui Domini Sacerdotes nobis, quæ a Deo sunt consecuta, exhibeant : Scientes sicut idem *B. Gelasius* dicit, Quoniam *Christus* memor fragilitatis humana, quod suorum saluti congrueret, dispensatione magnifica temperavit, sic actionibus propriis, dignitatibusque distinctis officia potestatis utriusque discrevit, suosque volens medicinali humilitate salvari, non humana superbia rursum intercipi, ut & *Christiani* Principes pro æterna vita Pontificibus indigerent, & Pontifices pro temporalium cursu rerum Imperialibus dispositionibus uterentur : quatenus spiritualis actio à carnalibus distaret incuris : & ideo militans Deo minime se negotiis secularibus implicaret, ac vicissim non ille rebus divinis præsidere videretur, qui esset negotiis secularibus implicatus, ut & modestia utriusque ordinis curaretur, nec extolleretur utroque, suffultus, & competens qualitatibus actionum specialiter professio aptaretur. Omnis Pontifex, inquit *Apostolus*, ex hominibus assumptus, pro hominibus constituitur in his quæ sunt ad Deum, ut offerat dona & sacrificia pro peccatis, videlicet non solum pro populi, sed quia & ipse circumdatus est infirmitate, pro suis. Et Regis est regni negotia dispensare, sicut inculcant literæ divinitus inspiratæ. Quia ergo sanctarum Scripturarum tramite, & prædicatione majorum ostenditur sancto etiam attestante *Gelasio*, Quia duo sunt, quibus principaliter mundus hic regitur, auctoritas sacra Pontificum, & Regalis potestas. Et per Regem Regum, ac summum Pontificem cunctorum Pontificum, qui solus Rex & Sacerdos fieri potuit, Conditores legum iusta decernunt : Quas leges Principales potestates appellaverunt æternas, & sacri Canones Spiritu Dei sunt conditi, & totius mundi reverentia consecrati, & ut beatus *Ambrosius* ad *Valentinianum* dicit, Leges Imperator fert, quas primus ipse custodiat, quia quod præscripsit aliis, præscripsit sibi, ne cui esset liberum aliud judicare. Et beatus *Augustinus* dicit, Quia postquam leges subscriptæ fuerint & firmatæ, non licet iudici de ipsis judicare, sed secundum ipsas : Quia secundum Pontificale Ministerium vestrum, regio ministerio nostro monita vestræ paternitatis obedienter ac libenter cupimus obaudire : patimini nos ea servare, quæ prædecessores vestri ac nostri de hujusmodi, unde agitur, constituerunt, & roborantes servando, quæ gesta sunt, rata doceamus esse debere, quæ gerimus. Nam quomodo leges Principum rite vocabuntur æternæ, si transeuntibus principibus, una cum eis constitutio legis transibit ? Et *Papa Symmachus* ad *Eonium* ; Dum, inquit, ad Trinitatis instar, cui una est atque indivisa potestas unum, sit per diversos Antistites Sacerdotium, quomodo priorum statuta a sequentibus convenit violari ? Huc accedit, quod si hæc eveniat sententiarum varietas ad ipsam sacrosanctam religionem credimus pertinere, cujus omnis potestas infringitur, nisi universa, quæ a Domini Sacerdotibus semel statuntur perpetua sint. Quod alias contingere poterit, si successor decessoris actibus non tribuerit firmitatem, & roborando quæ gesta sunt, faciat rata esse quæ gesserit ? Quanta enim *Vicarius B. Petri Apostoli* iudicabitur esse reverentia, si quæ in Sacerdotio

cerdotiopræcipiunt, eisdem tranſeuntibus diſſolvantur. Univerſa, inquit, perpetua ſint, quæ a Domini Sacerdotibus ſtatuuntur, qui ut Moſes, ea quæ ſtatuunt ab oraculo divino Inſcipiunt : non quæ ab his ſtatuuntur, de quibus per Prophetam dicitur : *Va his qui condunt leges iniquas, & ſcribentes injuſtitiam ſcripſerunt.* Et nihilominus, quæ a Vicariis B. Petri conſtituuntur maneat inconcuſſa. Quia ut Leo dicit, nec nimia eſt ſeveritas vel remiſſio, ubi nihil conſtituitur, niſi quod ex beati Petri æquitate proferitur.

Eſa. 1.

Hæc enim ſcimus eſſe Canonica, ſcimus eſſe Apoſtolica auctoritate roborata, & Apoſtolica ſedis decreta, quæ, ut Gelafius dicit, unamquamque Synodum & ſua auctoritate confirmat, & continua modo ratione cuſtodit, pro ſuo ſcilicet principatu, quem B. Petrus Apoſtolus Domini voce, præcepit, Eccleſia nihilominus ſubſequenti, & tenet ſemper & retinet. Et paulo ſuperius. Conſidimus quod nullus jam veraciter Chriſtianus ignorat, uniuſcuſq; Synodi conſtitutum, quod univerſalis Eccleſie probavit aſſenſus, nullam magis exequi ſedem præ cæteris oportere, quam primam. Et item idem. Cumque nobis contra ſalutarium reverentiam regularum cupiamus temere licere, & cum ſedes Apoſtolica ſuper his omnibus ſavente Domino, quæ paternis Canonibus ſunt præfixa, pio devotoque ſtudat tenere propoſito, ſatis indignum eſt, quenquam, vel Pontificum, vel ordinum ſubſequentium, hanc obſervantiam reſutare, quam B. Petri ſedem & ſequi videat & docere: Satisque conveniens ſit, ut totum corpus Eccleſie in hac ſibi met obſervatione concordet, quam illic videre conſpiciat, ubi Dominus Eccleſie totius poſuit principatum. Et de ſacris legibus, quas una cum Sanctis Canonibus Catholica obſervat Eccleſia, idem Gelafius, ut præmiſimus, dicit in Epiſtola ad Anaſtaſium Imperatorem, *Quantum, inquit, ad ordinem publicæ pertinet diſciplina, cognoscentes imperium tibi ſuperna diſpoſitione collatum, legibus tuiſiſi quoque parent Religionis Antiquitates, ne vel in rebus mundanis excluſe videantur obviare ſententiæ.*

Serm. 3. in anno. n. v.

Ep. ad Dardan.

Epiſt. 6.

Epiſt. 10.

Et cum ita ſacra leges, tam Eccleſiaſtica quam mundanæ, de damnato Epiſcopali & Synodali Concilio decernant, non eſt noſtri Regii minifterii, reum & ſacrorum Canonum iudicio condemnatum, atque Apoſtolica ſedis definitione, ſicut in geſtis Synodi invenire poteſtis, anathematizatum, noſtra potentia fretum quoquam dirigere : cum apertiffime ſacri Canones definiant, & leges Juſtiniani ac cæterorum Imperatorum Catholicorum edicta qualiter, & pro quibus & a quibus debeat Epiſcopus iudicari, & poſt iudicium, quid & qualiter, & per quos ſit inde Apoſtolica ſedis agendum : quæ non abnuimus, ſed incunctanter & competenter annuimus.

A quibus definitionibus nulli eſt licitum deviare : quia, ut S. Hilarys Papa dicit, *Non minus in Sanctorum traditionum delinquitur ſanctiones, quam in injuriam ipſius Domini proſilitur.*

Quocirca, quia Dominus dicit per Prophetam, *Labia Sacerdotis cuſtodient ſcientiam, & legem requirunt ex ore ejus, quia Angelus, id eſt, nuncius Domini exercituum eſt :* **Nolite permittere nobis ſcribi ex veſtræ authoritatis nomine, quæ in legibus ſacris, Dei ſapientia conditis, & in ſanctis regulis Spiritu promulgatis, non continentur,** dicente item Propheta, id eſt, Sacerdoti præcipiente, *Audiens nunciabis eis ex me, ex me inquit, & non ex te,* Et redarguuntur, qui de corde ſuo loquuntur. Quoniam, qui à ſemetipſo loquitur, gloriam propriam querit.

Malach. 2.

Ezech. 5.

Joan. 7.

Nolite igitur, ut præmiſimus, ex veſtro nomine, vel Apoſtolica ſedis authoritate, viſiones vel excommunicationum intentationes contra ſacrarum ſcripturarum tramitem, prædicationemque majorum ac ſacrarum legum, ſanctorumque Canonum conſtitutiones nobis de cætero ſcribi cuiuſcumque inſinatu permittere præcavimus.

Quia ſcitis, & ſcimus, totum eſſe irritum, quicquid ab eorum fuerit conſtitutione diverſum. Dicitur, inquit S. Leo, à Domino beatiſſimo Petro, *Tibi dabo claves regni calorum, & quemcumque ſolveris ſuper terram, erunt ſoluta & in cælis.* Tranſiit quidem etiam in alios Apoſtolos jus iſtius poteſtatis, & ad omnes Eccleſie principes decreti huius conſtitutio commovit : ſed non fruſtra uni commendatur, quod omnibus intimatur. Petro enim ideo hoc ſingulariter creditur, quia cunctis Eccleſie rectoribus Petri forma præponitur. Manet ergo Petri privilegium, ubi ex ipſius æquitate fertur iudicium : Qua ſententia conſtat, quia non manet Petri privilegium, ubi ex ipſius æquitate non fertur iudicium. Cum enim ubicumque dicitur, ſicuti nullus locus, ita nemo rector Eccleſie, ex Petri æquitate iudicium. Cum enim ubicumque dicitur, ſicuti nullus locus, ita nemo rector Eccleſie ex Petri æquitate iudicium ferens excipitur, vel contra illius æquitatem iudicium proferens commendatur. Et quia ubicumque ſine ulla exceptione non manet Petri privilegium, ubi ex ipſius æquitate non fertur iudicium, prolutum obaudiemus

Serm. 3. in anno. n. v.

Matth. 16.

jussum, vel recipiemus judicium, quod non ex *Petri* æquitate fuerit prolatum ac per hoc ipsius privilegio fuerit destitutum? De quo Episcopali judicio, quid cunctis Episcopis sequendum, & quid Ecclesiæ filiis sit tenendum atque servandum, B. *Gregorius* sufficienter inculcat.

1 Cor. 6.
Ephes. 6.
Psal. 44.
Ezech. 3.
Num. 22.

Ergo jubete & judicate privilegio magni *Petri* juxta æquitatis ejus judicium, quæ jubenda & judicanda sunt. Ne, ut dicit ejus Coapostolus, *visuperetur ministerium vestrum*. Quia & nos secundum regium ministerium nostrum, quantum ex nobis est cupimus servare quod scriptum est, *Filii, obedite parentibus vestris in Domino*, videlicet, quod fuerit jussum, vel indicatum a Domino: dicente illo singulis, *quia pro patribus*, Apostolis Ecclesiæ, *nati sunt filii*, Apostolici viri: *Tu autem audiens nunciabis eis ex me*. Divina quippe nos lectio docet, quia nec etiam *Balaam* satis superque a Rege *Balac* petitus, licet medicamento avaritiæ delinitus in concilio dando corruptus ostenderit, ullo tamen aut ullius instinctu in judicio justitiæ aliud loqui adversus *Israel* persuaderi vel extorqueri potuit, quam quod a Domino audivit.

De eo, quod in literis ex nomine vestro nobis directis habetur, *Ut veniente Hincmaro Romam, veniat accusator idoneus, qui nulla possit auctoritate legitima resisti*: rescribimus: Quia licet hæc commendatio nulla sit ratione atque auctoritate suffulta, si forte apud vos exlex solus *Hincmarus* nova lege priscis tam publicis, quam Ecclesiasticis contraria, imo ordine nobis, more habetur, ut non nisi a vobis et Romæ valeat judicari pro his ex celsibus, de quibus habentur certa sacrorum Canonum ac legum decreta: Quæ, ut *Leo* dicit, *nulla possunt ratione convelli*, cum etiam de causa fidei, ut dicit *Gelasius*, *cuiusque Pontifici licet secundum regulam erroris ante damnati, quemlibet a Catholica communione discernere*; Et ego ita exors ab omnibus accusationibus, non solum ab his quibus legaliter & regulariter accusandi adversus seipsum denegatur licentia, verum & ab his quibus in propriis causis accusatio non negatur: ut sicut leges & regulæ jubent, in Provincia, in qua sunt orta negotia, terminari non valeant, & secundum *Antiochenos* Canones, *Provincialium Synodorum non debeant experiri examen*. Si vobis vias cum voluntate & consensu dilectissimi nepotis nostri Imperatoris vestri, contra cujus dilectionem & debitum honorem vobis exhibere studuerit, illuc ire non volumus, obtinueritis, cooperante Domino, pace in regno nostro contra Paganos virtute vel quacunque dispositione Dei obtenta, Romam venire congruo tempore non differemus. Et quia illum legaliter aut regulariter in Synodo Episcoporum, plurimarum Provinciarum de certis causis accusavimus, idoneum nos accusatorem illius ostendemus: & tantos testes idoneos diversi ordinis ac dignitatis nobiscum ducemus, cum quibus eum legaliter ac regulariter nos accusasse, & comprobasse, sufficientissime comprobabimus. Tandem, quia vos non legisse, vel audisse collegimus ex literis ab *Aldardo* Episcopo nobis delatis, quæ antea per illum paternitati vestræ direximus, iterato scribimus ea, quæ tunc scripseramus, deprecantes vos in omnipotentis Dei honore, & Sanctorum Apostolorum veneratione, ut tales inhonorationis nostræ Epistolas, taliaque mandata, sicut hactenus ex nomine vestro suscepimus, nobis, et regni nostri Episcopis ac Primoribus de cætero non mandetis, et non compellatis nos mandata, et Epistolas vestras inhonorandas continere, et missos vestros dehonozare, qui, vobis, in his, quæ ad vestrum ministerium pertinent, si tamen ministerium vestrum, cupimus obtemperare. Quæ pro vestri honore privilegii vobis dicimus, quia vobis, sicut revera Vicario B. *Petri* Apostolorum Principis, in omnibus debite ac competenter obedire desideramus, & ne aliter eveniat cavere per omnia cupimus, ac vestram sanctitatem id ipsum cavere humili prece deposcimus: ne nos & nostros satis invitos ad id cogamus convertere quod in quinta Universali Synodo, a sede Apostolica ut in Apostolicis literis, præcipue autem in Synodica B. *Gregorii* ad quatuor Patriarchas, & in aliis ejus Epistolis, una cum quatuor præcedentibus legimus collaudatum atque susceptum invenitur, nobis tenendum. Quod adhuc nostris literis ad exemplum inferere nolimus donec sciamus, si duritiam mandatorum vestrorum erga nos aliter ad benignitatem inflectere poterimus. Quia quod ex Apostolicæ sedis nomine secundum sanctarum Scripturarum tramitem, prædicationemque majorum & orthodoxorum decreta scribuntur, sequendum & tenendum non ignoravimus; et quod secus a quoquam fuerit compilatum sive confictum, non solum respiciendum, sed et rearguendum esse cognoscimus. Si denique aliter quam nos & vos decuerat, reverendissimæ paternitati vestræ rescribendo, factus sum insipiens, vos me coegit. Petimus autem omnipotentem Dominum ut inspiret cordi vestro sic nos benigne tractare, quatenus ulterius nobis non sit necesse vobis ita rescribere.

Sed

Sed ut cupimus in veneratione Apostolorum Apostolico Pontificio vestro humiliter ac devote colla & corda submittere. Deus omnipotens ad honorem & salutationem, atque exaltationem sanctæ suæ Ecclesiæ, vos per multa annorum curricula conservare dignetur, Domine sanctissime & reverendissime pater in Domino.

Hincmarus Archbishop of *Rhemes* with his Suffragans, and four other Archbishops Anno 846. of *France* with their Suffragans, by command of this King *Charles*, in their respective Synods, compiled several Canons and Ecclesiastical decrees, which they presented to the King and his Nobles, to confirm and ratify; Upon perusal, they finding some of them entrenching upon the Kings prerogative; the Priviledges of the Nobles, and peoples Liberties, and giving overmuch power to the Bishops by enlarging their Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions, the Nobles would by no means assent unto them, but only selected 21. out of 88. of their Canons, rejecting all the rest, which 21. were confirmed by King *Charles*, and published in his Name with this Title; [a] *Karoli Hludovici Imp. F. Capitula*, printed in [b] *Fredericus Lindebragus*, with this preface to them. *Hæc quæ sequuntur Capitula excerpta sunt a Domino Rege Carolo, Domini Hludovici Imp. Filii, & Principibus eius, ex Capitulis quæ anno DCCCXVI. ediderant * Episcopi in Synodis*, Wenilo scilicet cum Suffraganeis suis; *Guntboldus cum Suffraganeis suis*; *Urfmarus cum Suffraganeis suis*, *Hincmarus cum Suffraganeis suis*; *Amalo cum Suffraganeis suis*: et oblata sunt (some time after) eidem Principi, sicut ipse iusserat, collecta ad relegendum, in *Sarnaco Ailla Remensis Ecclesiæ*. Et quia, factione quorundam, motus est animus ipsius Regis contra Episcopos, dissidentibus regni sui Primoribus ab eorundem Episcoporum admonitione, et remotis ab eodem Concilio Episcopis, et omnibus illis Capitulis, hæc tantum observanda et complacenda sibi collegerunt, et Episcopis scripto tradiderunt, dicentes, Non amplius de eorum Capitulis accepisse, quam ista, et ista se velle cum Principe observare. A memorable clear Evidence, 1. That no Ecclesiastical Canons and Constitutions made by Archbishops and Bishops in their Synods, were obligatory, or valid, unlesse first examined, approved by Kings and their Nobles, to whom they were usually presented for their examination, & ratified, if approved by them. 2ly. That the Nobles, as well as Kings and Emperors, had a negative voice in Councils and Synods, to reject Canons or Constitutions when made and drawn up in them by the Bishops. 3ly. That they rejected such of them as they deemed prejudicial to the Crown, their own or the peoples Priviledges, or enlarged the Bishops Ecclesiastical Authority beyond its due ancient limits, which the Bishops were over prone to amplify in most of their Synods, as well as Popes; that so they might tyrannize over Kings, Nobles, and Laymen at their pleasures.

Anno 876. there was a General Synod (as the Romanists stile it) assembled at *Constantinople*, consisting of 373. Bishops; wherein these particulars are observable; 1. That it was summoned by the Emperor *Basilus* his industry, about the restitution of *Ignatius* to the See of *Constantinople*, of which he was deprived by *Michael* the Emperor, and to remove *Photius*, intruded into it in his room. 2ly. That Pope *Adrian* the 2d. writ to this Emperor, importuning him to summon this Council. 3dly. That this Pope sent his Legates to it. 4ly. That this Emperor *Basilus*, though he advanced the Popes Supremacy over the Greek Church in a great measure in this Council, yet in exordio Synodi ita locutus est; Cum divina et benignissima providentia NOBIS GUBERNACULA UNIVERSALIS NAVIS (Ecclesiæ) COMMISSESSE, (not to the Pope, or Patriarch of *Constantinople*, the two competitors for this trust) omne studium arripimus. et ante publicas curas Ecclesiasticas, Ecclesiasticas dissolvere et procellas, quæ per multos annos ex invidia odientis bonum Satana expansæ sunt, in stabilem tranquillitatem per meliorem quandam provisionem transferre, &c. Igitur his quæ præva vobis omnibus esse videbantur et aspera, in vias planas imperatoria diligentia et studio nostro translatis, commonemus et hortamur omnes vos fratres, ut cum multo pondere et reverentia conveniatis ad sanctam hanc et universalem Synodum, tanquam ad communem et universis aptam; atque

* Codex Legum Antiquarum, p. 1196, 1197, &c.
* See *Surius* Concil. Tom. 3. p. 454, &c.

Anno 876
a *Surius* Concil. Tom. 3. p. 530, 531, 539. Cent. Magd. 9. c. 9. col. 426, 427, 559, 560. Morney Mysteriorum Iniquitatis, p. 180, 181, 182.

* Surius, Tom.
3. p. 531, 539,
540, 541, 542
Cent. Magd. 9.
col. 353, 354,
487, 488. Zo-
nara's Annal.
Tom. 3.

* Surius Tom.
3. p. 538, to
244.

atque sine labore medelam, nullam vitiosam motionem, vel affectum ferentes, nec ad contentiosam voluntatem respicientes, sed potius vinci bene, quam vincere periculose ac injuste sitientes. Sic enim unusquisq; qui vitiatum interiozem patitur hominem, sanitatem recipiet, et aeternam salutem percipiet, &c. 5ly. That Photius the Patriarch and his followers summoned to and entering into this Synod, * Actio 4. & 5. would give no answer at all to the Questions demanded of them by the Popes Legats, nor acknowledge their authority: whereupon the Legates spake thus to the Princes, *Principibus, qui iussu Basilii Imperatoris interfuerunt Interrogate illos magni, fortissimi, & glorioissimi Principes, an illi qui introierunt, faciunt libellum hoc?* That Actio 7. Bahanis Patriarchus, et Propositus, dixit ad Synodum, Photio presente, cum Episcopis suis, Sanctus Imperator noster vult facere allocutionem ad istos per me indignum serbum suum. Whereupon Sanctissimi Vicarii senioris Romæ dixerunt; Sicut iubet Imperium eius. Bahanis dixit, Hortatorie alloquitur vos Imperator; Homines, dicit unde, estis? &c. Episcopi Photii dixerunt; Deus custodiat Imperatorem nostrum, Verbum petimus impunitatis, ut diceremus negotia nostra cum fiducia, & non accepimus, (according to the Emperors promise) quantum ergo habemus loqui, &c. After many discourses between Bahanis and them, Bahanis dixit; Per Imperatorem nostrum sanctum nihil prohibemini, iubet enim, vult et acquiescit ut loquamini: Sed viuentes Iudices convicia vestra (Iudices dicit Vicarios Papæ & Patriarcham, as Binius informs us in his Marginal Note) Episcopi Photii dixerunt; et nos Iudices ipsos non recipimus. After many more discourses, answers and replies between them and Bahanis, speaking in the name and by the command of the Emperor, Photius and his Bishops would by no means submit to the Judgement of the Pope and Patriarch, or their Delegates, as unfit and partial Judges in this case. 6ly. That Justinian was in truth President and chief Judge in this Synod, not the Popes Legates; as is evident 1. By his Oration in the beginning of this Synod, Actio 1. 2ly. By his elegant Oration to Photius, and his Bishops, and the whole Synod, exhorting them all to Peace, unity, humility and reconciliation, Actio 2. & 5. with his Oration to them at the cloze of this Synod, and his & Bahanis Interlocutory Speeches therein recorded, worthy reading, over-long to insert. 3ly. By giving Photius & his Bps. 7. days respite to consider whether they would submit and comply, or not, Actio 6. 4ly. By these his memorable Questions propounded to the Synod and others, when they had finished their Canons and Sentences. Quisquis habet aliquid adversus hanc Sanctam et Universalem Synodum dicendum, aut contra hujus Canones aut terminum, stet in medio, et quæ sibi videntur edicat, sive Episcopus sit, sive quisquam de Ecclesiastico Clero, sive Laicus, aut ex iis qui civilibus officiis manciantur, existat: Licentiam damus omnibus, ut qui in mente habet quid ambiguum de iis, quæ decreta sunt in hac sancta Synodo, hoc in medium exhibeat, et suscipiat satisfactione salubre remedium, &c. Qui ergo habet quid dicendum, dicat dum hæc celebratur: Nam soluta sancta & universali Synodo, qui apparuerit Ecclesie Dei contradicens, aut non communicans ei, sive Episcopus sit, sive absolute Sacerdos, sive dignitate aliqua præditus, vel aliqua conversatus, veniam ab Imperio nostro minime consequetur, sed iuste condemnabitur, et a civitate nostra pelletur ut corruptor et pestilens, et membrum putridum et inutile, et commune corpus Ecclesie violans. 5ly. When the Acts of this Synod were publicly read, Post Lectionem, Basilii amicus Christi, & magnus Imperator dixit, Dicat nunc quisque voluerit ex sedentibus in hac sancta et universali Synodo, in quo istorum hæsitet vel ambiget, quæ nunc lecta sunt. Sancta Synodus exclamavit, Omnibus placent quæ lecta sunt; omnes eisdem ipsis concordamus, omnes libenter subscribimus. Item, post lectum terminum Synodi, Basilii Imperator ad Synodum dixit; Dicat nunc Sancta & Universalis Synodus, Si omnibus sanctissimis Episcopis concordantibus ac consentientibus præsens terminus sit depromptus; oportet enim divina quæque cum universorum

rum consensu et concordantia in Ecclesiasticis predicari et confirmari collegiis. Sancta Synodus dixit, *Omnes ita sapimus, omnes ita predicamus; omnes concinentes & consentientes prompte subscribimus. Hoc est veritatis iudicium, hoc est iustitia decretum, &c.* 6ly. By his and the other Emperors approbations and ratifications of the Acts of this Synod by their Subscriptions in this form, after all the Bishops and their Delegates had subscribed them. **Post quos tandem subscripserunt Imperatores his verbis.** *Basilius, Constantinus, & Leo, perpetui Augusti, Christo Deo fideles Principes Romanorum, et magni Imperatores sanctam hanc et universalem Synodum suscipientes, et omnibus quæ ab ipsa definita et scripta sunt, concordantibus, subscribimus manu propria.* To which subscription, *Basilius* subjoyns this his observation: *In qua subscriptione Imperatorum, hoc obiter advertendum est, quod aiunt quidam, suscipientes et concordantes, non autem definientes. id enim Episcoporum est, non Principum:* when as all the premised Presidents or former Councils resolve, that Emperors and Kings had the chiefest hand in prescribing, enacting, defining, confirming, as well as receiving and assenting to their Acts and Constitutions; And the Popes Legates presiding and representing his person therein, subscribed only *conferesi*, not *definientes*, which the *Greek Bishops* only used. 7ly. There fell out a Notable difference between the Popes Legates and the Greek and Oriental Bishops, about the form of subscribing the Acts and Canons of this Synod. *Cum ad subscriptionem actus esset res deducta, Pontificii deprehendunt, Græcos de suo exemplari de Epistola Nicholai, ea quæ de laude Imp. Ludovici erant scripta, avulsiisse, propterea quod molesti esset ferrent alii Imperatoris et Cæsaris nomen tribui, quam suo Domino; quare oboritur ea de re contentio. Romani subscribere denegant, nisi illa restituatur. Græci respondent, in actis Synodalibus non esse de Imp. sed de Solius Domini laude tractandum. Romani autem metuentes sui Pontificis severitatem, indefinite subscribunt.* * Ego *Donatus Dei gratia Episcopus Ostiensis Ecclesiæ*, locum obtinens Domini mei *Adriani*, huic sanctæ ac universali Synodo præficiens, usque ad voluntatem ejusdem eximii Præfulis ad omnia ut superius legitur *consensi*, & manu propria subscripsi. Eodem modo & alii duo Legati subscripserunt. *His peractis, quidam ex Græcorum Episcopis Imperatorem adeunt, & queruntur, per libellos, quod initio scribere, juxta formam Pontificis coacti sunt, Constantinopolitanam Ecclesiam plane in potestate Romani Pontificis esse, nec posse unquam libertatem pristinam recuperari, nisi libelli Pontificis extorqueantur, et sibi reddantur. Agitur ea de re magna contentione cum Pontificis, ac ægerrime impetratur restitutio.* After which *Ignatius* the restored Patriarch of *Constantinople* subscripsit sic: *Ignatius misericordia Dei Ecclesiæ Constantinopoleos, Novæ Romæ sanctam hanc & universalem Synodum suscipiens, & omnibus quæ ab ea judicata & scripta sunt, concordans, & definiens* subscripsi manu propria. *Eadem forma usi sunt etiam Legati Patriarcharum Orientis;* whereby they avoyded the snare they were like to be intangled in by the Popes Legates policy. 8ly. That there fell out another difference and hot contest between the Roman Legates and Grecians in this Council, to whose Jurisdiction the *Bulgarians* (newly converted to the faith) should belong; whether to the Pope and Church of *Rome*, or the *Greek Church* and Patriarch of *Constantinople*? they having *Greek* (a) Priests that converted, preached to, and resided among them, before the Pope sent any *Latin* Priests to convert them; This was left undecided, *Ignatius* refusing to give away the right of his See to the Pope, though restored by his means; or to read the Popes Letter to him, not to send any *Greek Priest* among the *Bulgarians*, though conjured by him not to do it. 10ly. * That the Popes Legates returning to *Rome*, were taken prisoners by the *Sclavi*, & bonis omnibus atq. autentico, in quo omnes subscriptiones erant, privati, qui Imperialibus & Apostolicis literis vix liberati, sine autentico auctorum libro revertuntur: so that *Surius* and other *Romanists* having no authentick Copies of this Synod, have foisted into the fragments of it many passages making for the Popes and Church of *Romes* Supremacy, the Clergies power, but against the Emperors Jurisdiction, & Laymens presence, votes in Councils in matters of faith, and Ecclesiastical affairs (out of Pope *Nicholas*, and *Adrians* Letters) which was never assented to, nor recorded in the Authentick Acts of this Synod, wherein * *Rabanus* a Layman bare chief sway. 11ly. That *Laurentius Surius* himself hath prefixed before his imperfect fragments and Epitome of its Actions, *De octavo Synodo admonitio ad Lectorem,*

* Anastasius in Hadriano 2. p. 139, 140. Cent. Magd. 9. c. 9. col. 439, 440. Zonaras Annual. Tom. 3. * Surius, Tom. 3. p. 543, 544.

* See Surius, p. 531.

* Cent. Magd. 9. col. 440, 441, 442. Philip Morney Historia Papatus, p. 182. Anastasius in Hadriano 2. p. 340, 341.

a Zonaras Tom. 3. Cent. Magd. 9. col. 13, 14. * Cent. Magd. col. 442, 443.

* Tom. 3. Concil. p. 530.

rem, viz. Triplicem Octavam Constantinopoli habitam Synodum, historie loquuntur. Primam, in qua prater fas ejecto Ignatio, repente ex aulico & neophyto creatus est Constantinopolitana Urbis Antistes Photius. Alteram, quae pulso Photio, restituit suae sedi Ignatium. Tertiam, sub Johanne Octavo Romano Pontifice, qui mortuo Ignatio, pacis conciliandae causa Photium Constantinopolitanis Episcopum reddidit. Ex his mediam, de illi viri Octavam recte ac merito oecumenicam censent dici oportere, tametsi Graeci quidem aliter sentire videantur, quorum iudicia non sunt magni penenda. Semper enim illi quadam a mulatione feruntur erga Latinam Ecclesiam, & difficile est morosis ingenis per omnia satisfacere, &c. Sed iis omissis, hoc te lector admonitum volumus, nos dare quidem in praesentiarum legendam tibi Octavam Synodum, sed ita tamen, ut multa ex ejus Actionibus desiderentur. Neque enim habuimus exemplar integrum, sed ab illis mutuati sumus, qui in compendium & epitomen ipsas Actiones redigere voluerint. Sub finem tamen quadam adjunximus, ex aliis bona fide collectis, ad eandem Synodum pertinentia. 12ly. It is observable, that the true cause of Photius his deposition, and Ignatius his restitution by the Emperor Basilus, and this Synod was, because Basilus prohibitus fuit a Communione per Photium Patriarcham, propter eadem Michaelis Imperatoris; not because he was made Patriarch in his stead, being a meer Courtier and Layman before, against the Canons; St. Ambrose, with sundry others being made Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, yea Popes, in the Eastern and Western Churches, and England, though mere Laymen and Courtiers when elected; yea after Ignatius his death, Photius was restored to his Patriarchship notwithstanding this exception. 13ly. It is worthy consideration what advantage Pope Nicholas the 1. and Adrian the 2d. made of these schisms and differences between Ignatius and Michael, Photius and Basilus, Patriarchs and Emperors of Constantinople, to advance their own usurped Supremacy over the Greek Emperors and Church, all other Princes, Prelates, and Councils themselves, if their Epistles, Rescripts registered by Gratian and others be genuine, not forged, as many justly repute them. For Pope Nicholas in his Letters to the Emperor Michael, upon the complaint of Ignatius, that he was unjustly deposed by the Emperor, took upon him not only most insolently to revile, check, and trample upon the Emperor Michael, but likewise to enlarge his own Papal power beyond all bounds, and to deny, abridge, abolish the Emperors antient Ecclesiastical Right and Jurisdiction: averring, 1. That Popes have an Universal Jurisdiction over all Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops, to receive appeals from, and restore them to their Sees whereof they were deprived, either by Emperors, Kings or Councils, by their Papal authority. 2. That Popes have power to summon General, National or Provincial Synods for this purpose, without Emperors or Kings assents; and to enjoy Emperors to suppress all Councils, Synods enacting any thing to the prejudice of the Pope or Church of Rome, as meer wicked Conventicles. 3ly. That Emperors, Kings, or Laymen ought not to be present, much lesse to preside in any Synods or Councils where Ecclesiastical matters are debated, nor have any authority to intermeddle with, or to make Lawes, Constitutions for the Church or Clergy, but only Popes and Bishops. 4ly. That Emperors and Kings have no right, power to judge or dethrone Popes, Bishops, or other Clergy-men, for any crimes, nor yet to elect, promote, constitute Bishops, or confer Bishopricks, but only Popes and their Delegates. 5ly. That Popes may judge, excommunicate, depose, Emperors, Kings and other Laymen. 6ly. That the Jurisdiction, power, office of Emperors and Kings, is confin'd by God and Christ, only to worldly or secular, not extended to Ecclesiastical, religious, or divine affairs, which belong wholly and solely to Popes, Bishops, and Church-men. 7ly. That Popes and Prelates by their Canons and Constitutions may repeal, null, controll the Lawes, Edicts of Kings, or Emperors; but they can neither null nor repeal their Canons, Constitutions, nor act ought against them. These with other Antichristian Paradoxes Pope Adrian broached, decreed, upon the score of Ignatius, and his successors have since incorporated them into the body of their Canon Lawes.

* Barth. Canonica Conciliorum.

* Zonaras An. 1118. 1152. Cent. 9. c. 16.

* Rescripta Nicolai Papae 1. ex Gratiani volumine in unum collecta per Joann. Cochleum. Suius Concil. Tom. 3. p. 513, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517.

Aano 878 a Martinus Polonus, Platina, Onuphrius, Stella, Balaeus, Barnes in Johanne 9. Nauclerus, & Cent. Magd. 9. c. 10.

(a) After the death of Carolus Calvus, Pope John the 9th. intended to make and Crown Ludovicus Balbus Emperor, but the Senate and Citizens of Rome standing for Carolus Crassus, against the bribed Pope, who persisted obstinate, they thereupon cast him into prison, from whence he escaping, fled into France for succour, and there Crowned Ludovicus Balbus Emperor: Charles in the mean time seising upon Rome, called the Pope out of France to Rome by menaces; who returning thither upon his summons, crowned Charles Emperor in Rome, to purchase his peace with him, that so he might safely reside there. An Argument of his Supremacy over this Pope.

Pope

(b) Pope Martin the 2d. *Seditione & malis artibus Pontificalem dignitatem acquisit*; whereupon, *Primo, huius tempore, non expectabatur Caesaris auctoritas in creando Pontifice, nec querebatur eius admissio*; which till then was customarily required. *Ita paulatim sese Pontifices Imperatorum potestate exuerunt, ut facilius eos cum demum contererent pedibus. Sed eo facilius provenit Ecclesia & Urbi, quasi in tam male acquisito Papatu, diutius non duraverit*; writes Balens, he dying within 13. months after.

(c) Pope Hadrian the 3d. *statim post initum Pontificatum nullus opportunitatem, per Caroli Crassi absentiam, qui tunc exercitum ab Italia in Normannos diripientes Galliam eduxerat*; encouraged by his predecessors Usurpations upon the Emperors ancient right in the election and confirmation of Popes, proceeded one step further, utterly to abolish it for the future. *Tanta audacia & supercilii fuit, ut mox adepto Papatu, Decretum faceret, ut in creando Pontifice, non amplius expectaretur Imperatoris auctoritas, sed ut Romæ semper essent libera & liberi & populi suffragia.* If we believe Gratian, this Decree of his (or another after it) extended further, even to deprive all Emperors & Kings of their rights in electing, promoting, or confirming any Bishops: **Nullus Laicorum Principum vel potentum senet inferat electioni aut promotioni Patriarchæ, Metropolitæ, aut cuiuslibet Episcopi, ne videlicet inordinata & incongrua fiat electio, vel confusio, vel contentio: præsertim cum nullum in talibus potestatem quemque potestativorum vel cæterorum Laicorum habere conveniat: & infra. Quisquis secularium Principum vel potentum vel alterius dignitatis Laicus adversus communem consonantem atq; Canonicam electionem Ecclesiasticæ ordinis agere tentaverit, anathema sit, donec obediat & consentiat quicquid Ecclesia de electione & ordinatione proprii præsulis se velle monstraverit.* From this Antichristian Decree, controuling the practice of the Church, and revoking the undoubted right both of Emperors, Kings, Princes, and Lay-men, in the election of Bishops in all preceding ages, Cranzius (and Balens out of him) observes, *Sic ausi sunt Pontifices ac Romanorum improbitas, Imperatores suos contemnere dum Imperii virtus elangueret: Unde quod antecessores sui nullis iam annis parturierant, ipse nro sæculo edito, in lucem promisit. Porro hanc rem tentavit Prior Nicholas primus: sed ad effectum, ut ipsi loquuntur, non perduxit. Atq; hic perpende, pie lector, quo modo per hoc Decretum, ius Imperatoribus omne quod in Pontificem atque Urbem Romanam habuere, sit ademptum: Ita ut in hoc sæculo Pontifices magis cum Triumpho, superiores ac victores evaserint. Videbis eos adhuc maiora tentare, & non cessare donec sese extulerint super omne quod dicitur Deus, aut quod colitur, 2 Thef. 2. ut dicant ejus adoratores, Quis similis bestia? aut quis poterit pugnare cum ea? Apoc. 13. Sed nec diu superstes mansit hic Adrianus post depressam auctoritatem Cæsaream; Anno enim Domini 886. ex hac vita repente migravit, cum magnam de ipso ssem concepissent Papicole.*

(d) Rhemigius Antissiodorensis Episcopus, who flourished under Carolus Calvus, and Crassus, in his *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Psal. 50. *Tibi soli peccavi*: hath this Exposition: *Alii si peccant, Regi, qui iudex positus est, peccant & Deo. Rex si peccat, soli Deo peccat, quia solus Deus punit eum*; not the Pope.

(e) The Council of Mentz, under Arnulphus the Emperor, Cap. 1, 2. decreed: *Statuimus, ut oratio ab omnibus nobis tam pro glorioso Rege Arnulpho, seu etiam pro gloriosissima conjuge sua, ne conon & pro statu totius Christianitatis, prout nos debitores esse cognoscimus, in Ecclesiis nostris quotidie celebretur. Ut annuncietur glorioso Regi nostro & Domino Arnulpho, quid sit Rex, quidve vocari debet. Rex a recte regendo vocatur. Si enim pie, et iuste, et misericorditer regit, merito Rex appellatur, &c.* (as in the Council of Paris, * forecited.) *Eos quibus temporaliter imperat didis atque exemplis, ad opus pietatis, iustitiæ et misericordiæ solerter excitet, attendens, quod pro his Deo rationem reddurus sit, &c.* as the Council of Paris defined.

(f) In the Council of Metz, (*Concilium Metense*) the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and Priests, cum Comitibus, et pluribus Nobilibus et Deum timentibus viris, adfuerunt; by the Emperor Arnulphus his order: ubi pari voto, parique consensu, pro vera charitate, et tranquillitate Sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ: They enacted 9. Canon, (the last was for extraordinary Prayers, and three dayes Fast, with Letanies for the Emperor Arnulphus) as Episcopi et Presbyteri, et fideles Laici, qui ante nos fuerunt,

Ee

juxta

Anno 882
b Martinus Po-
lonus, Platina,
Balens, Barne,
in Martino 2.
Cent. Magd. 9.
col. 510. Simo-
nat. l. 5. c. 14.

Anno 884
c Martinus Po-
lonus, Platina,
Onuphyus,
Stella, Barne,
and Balens in
Hadriano 3.
Cent. Magd. 9.
col. 511. Simo-
neta l. 5. c. 17.
* Gratian Di-
stinctio 62.

Anno 886
d Bibliotheca
Patrum, Tom.
9 pars 2. p.
717. F.

Anno 888
e Surtius Cen-
cil. Tom. 3. p.
547.

* Herz p. 125,
127.

Anno 890
f Surtius Cen-
cil. Tom. 3. p.
551. Centur.
Magd. 9. c. 2.

iuxta sacram Canonum auctoritatem, sæpius in Christi nomine convenientes, iustitiam Dei statuerant, &c. Therefore Earls, Noble men, and other faithful Lay men, by this Councils acknowledgment, had then, and frequently in times before this Council, an equal voyce and consent with Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priests, in Councils, in making Ecclesiastical Laws and Canons, to which the Emperor assented, to render them valid and obligatory.

Anno 890
Zonaras An-
nalium Tom. 3.
fol. 174. 175.
Cent. Magd. 9.
col. 490.

(g) About the year 890. *Nicholas* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, excommunicated the Emperor *Leo*, surnamed *Philosophus*, ob quartas Nuptias, for marrying a 4th. wife after the death of 3. former wives, being not prohibited by the Law of God. The Emperor hereupon entering into the Church of *Mocii*, on the day of Pentecost, to perform his devotions, & in sacrarii Cancellis appropriaret, quidam è superiore loco prodierunt, baculum gravissimum, quem manibus gestabat, Imperatoris capiti impexit, quod plaxe contulisset, nisi fustis dependenti candelabro illius, maximam vim amisset. Proceres cum sanguinem è capite Imperatoris manantem viderent, turbati sunt. Sed qui id facinus ausus fuerat, quæstionibus adhibitis, nullo conscio nominato, pedibus & manibus amputatis in ignem est coniectus. The Emperor hereupon sent to *Nicholas* the Patriarch, ut se reciperet & censura eximeret; quem cum accessisset, neq. ulla ratione exorare posset: statim è Regia in Iram navi transferebatur, atque inde pedestri itinere in *Galacrenzum* Monasterium, transferendum curat. Ejus vero loco Patriarcha designatus est *Syngelus Euthymius*, vir sacer, qui omni studio obstitit, ne Leo ab Imperatore promulgaretur, ut ipsius exemplo, cuius liceret secundam, tertiam, & quartam etiam uxorem ducere. After this Emperors death, *Alexander* who succeeded him, restored *Nicholas*, and deposed, banished *Euthymius* the Patriarch. It is observable, that within the space of 40. years in this age, the Emperors of *Constantinople* deposed, imprisoned, banished no lesse then 7. Patriarchs one after another, for presuming to oppose or excommunicate them, though they contested with the Pope of *Rome* for Supremacy, and held themselves as universal and omnipotent as the *Roman* Pontiffs. * The 1. was *Nicephorus*, deposed and banished by the Emperor *Leo*, for opposing the removing and worshiping of Images out of Churches, according to his Imperial Edicts. The 2. was *Johannes Syngelus*, who for opposing the restitution of Images by *Theodora*, and putting out the eyes of a statue of the *Virgin Mary*, à dignitate dejectus, flagris casus, & in monasterium conclusus est. The 3. *Methodius*, imaginum venerator ac patronus, a *Michael* Balbo ob eam harsim in carcerem coniectus, & a *Theophylo paulo pift*, in insulam *Panormo* relegatus, & inter duos latrones conclusus, quorum altero mortuo & putrescente, fœtore propemodum enecatus; qui a *Theodora pulo* Sygelio constituitur Patriarcha. The 4. *Ignatius*, qui *Bardam Casarem*, qui uxorem sine causa dimiserat, ab aditu in sacra a tem repulit; Bardas enim ob excommunicationem sui, ab officio removit, & sepulchro inclusit, atque inde extractum in *Mitylenam* insulam deportavit, & *Photium* substituit: Pope *Nicholas* sent Letters and Legates to move and importune the Emperor *Michael* to restore him, and remove *Photius*, who refused to do it. The 5. *Photius*. *Basilius* murdering and succeeding *Michael*, *Photius* for this crime, ab aditu Ecclesie & communionis, eo quod parricida esset, *Basilium* prohibuit: Thereupon * *Basilius* calling a Council at *Constantinople*, by the Popes importunity, Legates, and Letters, deprived *Photius*, (a great opposite to the Pope and his Supremacy) and restored *Ignatius*; after whose death, *Basilius* re-invested *Photius* in this See; unde iterum eum expulit *Leo Philosophus*, & in monasterium Armeniorum relegavit, fratremq. suum *Stephanum* Patriarcham designat. The 6. *Nicholas*. The 7. *Euthymius Syngelus*. A sufficient argument of Emperors Ecclesiastical Supremacy over their Patriarchs, Bishops, and against Popes, Patriarchs, Bishops superiority over them.

* Zonaras An-
nal. Tom. 3.
Cent. Magd. 9.
c. 10. *Paulus*
Diaconus Re-
ram Rom. l. 24.
Metaphrastes
Tom. 5.

* See here, p.
213, 214.

Anno 895
Surius Con-
cil Tom. 3. p.
555, 556, 557,
564, 568, 569.
Cent. Magd. 3.
cap. 9.

(h) *Triburiense Concilium*, was summoned by *Arnulphus* the Emperor. In hoc sacro Concilio presidente & adjuvante pio Principe Arnulpho; there were 58. Ecclesiastical Constitutions made, by the joynr advice and consent both of his Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, et omnibus Regni sui Principibus, necnon conventibus Ecclesiasticorum et seculariorum innumeris turbis, quatenus infatigabili perseverantia, divina et humana tractarentur, atque emergentia mala compzimerentur, ut liberius sancta Dei Ecclesia suo potiretur honore. After 31. dayes fasting and prayers for the Emperor & Councils good success, The Emperor, pergens ad Palacium, Regale sedis solium, indutus veste splendidissima, quam tenuit sapientia, repletus est prudentia, erectus & potentia, tractans præfice

practice de statu Regni, & theorice de ordine & stabilitate Ecclesiarum Christi, & qualiter boni quiete viverent, & mali inulte non peccarent. Episcoporum sacer conventus, inter alia quibus divina & humana tractaturi erant, communi voto & pari consensu, de collegio sanctorum Sacerdotum graves & idoneos direxerunt mediatores ad prefatum pium Regem, inquirentes, quo studio, & quali benignitate, secundum sapientiam & possibilitatem ab ipso Deo sibi datam, Ecclesiam Christi, illi per Regalem potestatem, & ipsis per Sacerdotalem eminentiam commissam, defendere, & ministerium illorum amplificare & sublimare dignaretur; proponentes ei propriam Regis eminentiam, id est, ut misericordia & modestia omnes praeceat. After which the Emperor made an Oration to the Bishops & Clergy, admonishing them of, and enjoining them to perform their Pastoral duties with all diligence; which they performing, Habereis me omnibus Ecclesia Christi adversariis, & vestro Sacerdotali ministerio renitentibus, oppositissimum bellatorem, &c. Upon report of the Emperors Speech to the Council, all the Clergy and Nobility standing up, blessed God, prayed for Arnulphus his long life, and sung Te Deum Laudamus, glorifying the Lord Jesus Christ, qui Ecclesia sue sanctae tam piam & mirem consolatorem, tamq. strenuum adiutorem ad honorem nominis sui condonare dignatus est. Some of the Canons concerning excommunicated persons concerning the censures of the Church, were made by this Emperors special direction and command, and all of them approved as well by consent and approbation of the Nobility and Laity, as of the Bishops and Clergy, several of the Laws being Temporal, intermixed with the Ecclesiastical.

After Pope Hadrian the 3d. had deprived the Emperors of their antient right in electing and confirming Popes, there arose sundry schisms, seditions, factions, corruptions in their elections and installments, till this their right was restored to them by Pope Leo the 8. For (i) Formosus the 1. obtaining the Papacy by gifts, (notwithstanding he had by Oath abjured the City, Episcopacy, and his Priestly Office, to avoyd the indignation of Pope John the 9. from which Oath Pope Martin the 2. absolved him) was opposed by Sergius, his Competitor, (elected by the contrary faction) To suppress which, Formosus Arnulphum Romanum vocat; who marching thither with an Army, excipitur, consecratur, & donatur Imperiali corona; Arnulphus, gratias relaturus Pontifici pro isto officio, precipiens ex Formosi adversariis capite truncat: which occasioned such factions not only between the Romans, but Popes and Clergy themselves, and their parties, that Pope Stephen the 6. tanto odio Formosi nomen persecutus est, ut statim ejus Decreta abrogaverit, ac res gestas rescidit; tantoque in mortuum quoque rabie defecit, ut habita Synodo, ejus e tumulo corpus tractum, Pontificali habitu spoliatum, inducumquo saculari, sepultura Laicorum mandavit, abscissis antea duobus dextre manus digitis & in Tyberim projectis, Anno 896. Pope Romanus who succeeded him Anno 897. Formosi partibus favens, Stephani praedecessoris Decreta & acta statim reprobat ac sustulit, and would have proceeded further, had he not been prevented by death within four months after his consecration. Theodorus the 2. succeeding him, Formosi facta restituit, ejusque sectatores in precio plurimum habuit, being elected by their faction, Anno 898. but dying the next year, John the 10. causam Formosi in integrum restituere volens, repugnante maxima Romani populi parte, dissidium ingens excitavit, being forced by the Romans (with whom he fought) to retire from Rome to Ravenna, coactaque ibidem 74. Episcoporum Synodo, omnia Formosi Decreta ad plenum restituit, Stephani vero sexti facta coram omnibus damnavit, & omnia quae ex ipsius Synodo contra Formosum erant scripta, combussit. Anno 900. (k) Pope Leo the 5. being deposed and imprisoned, by the Romans and one Christopher a Priest, cui multa beneficia contulerat, dyed of grief, Anno 905. This Christopher the 1. scortis adiniculantibus Papatum violenter invasis. Sed quia malis artibus, & inhumani scelere sedem illam acquisiverat, per Sergium quendam, Mazoria splendida meretricis anasum, eandem vehementer affectantem, turpiter ipsum & ille amisit, & monasterio extractus, (into which he had entred after his expulsion) atque in arctissimum carcerem conjectus est. Anno 905. Sergius the 3. Caroli Simplicis Francorum Regis, & Adelberti Thuscorum Marchionis auxilio, having dejected and imprisoned Christopher, Papalem Cathedram violentia invasit: & Formosi cadavere post octo annos denuo e terra extrahi fecit, & sedi Papali impositum, capitali supplicio affecit. Tres quoque digitos ex altera mutilatione relictos amputavit, & corpus ipsum cum his omnibus in Tyberim projecit jussit, tanquam communi Christianorum hominum sepultura indignum. Omniaque ejus acta improbat, irritavit, damnavit, ita ut tunc denuo ad eorum ordines necesse fuit illos admittere, quos ipse vivus Sacerdotali officio dignos censuerat, compulsiq. Romanos timore Regis Galliae

Anno 892, 900.

i Onuphrius, Platina, Stella, Martinus Polonus, Fasciculus Temporum, Balaeus, Barnes, Vicellus, Cent. Magd. 9. c. 10. col. 512, 513. Siebertus and others, in Formoso 1. Stephano 6. Romano 1. Theodoro 2. & Johanne 10.

Anno 900, 920.

k Platina, Onuphrius, Martinus Polonus, Stella, Marianus Scotus, Barnes, Balaeus, Vicellus, Fasciculus Temporum, Cent. Magd. 10. c. 10. in vitis Leonis 5. Christophori 1. Sergii 3. & Laudi 1. Petrus Praemonstratensis, Siebertus, Nauclerus, Polychronicon, 1. 6. c. a.

Anno 921, to
944.
Luitprandus
de Imperat. ge-
stis, l. 4. c. 12. l.
5. c. 13. Oni-
phrius, Vicedi-
us, Platina,
Stella, Martinus
Polonus, Mari-
anus Scotus,
Barnes, Balæus,
Cent. Magd. 10.
c. 10. Falciculus
Temporum, Si-
gebertus, Nau-
clerus, in Jo-
hanne 11, 12.
& Leone 6.

* Baronius An-
nal. Tom. 100.
Anno 900. sect.
1. Anno 912.
sect. 8. Jacobus
Ufferus de
Christ. Ecclef.
Successione &
statu, cap. 2, 3, 4.
Anno 920
m. Symond.
Tom. 3. Concil.
Gallie, p.
521, 522.
Pierre Pythou
Preuves des Li-
bert. de Legli-
se Gallicane, a
Paris, 1651. c.
15. p. 551, 552,
553, 554.

has omnia confirmare, & ipsis subscribere. Pope Lando the 1. qui inter meretrices majorem vitam suam partem consumpsit, electus & consecratus & ipse tum demum ab ipsis: he dying within 7. months after. An. 921. (1) Pope John the 11. (Papa Laudonis cum adulterio filius) Papatum quasi hereditario jure per scortationem obtinuit. Theodora scortum impudens & Romanæ Urbis Domina, veneris calore succensa, eum ob multas scortationes Bononiensem Episcopum primo, Ravennæ Archiepiscopum secundo, & tertio (ut sic in aîo ejus amore commodius frueretur) Romanum Papam fecit. At last he was apprehended in Rome by the Souldiers of Guido Marquess of Tuscia, Anno Dom. 928. cast into prison, & cervicale super os ejus injecto suffocatur, to set up Theodora's daughters Bastard son. Quo mortuo, Marozia filium Johannem 12. quem ex Sergio Papa meretrix ipsa genuerat, milites Papam constituerunt. Sed quia Romanus Clerus & populus in ejus electionem non consenserant, eodem anno est iterum depositus, & in maximo Civium tumultu, Leo sextus in ejus locum successit: Qui statim post septimum ejus regiminis mensem. Anno Dom. 930. veneno sublatu à Marozia fertur, ut furio locum daret. Stephanus the 7. who succeeded him, Anno Dom. 932. vitam cum morte, per venenatum poculum (ut fertur) commutavit, to make way for John the 12. Pope Sergius the 3. his Bastard son by Marozia, (formerly deposed, expelled by the Romans) who after the poisoning of Leo and Stephen, was restored to the Papacy by the power of Marozia his Mother, and Albericus his Brother, during whose Papacy, **Meretrix mater (Marozia) Romæ tam Regnum quam Ecclesiam regebat.** Pope Stephanus the 8. ita civilibus Romanorum seditionibus vexatus fuit, ut nil memoria dignum ab eo geri potuerit. In populari enim tumultu tam turpiter mutilatus erat, ac cicatricum deformitate signatus, ut pudnerit eum postea in publicum prodire. Adeo sancti tunc temporis Papa fuerunt, ut eorum oves nulla sanctitatis, aut beatitudinis (aut superioritatis) ipsorum habitatione, eos vulneribus afficerent: he dyed ingloriously Anno 944. During all this space the Emperors by reason of their intestine Wars, and Competitors for the Empire, were disabled to claim or exercise their antient Imperial Jurisdiction at Rome, in the election, confirmation, correction and deposition of these wicked scandalous Popes, who were for the most part elected, deposed, ruled by most infamous Roman Whores and Strumpets, bearing chiefest sway in Rome; none of all these Popes exercising any Supreme Jurisdiction over Emperors, Kings, or Foreign Prelates, who for the most part slighted their Authority and Bulls in all places, and acknowledged their Kings Supremacy over Popes, Bishops, as these Histories well demonstrate. (m) **Helduinus Episcopus Tungrensis Ecclesie**, about the year 920. against his Allegiance, revolting from King Charles the 3. of France, to Henry his Enemy, by great sums of money given to him and his followers, procured a grant of this Bishoprick from him, who by force and menaces enforced Archbishop **Herimannus** to consecrate him, procuring sundry Clerks and Laymen likewise to swear, That King Charles had conferred this Bishoprick upon him: Whereupon King Charles writ a Letter to the Bishops of his Realm against this intruder: *Qui contra Regalem aîens potestatem, contra quoque Apostoli dicta ubi dicitur, Deum time, Regem honorificate; Et, Qui potestati resistit, Dei ordinationi resistit, non est enim potestas nisi a Deo: Et adversus cytharedi David dicta, ubi ad Dominum loquitur; Imposuisti homines super capita nostra: Quique ultra Rhenum ad inimicos nostros proficiscens, minimeque reminiscens Sacramentorum suorum nobis promissorum, eaque retro deorsum abiciens, ab Henrico inimico nostro Episcopatum Tungrensis Ecclesie expetivit, suaq; damnatione contra omnia statuta tam sacrozum patrum quam Regum, viz. antecessorum nostrorum usurpavit, &c.* commanding them to ordain **Ruberus** Bishop in his place, upon the petition of the Laity and Clergy of that Church to the King, whom they had unanimously elected by his License, which they did accordingly. Pope John the 10. in his Epistle to **Herimannus** Archbishop of **Colen**, affirmed that this forcible intrusion and consecration of **Helduinus** into this Bishoprick, absque Clericorum electione & Laicorum acclamatione, and Kings assent, was illegal, and against the Apostles rule, Lay hands suddenly on no man; cum prisca consuetudo vigeat, qualiter nullus alicui Clerici Episcopatum conferre debeat, nisi Rex, cui divinitus sceptrum collata sunt. Concluding, Quia nos Caroli Regis decus nullo modo auferre volumus, sed pro vigore atque dilectione vel consanguinitate nostri dilecti filii **Berengarii** gloriosissimi Imperatoris, ut prior antecessorum suorum Regum mos fuit, eum ita illibatam atque incor-

cusam Dominationem obtinere delectamur: et sicut Priores suos antecessores nostrorum antecessorum auctoritate, Episcopum per unamquamque Parochiam ordinare probabiliter statutum est, ita ut Carolus Rex faciat confirmando iubemus. A clear Papal concession and ratification of this their Royal prerogative of conferring Bishopricks.

After the death of *Seulfus* Archbishop of *Rhemes*, *Herebertus* Earl of *Aquitaine* coming to *Rhemes* persuaded the Clergy and people to elect *Hugo* his sonne (not above 5 years old) for their Bishop; and sent to *Rodolphus* King of *Burgundy* to confirm his election by his authority; who thereupon by advice of some Bishops, *Remensem Episcopatum committit* Hereberto (Comiti) *aquitatis censura dissonandum atq; regendum ab ipso: Quieriam legatos Ecclesie, cum Abbone presule Romam mittere satagit, huius electionis decretum secum ferentes, & assensum Papae super eum petentes.* *Johannes* in aequo *Papa* interveniente *Abbone* presule, petitioni eorum assensum prebens, *Episcopium Remense* *Abboni* Episcopo delegat, quae sunt *Episcopalis ministerii* ab ipso in eodem Episcopo tractanda & firmanda decernens. *Abbo* being Guardian only of the spiritualties, and Count *Herebertus* of the temporalities during *Hugh's* minority; the Earl by force of arms turned many Clerks and Laymen out of their benefices and possessions belonging to the Archbishoprick, disposing of them *pro libitu suae voluntatis*, quibuscumq; placuerit; A tumult arising thereupon, his souldiers slew two *Canons* in the *Cloisters of the Church*; After which he called a Synod of 6. Bishops of the Province of *Rhemes*, apud *Trosleium*, Anno 927. *Rege tamen Rodulpho contradicente.* In the mean time, Pope *John* being apprehended and kept Prisoner by *Wido*, and King *Rodolph* falling out with *Herebertus*, *Rodolphus Rex literas Remis mittit, ad Clerum & populum, pro electione Praesulis celebranda: ad quas illi respondent, id agere se non posse, salvo suo electo*, (to wit, *Hugh* the infant) & electione quam fecerant, permanente. The King thereupon besieged *Rhemes* 3. weeks, then being admitted into it, *Coniunctis igitur sibi nonnullis Episcopis ex Francia & Burgundia, facit ordinari hac in sede Artoldum quendam ex cenobio sancti Remigii monachum*, without any election, by his own regal authority; who above one year after received his Pall from Pope *John*. *Artoldus* excommunicating *Herebertus* for invading and detaining some Towns belonging to his Church, Anno 940. thereupon *Herebertus* with his friends and certain Bishops, wasted the villages which belonged to the Bishoprick, with fire and sword, besieged and took *Rhemes*, then by persuasions of friends and menaces forced *Artoldus Episcopis* se procuratore vel potestate abdicare, and to accept of the Abbey of *Saint Basol* in lieu thereof: which done, they consecrated and installed *Hugh* for their Bishop, assentibus fautoribus ejus, quod *Artoldus*, nequaquam electus, sed per violentiam fuerit intromissus, seseq; *Episcopali* abdicaverit ditione; Soon after the Legates of *Rhemes* bringing *Hugo* a Pall from Pope *Stephen*, *Artoldus* breaking all his forced agreements with *Hugh* and *Herebert*, repaired to King *Ludovicus*, to whom he complained of the injury; who thereupon besieged *Rhemes* so long, that Archbp. *Hugh* unable to hold out, or make any composition without quitting his Archbishoprick, secretly departed the City after 3. dayes siege, to avoid the putting out his eyes, if taken prisoner. Sicq; *Reges cum Episcopis & Principibus ingredientibus urbem, Dominum Artoldum Praesulem, qui dudum fuerat ejectus, iterum inthronizari fecerunt, quem Robertus Trevirensis Archiepiscopus, & Fred. Moguntiacensis accipientes utraque manu eisdem sedi restituerunt.* After which, to end the differences between these Competitors, Synodus postea *Verduni* habetur, where fundry Archbishops, Bishops and Abbots assembled to that end; ad quam *Hugo* evocatus, missis quoque duobus ad eum deducendum Episcopis, venire noluit. Upon which contempt, *Universa Synodus* *Artoldo* *Remense regendum* decernit *Episcopium*. Soon after *Indicuntur Synodus, quae & convenit in Ecclesiam Sancti Petri in propectu Mosoni, ex Diocesi Trevirensi atq; Remensi. Veniens autem illuc Hugo Praesul, & locus cum Rotberto Archiepiscopo, Synodum noluit ingredi. Literas vero quasdam ex nomine Agapeti Papae misit ad Episcopos per Clericum suum, qui eas Roma detulerat, nihil auctoritatis canonicae continentes, sed hoc tantum praecipientes, ut Hugoni Remense redderetur Episcopium. Quibus lectis, responderunt Episcopi, non esse dignum vel congruum, ut Apostolicae Legationis mandatum, quod dudum Rotbertus Archiepiscopus, deferente Frederico Mogontiacensi Praesule coram Regibus, et Episcopis susceperat, intermitterent propter*

Anno 938, &c.
Flodoardus hist.
Eccles. Rhe-
mensis, l. 4. c. 10
21, 22, 23, 24,
25, 29, 31.
Continuator
Reginoni;
Centur. Magd:
10. c. 10. col.
374, 433. Otto
Frisingenfis,
Hermannus
Contractus,
Schafnabur-
gensis.

Anno 947

Anno 948

Agapit. 23

propter has literas quæ insidiator, æmulus Artoldi Præsulis exhibebat: immo quod regulariter cæperant Canonice pertractaretur. Sicque præcipitur recitari capitulum xix. Carthaginensis Concilii de accusato & accusatore. Quo recitato, diiudicatum est iuxta diffinitionem hujus Capituli, ut Artoldo communionem et Parochiam Remensem retinente, Hugo qui ad duas iam Synodos evocatus venire contempsit, a communione & regimine Remensis Episcopi abstineret, donec ad universalem Synodum sese purgaturus occurreret. Ipsumq; Capitulum mox in Charta describi fecerunt Episcopi coram se, subnectentes hanc etiam diffinitionem suam, & eidem Hugoni miserunt. Qui post alteram diem eandem Chartam Rotberto Pontifici remisit, hoc verbis remandans, quod ipsorum iudicio nequaquam obedi-
 turus esset. Interea litera proclamationis Artoldi Præsulis ad Romanam dirigitur sedem. Dominus igitur Agapius Papa, Vicarium suum Marinum Episcopum misit ad Othonem Regem, propter evocandum et aggregandum generalem Synodum, (as proper only for the Emperor to summon.) Litera quoque ipsius Papa mittuntur ab Urbe quibusdam speciatim Episcopis, vocantes eos ad eandem Synodum Congregato, denique Synodo in Pallatio Engulenheim, recitata sunt hæc quæ sequuntur coram Regibus et Episcopis, * present therein. This general Synod being assembled, all the premises concerning Artoldus and Hugo, with the Popes Letter, commanding Hugh to be restored, were read before them. The Synod upon debate passed the same sentence for Artoldus against Hugo, notwithstanding the Popes Letter, as the last Synod did, approving their sentence, and excommunicating Hugo. From this History I shall observe; 1. That the Archbishops of Rhemes were usually elected by the Clergy and people, but yet by the Kings license, who had a power to confirm or reject the person elected. 2ly. That the Kings of France, in special cases, did conferre Bishopricks on whom they pleased, without any precedent election by the Clergy and people. 3ly. That they committed the Temporalities of Bishopricks to Noblemen and others, during the vacancy of the Sees, or Minority of the Bishop. 4ly. That they had a just power to remove Bishops unduly elected, or forcibly intruded into Bishopricks, even by force of armes when necessary. 5ly. That both the Kings of France, and successive Synods, reproved, condemned the Popes own Letters as Un-canonical, and gave sentence against them, which sentence was afterwards approved by a General Synod. 6ly. That Kings may and ought to remove unfitting or scandalous Bishops, notwithstanding the Popes Bulls, Palls, Mandates to confirm, or continue them. 7ly. That no Synods ought to be summoned, but by Kings, or their Authority within their Realms; and that if any be otherwise called by Popes, Archbishops, or others, they may and ought to prohibit them, and their Bishops resort unto them. This is evident by the antient memorable Inhibition of Sigebertus King of France, to Desiderius Cadurcensis Episcopus, in this his Letter directed to him.

* Hermannus Contractus, An. 948. Otto Frisingensis, l. 6. c. 19. Anno 1248.

* Pierre Pythou Preuves des Libertez de Leglise Gallicane, c. 11. p. 444. * Reliquis fratribus & com-provincialibus vestris,

* Dum fabula currente, à plurimis & fidelibus nostris cognovimus, quasi vocati, ab eodemque Patre nostro Vultolendo Episcopo Synodali consilio Kal. Sept. in Regno nostro: ignovimus in quo loco, una cum * reliquos fratres, & comprovinciales vestros debeat conjungere; Licet nos Statuta Canonum & Ecclesiasticas regulas, sicut parentes nostri in Dei nomen conservarunt, ita & nos conservare optamus. Tamen dum ad nostram antea notitiam non fuit perlatum, sic Nobis cum nostris Proceribus convenit, ut sine nostra scientia Synodale consilium in Regno nostro non agatur, nec ad dictas Kal. Septemb. nulla conjunctio Sacerdotum, ex his qui ad nostram ditionem pertinere noscuntur, non fiat. Postea vero opportuno tempore, si nobis antea denunciatur, utrum pro statu Ecclesiastico, an pro Regni utilitate, sive etiam pro qualibet rationabili conditione conventio esse decreverit, non abnuimus, sic tamen, ut diximus, ut in nostri prius deferatur cognitionem. Provide presentia scripta sanctitati vestre destinare curavimus, per qua petimus, ut per nos orare dignetis, et ad istam conjunctionem, priusquam nostram cognoscatis voluntatem, penitus accedere non debeatis, & ut certius credatis, hunc indiculum manu propria subter subscripsimus.

Sigebertus Rex subf.

For further proof of these particulars, I shall referre the Readers to *Pierre Pythou*, his *Preuves des Libertez de Leglise Gallicane*, cap. 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 35, 36. in relation to the Realm of France.

Pope

Pope Agapet the 2. and after his death Pope John the 13. as some say, but 12. as others stile him, *partim numeribus, partim minis, Papa electus*, together with the Romans, sent solemn Legates to the Emperor Otto the 1. into Germany, earnestly importuning and adjuring him, *ut Italian Romanamque Ecclesiam a Berengario & Alberti tyrannide vindicaret*, who thereupon marching into Italy with an Army, and them, entred Rome, conquering all who resisted him; and enjoyned Pope John to Crown him Emperor; which he performing, before his return home, doubting of the Popes fidelity towards him, *juramentum Otto a Pontifice accepit, quod Berengarius & Alberti partes nunquam esset secuturus*. No sooner was he returned into Germany, but the Pope presently violating his Oath, received Albertus into Rome, and neglecting his pastoral duty, in eo officio non Papaliter, sed ganealiter & histrionice vivit, omni voluptatum & scelerum genere, scilicet stupris, adulteris, incestu, libidinibus, sceleribus, venationibus, ludicris, ludis, rapinis, incendiis, homicidiis, perjuris, aleis, armis, sacrilegiis, aliisque flagitiis ab ipsa adolecentia incumbens, adeo ut etiam Romani nonnulli Imperatorem hortarentur, ut reversus, ruinatoris Ecclesie & Patrie subveniret; Hereupon this good Emperor returning towards Rome, Joannem Papam pro suis sceleribus arguens, monet eum sui officii, dum adhuc est in virore; verum lapidi verba sunt, minime cum corrigere potuit. Whereupon, Anno 963. the Emperor marched from Pavia to Rome with a great Army, pro sceleribus Papae Johannis dijudicandis: The Pope conscious of his own guilt, together with Albertus, fled thence to the Hernici, hiding himself in the woods amongst the wild beasts for a time. The Romans opening their gates, received the Emperor without resistance; who upon the manifold Complaints of the Clergy and people against this Monster of men Pope John, summoned a Council of several Bishops, Cardinals, Priests out of Italy, France, Germany and other parts, and of sundry Nobles, Senators, Chief Officers, certain Commoners, and Military Officers of Rome, (mentioned by name in *Luitprandus*, who at large relates the proceedings in this Council against the Pope:) Wherein the Emperor sitting as President, demanded of the Council, why the Pope declined to be present in so holy and famous a Council, to which he was summoned? Tunc Romani Pontifices & Cardinales, Presbyteri ac Diaconi, cum universa plebe dixerunt, *Miramur sanctissimam prudentiam Imperatoris, nos hoc velle percontari, quod nec Hibericos, nec Babylonicos, nec Indicos incolitas laet. Nam hic jam de illis est, qui veniunt in vestimentis ovium, intus autem sunt lupi rapaces; ita aperte scitis, ita aperte diabolica pertractat negotia, ut nihil circuitioris utatur. Imperator respondit, iustitia vobis videtur, ne accusationes nominatim exprimantur: deinde quod agendum est, communi consilio pertractetur. Tunc confurgens Petrus Cardinalis Presbyter, se vidisse illum Vultum celebrasse, & non communicasse, testatus est. Johannes Episcopus Narvensis, & Johannes Cardinalis Diaconus, se vidisse illum Diaconum ordinasse in equorum stabulo, non certis temporibus, sunt professi. Benedictus, cum ceteris Condiacoris & Presbyteris dixit, se scire, quod ordinationes Episcoporum prelo faceret; & quod annorum decem Episcopum in Tuderina Civitate ordinaret. De Sacrilegio non esse necesse percontari, dixit, quia plus videndo, quam audiendo scire potuissimus. De adulterio dixerunt, quod oculis non viderant, sed pro certo scirent, viduam Ruiberis, & Stephanam Patris Concubinam, & Annam viduam cum Nepte sua abusum esse, & Sanctum Palatium lupanar et prostibulum fecisse: Venationem dixerunt publice exercuisse; Benedictum spiritualem Patrem suum lumine privasse, & mox mortuum esse. Johannem Cardinalem subdiaconum virilibus amputatis, occidisse, incendia fecisse, ense accinctum, galea & lorica indutum fuisse, testati sunt. Diaboli in amorem vinum bibisse, omnes tam Clerici quam Laici acclamaverunt. In ludo aleae Jovis, Veneris, ceterorumque Demonum auxilium poposcisse dixerunt. Matutinis & canonicas horas eum non celebrasse, nec signo Crucis se munivisse professi sunt. Hisce criminibus adjiciuntur, quod juramentum Imperatori, supra ipsam Corpus Petri prestitum, non servaret, quod aureas Cruces & Calices Sancti Petri, scortis distribuerit; quod Zachem, virum reprobam, divinarum atque humanarum litterarum infamis, consecravat Episcopum, & Ungariis destinavit, ut suis concionibus ipsos contra Imperatorem intigaret. The truth whereof they all attested, under pain of being accursed and condemned by Christ in the great day of Judgement, and that there were as many Witnesses of his crimes, as there were souldiers in the Emperors Army. Hereupon he was summoned by the Emperors Letters to answer these crimes inserted into the summons; but the Messengers not finding him (he being*

ding himself in woods) after a treble search and summons; thereupon the Emperor, as *President*, said, Expectavimus adventum ejus, ut presente eo quod nobis egerit quæreremus, verum quoniam eum non affuturum certo scimus, quam perfide nobiscum egerit, ut diligenter agnoscatis etiam atque etiam flagitamus. Notum itaque vobis facimus, Archiepiscopis, Presbyteris, Diaconis, reliquoque Clero, **non et Comitibus, Judicibus, omnique plebi**, quod idem *Johannes* Papa oppressus a *Berengario*, atque *Adelberto*, rebellibus nostris, misit nobis in *Saxoniam* nuncios, rogans, ut pro amore Dei in *Italiam* veniremus, & Ecclesiam Sancti *Petri*, ac seipsum ex laucibus eorum liberaremus. Nos vero, adjuvante Deo, quantum fecerimus, non est necesse dicere, ut in presentiarum, videtis. Ereptus vero mea opera ex eorum manibus, & honori debito restitutus, **oblitus juramenti et fidelitatis quam mihi supra corpus S. Petri promissit**; eundem *Adelbertum* Romam venire fecit, & contra me defendit, seditiones fecit: & videntibus nostris Militibus, Dux belli factus, lorica & galea est indutus. Quid super hoc sancta Synodus decernat, edicat? Whercupon, Ad hac *Romani Pontifices, reliquus Clerus, et cinctus populus dixerunt*, Inauditum vulnus inaudito est cauterio exurendum. Si corruptis moribus sibi soli, & non cunctis obesset, quoquo modo tolerandus esset. Quot prius Casti, hujus facti sunt imitatione incasti? Quot probi, hujus exemplo conversationis sunt reprobi? **Petimus itaque magnitudinem Imperii vestri, monstrum illud nulla virtute redemptum a vitis, a Sancta Ecclesia Romana pelli, aliumque loco ejus constitui, qui nobis exemplo bonæ conversationis præesse valeat, et prodesse sibi: recte vivat, ac bene vivendi nobis exemplum præbeat.** Tunc Imperator. **Placet inquit, quod dicitis: nihilque gratius nobis, quam ut talis, qui huic sanctæ et universali sedi præponatur, inveniri possit.** His dictis, omnes una voce dixerunt: *Leonem* venerabilem sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Protoscriniarium, virum approbatum, ad summum Sacerdotii gradum nobis in Pastorem eligimus, ut sit summus & universalis Papa Romanæ Ecclesiæ, **reprobato ob improbos mores Joanne Apostata.** Quum hæc omnes tertio dixissent, annuente Imperatore, nominatum Leonem ad Lateranense Palatium, secundum consuetudinem, cum laudibus ducunt: & certo tempore in Ecclesia Sancti *Petri* (*Leonem adhuc Laicum*, as some record) ad summum Sacerdotium sancta consecratione attollunt, & fideles se ei affuturos, jurejurando promittunt. Pope *John* thus legally deposed, Minime sibi quiescendum putabat, sed simulac intelligebat, *Othonem* præsidium quod penes se in urbe fuerat, demisisse, ne populum Romanum minime gravaret; mox Proceres Romanos clandestinis literis sollicitat, ut Imperatorem et ipsum quoque *Leonem* de medio tollant, ut jugum Cæsareum excuterent, ut qui parva hominum manu stipatus esset: deinde largissime promissit, se ipsis omnes Ecclesiæ thesauros sponte traditurum & concessurum esse. Hac ampla spe inescati perdidit Romani, rem mota seditione quamprimum agrediuntur. Milites vero Imperatoris summa alacritate arma capientes, tantam stragem in seditionis cohorte edunt, ut ipse Imperator, misericordia erga sceleratos affectus, receptui caneret, vindictamque militum coaceret. Not long after, the Emperor departing from *Rome*, this lecherous, treacherous Pope, Meretrices plures, easque genere non ignobiles, cum quibus commercium habuerat, by his secret messages and instigations, Nobiles Romanos concitaverunt, promissis Ecclesiarum thesauris, ut *Johannem* rursus in Urbem reciperent, & *Leonem* comprehensum de medio tollerent. Quod & ipsi statim fecerunt, dejecto *Leone quem Cæsar creaverat*: qui mirabiliter tamen evasit carnificum manus, atque ad Imperatorem confugit. *Johannes* sanctissimus scortorum leno votis positus, caput sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ constituitur. Sede occupata, *Johanni* Diacono Cardinali manum amputat: *Azorio* Scriniario linguam præcidit, duos d. gitos amputat, & nares ei mutilat. *O Apostolici Apostolica prorsus facinora!* Then calling a Synod of his own Creatures at *Rome*, Ille Synodo collecta *Leonem* deposuit, & ejus gesta cassavit, statutumque est, ab *Othone* Imperatore & *Leone* habitam, non nominandam Synodum, sed prostibulum faciens adulteris. Quicunque ergo a *Leone* ordinati sunt, privantur honore quem ab ipso acceperunt; jussique sunt eorum proscriptionem præsentare in charula, hæc continente: *Pater meus nihil sibi habuit, nihil mihi dedit*: et sic depositi remanserunt in illis gradibus quos habuerunt antequam a *Leone* ordinati. The Emperor informed of these proceedings, marched with his Army towards *Rome* to chastise the

the seditious, treacherous *Romans*, and depose this lecherous Pope; but before his arrival there, *Iohannes* Papa se cum uxore cuiusdam oblectans, a *Diabolo in tempeze percutitur*; (as *Radulphus de Diceto* and others story; though some relate it was by her husband) & sine Viatico Dominico obiit, dignas sceleratissimæ vitæ dans penas; & ut vitæ moribus, exitus iusto Dei iudicio responderet.

The seditious Romans after his death, pristinam libertatem spirantes, cum jam Imperatorem armatum, & irritatum in conspectu haberent, attamen prodigioso partis furore, **contra iuramentum quod Imperatori fecerant, se nunquam electuros Papam sine ejus, et sine filii ejus Ottonis consensu**, *Benedictum* quendam propria auctoritate Papam constituunt, *Leone* qui in exercitu Cæsaris erat posthabito. Hac contumelia ac perfidia graviter offensus Imperator, primum obsessam & duriter pressam Civitatem, cogit facere deditionem; atque de paucis supplicium sumit. Postea **Synodum Romæ** absque mora cogit, multis Episcopis, Abbatibus, Sacerdotibus, Clericis, Monachis, **et præcipue ex populo presentibus, in Ecclesia Lateranensi**: In which Synod Pope *Leo* being reitored to his See, sitting with the Emperor, (to whose hands Pope *Benedict* the 5. was delivered up) by the Emperors command, advenit *Benedictus* Apostolicæ sedis invasor, eorum qui se eligerant, manibus adductus, Pontificalibus vestibus indutus, Quem *Benedictus* Cardinalis Archidiaconus, tali est sermone aggressus. Quæ tibi auctoritate, quæve lege, O invasor, hæc pontificalia indumenta usurpasti, superstite hoc præfente Domino nostro, venerabili Papa *Leone*, quem tu nobiscum, accusato & reprobato *Iohanne*, ad Apostolicatus culmen eligisti? Num inficari potes præfenti Domino Imp: iuramento promississe, unquam te cum cæteris Romanum Papam electurum, aut ordinaturum absque illius filique sui Regis *Othonis* consensu? *Benedictus* respondit, Si quid peccavi, misereamini mei. Tunc Imperator effusus lacrymis, quam misericors esset ostendens, rogavit Synodum, Ne *Benedicto* præjudicium fieret: si vellet et posset, ad interrogata responderet: quod si non posset, aut nollet, ac se culpabilem redderet, tamen pro timore Dei misericordiam aliquam inveniret. Quo audito, ad Domini *Leonis* Papæ pedes, ipsiusque Imperatoris, idem *Benedictus* confite procidens; Se peccasse, seque Sanctæ Romanæ sedis invasorem esse acclamavit: post hæc pallium sibi abstulit, quod simul cum Pontificali ferula, quam manu gestabat, Domino Papæ *Leoni* reddidit. Quam ferulam idem Papa fregit, & fractam populo ostendit. Deinde *Benedictum* in terra sedere præcepit, cui Catulam, quam Planetam vocant, cum Stola pariter abstulit; post autem omnibus Episcopis dixit, *Benedictum Sanctæ & Apostolicæ sedis Romanæ invasorem, omni Pontificatus et Presbyteratus honore privamus: ob elemosynam vero Domini Imperatoris Othonis, cuius sumus opera in sedem debitam restituti, Diaconatus eum ordinem habere permittimus, et non jam Romæ, sed in exilium destinamus. Fuit autem ablegatus Benedictus Hamburgum, ubi in exilio vitam finivit.*

Porro in hoc Concilio, **de iure eligendi Pontificem**, deque bonis Imperatoris in Italia actum est. Pontifex enim non solum gratitudinis, sed etiam iustitiæ gratia restituit, aut potius confirmat, quæ ad Imperatorem pertinebant.

Cardinal *Baronius*, Annal. Anno 964. num. 21, 22, &c. and *Gretzer* the Jesuit in his *Apologia pro Baronio*, cap. 18. stile this Synod, *impositurum, & ascititiam Synodum*; and the Decree and Bull of Pope *Leo* made therein, *Bulla, seu Decretum commentitium*, as they did that of Pope *Adrian* the 1. before; without the least shadow of authority or truth; since [a] *Gratian* himself, *Luitprandus*, *Theodoricus de Niem*, *Marsilius Patavinus*, *Hermannus Schedel*, *Krantzius*, *Sigonius*, *Lupoldus*, *Cusanus*, *Petrus de Alliaco*, & *Cameracensis* 3. Cardinals, *Waltramus Naumbregensis*, *Radulphus de Columna*, *Naclerus*, *Martinus Polonus*, *Regino*, *Platina*, *Onuphrius*, *Stella*, *Fasciculus Temporum*, and others, assert this Council, Decree, Charter of Pope *Leo* (which sundry of them affirm they had seen) to be true and real which I shall here insert at large.

[b] *Convenit (inquit Leo) Apostolico moderamine, pollentibus benevola compati- ne succurrere, & poscentium animis alacri devotione assensum præbere. Ex hoc e-*

Platina, *Stella*, *Fasciculus Temporum*, *Barnes*, *Martinus Polonus*, *Balaus* in *Leone* 8. *Hermannus Schedel*. *Sexta* etiam *mon-* di, f. 200. in *Leone* 8. *Krantzius*, l. 4. cap. 10. *Saxonix*. *Sigonius* de Regno *Italix*, l. 7. *Theodoricus de Niem* de *privilegiis et Juribus Imperii*, sect. Post. *Lupoldus* de zelo Germanorum Principum, c. 8. *Petrus de Alliaco*, Card. *Cameracensis*, De Ecclesiæ Anthoritate, pars 1. c. 1. sect. Ex eadem. *Waltramus Naumbregensis* de *Invectivis*, lib. 16. sect. Pars *Leo*, *Cusanus* Cardinalis, *Concord. Cathol.* l. 3. *Naclerus* Anno 963. *Radulphus de Columna*, lib. de Translatione *Inverii*, sect. Quoniam. Dr. *Crakenorth* of the Popes Temporal Monarchy, ch. 5. p. 84. to 94. *Baronius* Annal. Anno 966. cum. 40. *Regino* Chron. Anno 963, 964. Chron. *Magnum Belgix*, Anno 963. *Eutropius* de *Juribus et Priv. Imperii*. b Cent. Magd. 10. 5. 9. col. 448, 449. *Gratian* *Distinctio* 63.

Anno 963
Fasciculus Tem-
porum, Platina,
Stella, Onu-
phrius, Balau-
s, Barnes, Cent.
Magd. 10. c. 9.
10. Martinus
Polonus, Her-
mannus Sched-
el. in Benedic-
5. Hermann
Contracti
Chron.

a *Gratian* *Dis-*
tinctio 63
Centur. Magd.
10. cap. 9. col.
447, 448, 449.
Marsilius *Para-*
vini *Defens.*
Pacis, pars 2.
cap. 25. & De
Translatione: *In-*
verii, cap. 10.
Onuphrius

nim lucri potissimum præmium apud Conditorum omnium reperitur. Deinde quoque & cunctum Clerum, & omnem populum, asserimus esse concordem, & ad meliorem statum fore productum: atque ideo, quia iuste rationabiliter vestra humilitas nostro Apostolatu humiliter postulat, quatenus gratulanter, peragrantes sanctam Synodum, vestro consilio congregatam, Patriarchio *Lateranensi* in Ecclesia Sancti *Salvatoris* constitutam, a pluribus viris Catholicis, Episcopis et Abbatibus, insuper Iudicibus, et legis Doctoribus, promulgantes, qualiter quiete ac pacifice stare & vivere valeamus, præsentibus omnibus & singulis regionibus hujus almae Urbis *Roma*, & ex omnibus ordinibus Cleri et populi, asserentibus et confirmantibus per omnia, ut hæretici, & altercatione, ac omni errore expulso, quoniam nimis in temporibus error ex hoc accrescere discernitur, tam de Romano Imperio, quam de Apostolica sede, ac dignitate Patricius, & de investituris Episcopatum; ideo, ad exemplum beati *Adriani* Apostolicæ sedis Antistitis (cujus vitam & actionem satis discretum audivimus & rationabilem) qui suis spiritualibus sanctionibus Domino *CAROLO* victoriosissimo Regi Francorum et Longobardorum, regni Italix Patricatus dignitatem, et ordinationem Apostolicæ sedis, et Investuras Episcoporum concessit: Igitur Ego quoque *Leo*, Servus servorum Dei, Episcopus, idem exemplum beati *Adriani*, cum toto similiter Clero, et universo Romano populo, omnibusque ordinibus hujus almae Urbis (sicut in suis scripturis apparet) constituimus, et confirmamus, et corroboramus, et per nostram Apostolicam auctoritatem concedimus atque largimur Domino *OTTHONI* primo, Regi Teutonicorum, ejusque Successoribus hujus regni Italix in perpetuum, facultatem Successorem eligendi, atque summæ Apostolicæ sedis Pontificem ordinandi: et per hoc Archiepiscopos, seu Episcopos, ut ipsi tantum ab eo investituram accipiant, et consecrationem, unde debent; exceptis his quos Imperator Pontificibus, et Archiepiscopis concessit. Et ut nemo deinceps, cujusunque gradus vel dignitatis, vel religionis, eligendi Regem, vel Patricium, vel Pontificem summæ sedis Apostolicæ, aut quemcunque Episcopum, vel ordinandi habeat facultatem, absque consensu ipsius Imperatoris, sed soli Regi Romani Imp. hanc reverendam tribui facultatem; quod tamen fiat absque omni pecunia; et ut ipse sit Patricius et Rex Romanus. Quod si a cuncto Clero et universo populo quis eligatur Episcopus, nisi a supradicto Rege laudetur, et investatur, non consecratur. Si quis contra hanc auctoritatem Apostolicam, et traditionem aliquid molietur, aut temerario in aliquo repertus fuerit, sive contra hoc nostrum consilium agens, sciat se iram Sancti Petri, Principis et Filii nostri Domini *Othonis*, ejusque Successorum, et omnium prædecessorum nostrorum Censuram, et sub Anathematis vinculo emerfurum, ac per hoc Excommunicationi universalis Ecclesiæ, omnisque populi Christiani, cum subiacere decernimus. Insuper, nisi a malo resipuerit, irrevocabili exilio prematur, vel ultimis suppliciis feriat. Qui vero pro intuitu custos et observator extiterit, benedictionis gratiam, vitamque æternam cum omnibus Sanctis, sine fine mereatur habere in secula seculorum, Amen. In his Actis interfuere Seniores, Procontules, Exarchatus quidam tenentes, regionarii Scholæ Græcorum, Arabum, Judæorum, & Paganorum, & de Majoribus omnium platearum. Insuper Cardinales, Archiepiscopi, omnes Presbyteri, & Episcopi de finitimus Civitatibus, processuarii, Notarii, Cancellarii, & ex omni plebe Romani Imperii.

This Decree of Pope *Leo*, is prefaced by [a] *Gratian* himself with this Rubric, *Electio Romani Pontificis ad Jus pertinet Imperatoris*, and incorporated into the body of the Canon Law, authorized by sundry Popes: Which being made, ratified by two famous Popes, *Adrian* and *Leo*, in two Councils held in

Rome

a Distinct. 63.
Item *Leo* Papa.

Rome it self, with the suffrage and unanimous consent of all the Clergy, Senators, Officers and People of Rome in a most solemn manner, and the violators thereof subjected to such severe Ecclesiastical and Civil punishments, to prevent all future Schisms, seditions, synonacal contracts, indirect practises, and interpositions of prevalent infamous Whores, and Strumpets in the election of Popes, for the peace, honour, benefit of the whole Church, no succeeding Popes had any power at all to null or revoke by their Pontifical usurped power upon any pretext, without the concurrent authority at least of a General Council, and universal consent of all the Clergy, Senators, and people of Rome, as [b] *Marsilius Patavinus* proves at large. [c] *Bartholomæus Buxiensis*, and Dr. *Thierry* in their Glosse upon this Decree, in *Gratian*, demand this Question: *Cum hac privilegia fuerint omnibus (Imperatoris) successoribus data, quare non mutantur eis?* To which they return these unsatisfactory Answers: *Quia Imperator eis renunciavit*: A grosse mistake, since no Emperor since the reign of *Otho* ever renounced it by any Charter: and *Gratian's* conclusion, *Ex istis Constitutionibus & patto Ludovici Imperatoris, deprehenduntur Imperatores renunciassse privilegiis quæ de electione Summi Pontificis Adrianus Papa Carolo Imperatori, & ad imitationem ejus, Leo Papa Ottonis primo Regi Theutonicorum fecerat*, is but a meer *Non sequitur*, contradicted by his premises; whereupon they subjoyn these ensuing answers, *Item, quia per abusum ea perdidit*: (without expresting any abuse, the Roman Clergy, people, and Cardinals since having much more forfeited their right to elect Popes, for their manifold abuses therein, recorded by sundry Historians) *Item, quia ex causa fuerint eis concessa, unde cessante causa ipsa, cessaverunt*. *Nec obstat quod hic dicitur de successoribus; quia hoc intelligendum est de illis successoribus, qui hoc impetrare possunt*: A pretty equivocating evasion worthy Popes and Popish Canonists. They further propound this second question on this Popes Decree: *Nunquid Papa posset Imperatori potestatem dare, ut deponeret ipsum?* Which they thus affirmatively resolve: *Sic, in Heresi*, (therefore a Pope may be an Heretick, and deposed for Heresie by the Emperor,) *et de consensu Cardinalium: immo, in omnibus se potest subicere ei*; Therefore the Emperor in all things is superiour to the Pope, not the Pope to him; since this Pope *Leo* by his Bull and Charter resigned, regranted to this Emperor *Otho*, not only the Right of electing and confirming Popes, and the Investitures of Bishops, but also what ever Lands, Cities, Territories, Possessions, Gifts, either Charles or Pipin, or Justinian, or *Aripert* had given of the Regalities of the Kingdom of Italy, or the Empire to St. Peter, or the Church of Rome: which Bull or Charter is recorded at large in [d] *Theodoricus de Niem*, [e] *Crantzins*, the [f] *Century Writers*, and [g] others, being made in a General Council, and subscribed by 15. Archbishops and Bishops, 7. Cardinals, and 15. Chief Citizens of Rome: Both which conjoyned, eternally subvert as well the pretended usurped Temporal as Ecclesiastical Monarchy of the Roman Pontiffs. [b] Cardinal *Bellarmin*, and the Jesuit [i] *Gretzer* his Apologist, being unable to answer or evade these Decrees and Charters of this Synod and Pope, totally subverting the Popes pretended Supremacy, have the impudency to averr, there was no such Synod or Decree as this; styling the Synod, *Imposituram*, & *ascititiam Synodum*, *Pseudo-Synodus*, Pope *Leo*, *Pseudo-Papa*, and this Bull or Decree, *Bulla seu Decretum commentitium*; without any authority but their own (as they branded the Synod and Decree of Pope *Adrian* beforementioned:) But this impudent forgery, and calumny of these Impostors, is not only refuted by *Gratian* himself, *Bartholomæus Buxiensis*, Dr. *Thierry*, and other Glossers, but likewise by *Theodoricus de Niem*, *Marsilius Patavinus*, *Paulus Diaconus*, *Luitprandus*, *Martinus Polonus*, *Hermannus Scheitel*, *Crantzins*, *Sigonius*, *Lupoldus*, *Naucclerus*, *Platina*, *Radulphus de Columna*, *Fasciculus Temporum*, *Wernerus*, *Onuphrius*, *Radulphus de Diceto*, Dr. *Barnes*, *Balans*, *Mornay*, Bishop *Jewel*, Dr. *Crakenthorp*, the *Century Writers*, and others forecited; but likewise by Cardinal *Caanus*, Cardinal *Cameracensis*, and Cardinal *Petrus de Alliaco*, as eminent Pillars of the Church of Rome as *Baronius*, and by *Baronius* [k] himself, who recites this very Decree he formerly denied, as authentick, and acknowledgeth *Leo* to be a lawfull Pope: Which Decree is further attested, averved by the 4. famous Universities of *Oxford*, *Paris*, *Prague*, and *Rome* it self, in a Treatise written by them all to Pope *Urban*, and *Wenceslaus* the Emperour, about the year 1374. wherein they assert, Pope *Leo* the 8. by reason of the malice and turbulence of the Romans, Decreed, that none should be made Pope, but with the

b *De Senforis*
Pacis, l. 2. c.
25.
c *Distinctio* 62
Sect. Apostolu-
cam, et Aſſer.

d *De Privilegiis*
Jurisd. Impera-
toris sect. com-
ment.
e Lib. 4. Saxo-
nice, c. 10.
f *Centur. Mag.*
10. c. 9. col.
449, to 453.
g Dr. *Craken-*
thorp of the
Popes Temporal
Monarchy, ch.
5. p. 87.
Supplementum
Reginonis, An.
967. *Sigonius*
de Regno Ital.
Mornay Histor.
Papatus, p. 212.
213, 214.
h *Annales*, An.
964. nu. 21, 22.
i *Apologia pro*
Baronio, c. 18.
k Anno 996. n.
41. See *Mornay*
Historia Papa-
tus, p. 214.
Dr. *Craken-*
thorp of the
Popes Temporal
Monarchy, p. 87,
86, 87.

consent of the Emperor : and further, with the consent of the Cardinals, Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, yea, of the whole Clergy and people of Rome, he remised, regranted, resigned to Otho, and his Successors, the whole Donations in Italy, which were formerly made to the Roman Church, by Justinian, Pipin, Charles, and others : So as (by their resolutions) these Decrees and Charters of Leo remain unquestionable, and cannot be evaded.

Anno 970
a Aventinus
Annal. l. 4.
Continuatio
Reginonis,
Cent. Magd. 10. cap. 15. col. 539.

Pope Leo deceasing, the Romans An. 970. dispatched two Embassadors to the Emperour to **crave his license to elect a Pope**, who thereupon sent the Bishops of **Constance and Spire** to Rome, in his name, by **whose advice and consent** John the 14. was elected Pope, *populi totius Suffragio*.

b Onuphrius,
Platina, Stella,
Martinus Polonus,
Barnes,
Balus, in Jo-
hann. 23. &
14. Centuria
Magdaburgens.
10. cap. 10.
col. 539, 540.
Hermannus Schedel. fol. 200.

[b] About the year 971. Peter the Governour, with the two Consuls, and 12. Senators of Rome, apprehended this Pope John in the Church of **Lateran** for histyranny, and adhering to the Emperour, imprisoning him near 11. moneths, and then banished him into **Campania**; of which the Emperour **Otho** being informed, marched to Rome with an Army, and there, by his Sovereign power punished some of the seditionous Citizens with death, others with banishment, the residue with confiscation of their goods, delivering Peter to the Pope, to inflict what punishments he pleased on him, who used him with most inhumane, unchristian, barbarous tyranny.

Anno 974
c Martinus Polonus,
Platina,
Onuphrius,
Stella, Barnes,
Fasciculus
Temporum,
Balus, in
Benedicto 6.
Cent. Magd. 10.
c. 50. c. 10.
Sabellicus, Her-
mannus Schedel.

His Succesor [c] Pope Benedict the 6. *A Cynthio Romano Cive ob quasdam nequitias captus, in Castello Sancti Angeli intrusus, eodem carcere non multo post laqueo stragulatus est*, as most relate; others affirm that he was there starved to death. *De tanta illa iniuria nullam esse sumptam vindictam, vel a Civibus Romanis aversa factionis, vel ab Othone Imperatore non possum ego* (inquit Platina) *non satis admirari, praesertim cum Otho ipse, vir optimus sit habitus, & Ecclesiae Romanae acerrimus defensor. Sed vereor ne talia fuerint Benedicti merita, quale premium à Cynthio consecutus est.* Doubtles these 2. Popes thus imprisoned, punished successively by the Roman Consuls and Magistrates for their notorious unsufferable Crimes, were not deemed supream heads over Emperours, or Christs universal Church in that age; no not in Rome it self.

Anno 976
d Martinus Polonus,
Sabellicus, Hermannus
Schedel, Platina,
Onuphrius,
Stella, Fasciculus
Temporum,
Barnes & Balus
in Bonifacio 7.
et Joanne 18.
Antoninus lib. 1. 16. c. 1.
Joan. de Columna, et
Cent. Magd. 10.
c. 10. col. 541,
542. Blondus,
Dec. 2.

[d] Pope Boniface the 7. *Malis artibus adeptus Pontificatum, horrendum monstrum cunctos mortales nequitia superans, etiam prioris Pontificis sanguine cruentatus, cunctaque gubernationis officia male ministrans, omnium apud Romanos odia incurrit*; whereupon being enforced to hide himself, he secretly stole all the precious Treasures out of St. Peters Church, and fled with them to **Constantinople**, where he sold them for a great sum of money, wherewith he returning to Rome, made such a party against Pope John the 15. (whom the Romans had elected and made Pope in his absence) that Joannem paratus praesidiis capitis, oculis privavit, carcere inclusit, fame necavit, occupavitque rursus Pontificiam sedem; But dying soon after, the people were so enraged against him, that they would not suffer his corps to be buried, but *cadaver ejus fuit ad pedes alligato, per plateas tractum, ac lanceis & contis opprobriose confossum, tumam à Clericis beneficio sepultura populari trahitum est.* So little did they value his pretended Sanctity or Supremacy, whiles alive and dead.

Anno 985
e Martinus Polonus,
Platina,
Onuphrius,
Stella, Fasciculus
Temporum,
Barnes, Balus,
Cent. Magd. 10. c. 10. col. 543.
Naclerus
Sabellicus, Bergomensis, Antoninus,
Hermannus Schedel, Opmerus, and others in vita ejus.

[e] Pope John the 16. (a Priests base Sonne) being elected by the Clergy and People of Rome, soon incurred both their hatreds, for his extraordinary covetousness; *maxime autem quod omnia cognatis & affinis, scortis ac spuris, postposito Romanæ sedis honore, sit elargitus*; *Quem certe errorem* (as Platina, Stella, Balus, and others complain) *à nostra usque tempora pessimo posteritatis exemplo pervenisse cernimus. Quia quidem consuetudine nil perniciosius dici potest, cum non ob religionem & Dei cultum, appetere Pontificatum Sacerdotes nostri videantur, sed ut Nepotum & familiarium, nothorum & meretricum ingluviem atque avaritiam expleant. Que non omnino praetermissi* Baptista Mantuanus in 3. Libro de suorum temporum Calamitatibus.

*Sanctus ager Scurris, venerabilis ara Cinædis,
Servit, honoranda divum Ganymedibus aëdes.*

In carcerem igitur coniectus, à Clero & Populo, quarto sui regiminis mense, fame in eo perivit. A strong Argument against his Supremacy over Emperors and Kings, since thus imprisoned, corrected for his vices, by the very Clergy and people of Rome themselves, (never questioned for their proceedings against him;) who likewise forced his Successor John the 17. to retire and exile himself from Rome for a time.

After the death of [f] Ludovicus King of France, Duke Charles his brother claimed the Crown as next heir, but Hugo Capet obtaining it by power, Charles seized upon the City of Rhemes by the treachery of his Nephew Arnulphus Archbishop thereof: Hereupon by the command of King Hugo, there were two Synods called at Rhemes; in the first whereof Archbishop Arnulphus was accused, and in the 2d. convicted of Treason against the King by many witnesses, and thereupon deposed, excommunicated, and imprisoned. In this 2d. Synod Signinus Archbishop of Sens, president therein, related, That Arnulphus was accused of pillaging, and betraying the City of Rhemes to the Kings Enemies, which drew not only a scandal and suspicion upon himself, but upon all the Clergy. Nunc, quia Religionis amore, & studio Serenissimi Regis nostri Donum Hugonis congregati sumus, querendum est, quomodo tanta infamia tacere possimus? & si frater & consocius noster Arnulphus illata crimina diluere queat, vel crimen laesa Majestatis propulsare: Scitis enim omnes nos in simulari probro infidelitatis & perfidia, causa unius. Si, inquit, iustus Episcopi utuntur legibus, si lissimique suis Regibus sunt, cur hominem impurissimum suis legibus non puniunt? nimirum aliorum flagitia adeo moluntur celare, ut impune liceat eis peccare. Absit hoc ab hoc sanctissimo concilio vestro, absit ut contra divinas ac humanas leges quenquam moliamur defendere vel laudare, &c. After which Signinus said, Non patiar, discussionem fieri ejus, qui dicitur Majestatis obnoxius, nisi forte convicto (Episcopo) supplicii indulgentia promittatur: citing 31. caput Toletani Concilii, to this purpose: who being seconded by Daibertus, thereupon Hervetus Episcopus replied, Si hoc periculosum est (for Bishops to judge and condemn a Bishop as guilty of High Treason) videte ne sit periculosius, judicia Ecclesiastica deinceps a Secularibus non expectari. Consequens enim est, ad forensia Jura nos pertrahi, si divinis legibus videmur in aliquo obriti. At quomodo sine iudicio relinquatur, quod commissum esse constiterit? vel cur contra Principem nostrum causabimur, si quod attingere non audebimus, iudiciaria potestate conceditur? After some debates pro & contra, Arnulphus his Oath of Allegiance to the King (which he had apparently violated) was produced, and publicly read in these words, [g] Ego Arnulphus gratia Dei praeveniente Remorum Archiepiscopus, promitto Regibus Francorum, Hugoni & Roberto, me fidem purissimam servaturum, consilium & auxilium, secundum meum scire & posse, in omnibus negotiis praebiturum: inimicos eorum nec consilio, nec auxilio ad eorum infidelitatem scienter adjuturum. Hac in conspectu divinae Majestatis & Beatorum Spirituum, & totius Ecclesiae assistens promitto, pro bene servatis laturus pramiam aeterna benedictionis. Si vero, quod nolo, & quod absit, ab his deviare, omnis benedictio mea convertatur in maledictionem, & fiant dii mei parci, et Episcopatum meum accipiat alter, Recedant a me amici mei, sintque perpetuo inimici. Huic vero chirographo a me edito in testimonium benedictionis vel maledictionis meae subscribo, fratresque & filios meos ut subscribant, rogo; Ego Arnulphus Archiepiscopus. After much debate, Arnulphus his Advocates were called into the Synod to make his defence, who principally insisted on the Decrees of Pope Damasus, Pope Stephen, Sixtus, Julius, Symmachus, Eusebius, Adrian, Fabian, and Anastasius, which were all read to this effect, Quod Episcoporum judicia non aliter quam auctoritate sedis Apostolicae sunt terminanda, and that no Clerk ought to accuse, or be heard against his own Bishop. To which was answered, That Hillemannus Beluacensis Episcopus, & Ebo Remorum Archiepiscopus, were imprisoned in Monasteries by Ludovicus the Emperor, and deposed by a Synod without the Popes privy, consent, or leave first obtained: That King Hugo and his Bishops of the Province of Rhemes had voluntarily complained to Pope John of Arnulphus his treasons, demanding his advice, how to proceed against him in this new case, who delayed or refused to return his resolution therein; therefore they might justly proceed against him without the Popes advice; That Popes were now so infamous, scandalous, ignorant, &c. That they were unfit to be Judges in any case, and other inferior Bishops of greater knowledge and holiness, fitter to be their Judges, and all Bishops their equals.

I shall recite King Hughs Letter to the Pope, desiring him only to inform

An. 990, 992.
aCentur. Mag.
10. c. 9. col.
457. to 518.
Ph. de Mornay
Hist. Papatus,
p. 216, to 227.

b Cap. 6. Cent.
Magd. 10. col.
463, 464.

* assistentis.

him being ignorant, how to proceed, and what Judgement to pronounce against *Arnulphus* his treasons therein recited.

a Cap. 25.
Cent. Magd.
10. col. 484.

Beatissimo Papæ *Iohanni*, *Hugo* gratia Dei *Francorum* Rex. Novis atque iniustis rebus permoti, summo studio, summaque cura vestra consilia expetenda decrevimus, quippe cum sciamus, vos omne tempus in divinis ac humanis studiis exigisse. Considerate ergo quæ facta sunt, & facienda præscribite, ut & sacris legibus suis honor reddatur, & **regalis potestas non annuletur.** *Arnulfus* Regis *Litharii* (ut dicunt) filius, post graves inimicitias, ac scelera quæ in regnum nostrum exercuit, loco parentis adoptatus est a nobis, ac Metropoli *Remorum* gratis donatus: iurjurandum præbuit, quod contra præterita & futura valeret Sacramenta, Libellum Chirographi conscripsit, recitavit, corroboravit, corroborarique fecit. Milites ac omnes Cives jurare coegit, **ut in nostra persisterent Fide**, si ipse aliquando in potestatem hostium deveniret. Contra hæc omnia, ut certissimi testes sunt, ipse perias hostibus patefecit, Clerum ac populum, sua fidei creditum, captivitati & prædæ distribuit. Sed esto, eum esse addictum alienæ potestati, ut ipse videri vult; cur Cives & Milites pejerare cogit? Cur arma contra nos comparat? Cur urbem ac Castra contra nos munit? Si captus est, cur non patitur liberari? Si vi hostium oppressus, quare non vult sibi subveniri? Et si liberatus est, cur ad nos non redit? Vocatur ad Palatium, & venire contemnit. Invitatur ab Archiepiscopis, nihil se eis debere respondet. Ergo qui vices Apostolorum tenetis, statuite, quid de altero *Iuda* fieri debeat, ne nomen Dei per nos blasphemetur, & ne forte iusto dolore permoti, ac vestra taciturnitate, urbis excidium, totiusque provincie moliamur incendium: nec iudici Deo excusationem prætenditis, si nobis quærentibus atque ignorantibus, **formam Iudicii dare nolueritis.** This Letter makes not the Pope the sole Judge of this Archbishop or his cause, but only craves his advice, how this King might proceed against him, in this new case: So did the French Bishops Letter to him sent along with it, to this effect.

b Cap. 26.
Cent. Magd. 10
col. 485.

Domino & Reverendissimo Papæ *Iohanni*, Episcopi *Remorum* Diæceos. Non sumus nescii, Beatissime Pater, jamdudum oportuisse nos expetere consulta sanctæ *Romana* Ecclesiæ, pro ruina atque casu sacerdotalis ordinis, sed multitudine tyrannorum pressi, longitudine terrarum semoti, desideria nostra hæcenus implere nequivimus. Nuncitaque vestro examini, non sine magno dolore perferimus novum atque iniustum crimen *Arnulfi Remorum* Archiepiscopi, qui famosus Apostata factus, locum *Iuda* traditoris, olim in Ecclesia tener, qui filius quondam Ecclesiæ *Laudunensis*, cum Episcopum suum dolo & fraude ceperit, Ecclesiam ejus pervaserit, ad cumulum suæ damnationis *Remensem* Ecclesiam sibi creditam, cum Clero & populo captivavit: nec movet eum nostra vocatio, vel potius saluberrima exhortatio, non Archiepiscoporum comprovincialium multoties repetita admonitio, non canonice facta coram Deo & Angelis ejus professio, non Chirographi in conspectu Ecclesiæ recitata descriptio, non numerosa Sacramenta miris excogitata consiliis. Stant suo vitio, quamplures Ecclesiæ pastoribus viduatae, pereunt innumerabiles populi sine Sacerdotali benedictione & confirmatione: ipse factione tyrannica, divina humanaque jura contemnens, tyrannidem exercet. **Regibus nostris, a quibus tantam Gloriam gratis consecutus est, interitum meditat.** Ergo tandem monstro perditissimi hominis expergefacti ivimus in Sententiam Domini dicentis; Si peccaverit in te frater tuus, vade & corripe eum inter te, & ipsum solum. Si te audierit, lucratus es fratrem tuum; si autem te non audierit, adhibe tecum adhuc unum vel duos, ut in ore testium duorum vel trium stet omne verbum; Quod si non audierit eos, dic Ecclesiæ; Si autem Ecclesiam non audierit, sit tibi sicut Ethnicus & Publicanus. Adesto Pater ruenti Ecclesiæ, & sententiam ex sacris canonibus promulgatam, vel **potius ab ipsa veritate prolata**, profer in reum. (To wit, only by way of advice communicated to the King and them, not of actual execution.) Sentiamus in vobis alterum *Petrum*, defensorem, & corroboratorem Christianæ fidei; ferat Sancta *Romana* Ecclesia sententiam damnationis in reum, quem universalis damnat Ecclesia. Suffragetur nobis (by way of direction and approbation of their proceedings in a former Synod) vestra Autoritas, & in hujus Apostatæ dejectione, & in ejus qui domui Dei præesse possit, Archiepiscopi nova ordinatione: Simulque invocatis Episcopis nostris fratribus, necessaria promotione, ut sciamus & intelligamus, cur inter cæteros Apostolatam vestrum præferre debeamus.

The Pope receiving these Letters from the King and his Bishops against *Arnulfus*, Legatos primo blande accepit, postea verò quam Hereberti Comititis Legati (on behalf

half of *Arnulfus*) equum corpore præstantem, niveo colore insignem, cum aliis muneribus Pontifici obtulerunt; se per triduum ante ianuam palatii defatigatos, nec admissos: Thereupon, infecto negotio redierunt. Upon which account the Synod of Rhemes resolved, That they might justly proceed against this Trayterous Archbishop without the Popes advice. In pursuit whereof: * Multa super his Pater *Arnulfus* (President in this Synod) publice loquutus est, multa cum sibi tantum assidentibus contulit, to this effect: Nos vero, inquit, Reverendissimi Patres, *Romanam* Ecclesiam propter beati *Petri* memoriam semper honorandam decernimus, nec decretis *Romanorum* Pontificum obviare contendimus; salva tamen Authoritate *Niceni* Concilii, quod eadem *Romana* Ecclesia semper venerata est. Statuta etiam Sacrorum Canonum diversis locis, diversis temporibus (sed eodem Dei spiritu conditorum) in æternum valere præcipimus, ab omnibus servanda censemus. Duo autem sunt, quæ magnopere a nobis prævideri debent: id est, *Romani* Pontificis silentium, aut nova Constitutio, promulgatis legibus Canonum vel decretis priorum præjudicare potest. Si enim silentium præjudicat, omnes leges, omnia priorum decreta, * & silente filere necesse est. Si autem nova Constitutio, quid pro sunt leges conditæ, cum ad unius arbitrium omnia dirigantur? Videtis, quia his duabus causis admixtis, Ecclesiarum Dei status periclitatur: et dum legibus leges quærimus, nullas omnino leges habemus. Quid ergo? Num privilegio *Romani* Pontificis derogabimus? minime: Sed si *Romanus* Episcopus is est quem scientiæ & vitæ meritum commendat, nec silentium, nec nova Constitutio metuenda sunt. Quod si vel ignorantia, vel metu, vel cupiditate abalienetur, vel conditio invidiam facit, (quod fere sub hæc tempora vidimus) *Romæ* tyrannide prævalente: tunc multo minus idem silentium, & nova Constitutio formidanda sunt. Non enim is qui quolibet modo contra leges est, legibus præjudicare potest. Sed O lugenda *Roma*, quæ nostris majoribus clara Patrum lumina præbuisi, nostris temporibus monstruosas tenebras futuro sæculo famosas effudisti. Olim accepimus claros *Leones*, magnos *Gregorios*. Quid dicam de *Gelasio* & *Innocentio*, qui omnem mundanam Philosophiam sua sapientia & eloquentia superant? Longa series eorum est, qui sua Doctrina mundum repleverunt. Eorum itaque dispositioni, qui vitæ merito & scientia cunctos mortales anteirent, recte universalis Ecclesia credita est; quambis et in hac ipsa felicitate hoc privilegium tibi ab *Africanis* Episcopis contradicendum sit, has credo quas patimur miseras magis, quam typum dominationis formidantibus. Nam quid sub hæc tempora non vidimus? Vidimus *Johannem* cognomento *Osavianum*, in volutabro libidinum berlatum, etiam contra eum *Othone*, quem *Augustum* creaverat, conjurasse: quo fugato, *Leo* Neophytus in Pontificem creatur. Sed *Othone* *Cæsare* *Roma* discedente, *Osavianus* *Romani* redit, *Leonem* fugat: *Johannem* Diaconum naso, dextris digitis, ac lingua mutilat: multaque cæde primorum in Urbe debacchatus, in brevi moritur: cui *Benedictum* Diaconum, cognomento *Grammaticum*, *Romani* substituunt: eum quoque *Leo* Neophytus cum suo *Cæsare* non longe post aggreditur, obsidet, capst, deponit, perpetuoque exilio in *Germaniam* dirigit. Succedit *Othoni* *Cæsari* *Cæsar* *Otho*, natura, ætate, cunctos Principes armis, consilio ac scientia superans. Succedit *Roma* in Pontificatu horrendum monstrum, *Halesacius*, cunctos mortales nequicia superans, etiam prioris Pontificis sanguine cruentus: sed hic etiam fugatus est, in magna Synodo damnatus: post obitum divi *Othonis* *Romani* redit, insignem virum Apostolicum, *Petrum* Papiensis Ecclesiæ prius Antistitem, data Sacramentorum fide, ab arce Urbis dejicit, deponit: squalore carceris affectum perimit. Num talibus monstris hominum, ignominia plenis, scientia divinarum et humanarum rerum vacuis, innumeros Sacerdotes Dei per orbem terrarum scientia et vitæ merito conspicuos, subijci decretum est? Quid est hoc Reverendissimi Patres? vel quonam vitio fieri credendum est, ut caput Ecclesiarum Dei, quod in sublime erectum, gloria & honore coronatum est, ita in infima dejectum, ignominia et dedecore deturpatum sit? Nostrum, nostrum est hoc peccatum, nostra impietas, qui quærimus quæ nostra sunt, non quæ Jesu Christi. Si enim in quovis ad Episcopatum electo, morum gravitas, vitæ meritum, divinarum ac humanarum rerum scientia, subtiliter investigantur; quid in eo qui omnium Episcoporum Magister videri appetit, investigandum non

* Cap. 28 Cens. Magd. 10. col. 486, 487.

* eo.

Nota.

non est? cur ergo in summa sede sic infimus constituitur, ut etiam in Clero nullum habere locum dignus inveniatur? Quid hunc Reverendi Patres in sublimi folio residentem, velle purpurea & aurea radiantem, quid hunc (inquam) esse censetis? Nimirum si charitate destituitur, solaque scientia inflatur, & extollitur, Antichristus est, in Templo Dei sedens, et se ostendens tanquam sit Deus. Si autem nec charitate fundatur, nec scientia erigitur, in Templo Dei tanquam statua, tanquam idolum est; a quo responsa petere, marmora consulere est. Quo ergo consultum ibimus? Evangelium docet, quendam in scilicet ter fructum quassisse, & quia non repererit, succidere voluisse, sed admonitum expectasse. Expectemus ergo primates nostros, quoad possumus: atque interim divini verbi pabula, ubinam reperiri valeant, investigemus. Certe in Belgica & Germania, quae vicinae nobis sunt, summos Sacerdotes Dei, in religione admodum praestantes, inveniri, in hoc sacro conventu testes quidam sunt. Proinde, si Regum dissidentium animositas non prohiberet, inde magis Episcoporum judicium petendum fore videtur, quam ab ea Urbe, quae nunc temporis venalis exposita, ad nummos quanta quantitate judicia trutinat. Quod si quispiam dixerit, secundum Gelasium, Romanam Ecclesiam de tota Ecclesia judicare, ipsam ad nullius comere judicium, nec de eius unquam judicio judicari posse: quanquam hoc ipsum Africani Episcopi impossibile judicant, nisi forte (inquiunt) quisquam est qui credat, unicuique posse Dominum nostrum examinis inspirare iustitiam, et innumerabilibus congregatis in Concilium Sacerdotibus denegare. Sed cum hoc tempore Roma nullus pene sit (ut fama est) qui Literas didicerit, sine quibus (ut scriptum est) vir ostiarius efficitur, qua fronte aliquis eorum docere audebit, quod minime didicit? Ad comparationem quippe Romani Pontificis, in aliis Sacerdotibus ignorantia utunque tolerabilis est; in Romano autem, cui de fide, vita, moribus, disciplina Sacerdotum, deque universali Ecclesia Catholica judicandum est, intolerabilis videri potest. Is enim est (ut quibusdam placet) qui secundum Ezechielem Prophetam, moratur in Gazophylacio, quod respicit viam meridianam, & excubat in custodiis Templi; Cur autem loco prioris, scientia inferior, non aequo animo ferat judicium loco inferioris, scientia prioris? Certe ipse Apostolorum Princeps non abnuat judicium, quamvis loco inferioris, Pauli scientia prioris, in faciem sibi resistentis, quoniam non sana videbatur Doctrina Magistri; & Gregorius Papa cum dicat, Si quae culpa in Episcopis invenitur, nescio quis Apostolica sedi subjectus non sit, subinfert, Cum vero culpa non exegit, omnes secundum rationem humilitatis pares sunt. Involutus ergo criminibus, sentiat praesse sibi Romanum Pontificem: qui nullis atrocioribus factis praegravatur, intelligat, parem dignamque se ac Romano Pontifice in quolibet negotio laturus sententiam. Sed esto, ponamus nunc Romae esse Damasum, quid contra ejus decretum actum est? Nempe, si bene recordor, primum Capitulum fuit quod Episcoporum & summorum Ecclesiasticorum causae semper ad sedem Apostolicam sint referendae. Utique relatæ sunt, non solum ab Episcopis, sed etiam a Principe nostro serenissimo, liberaque potestas Apostolica sedi data est, & vera investigandi, & cognoscendi & judicandi, per temporum intervalla nimis prolixa: nec prius ad causam accessimus, quam desperatione iudicii ejus (by way of advice, rather than final censure) protraheremur. Consultus est ergo Romanus Episcopus ut oportuit, & de hujus Arnulfi depositione, & de ejus qui domui Dei digne praesse posset substitutione, sed cur nihil responderit, quorum interest ipsi viderint. Nos autem Sardicense Concilium, quod privilegio Romanae Ecclesiae plurimum favet, ita ad hanc causam inflectimus, ut quod de solo Episcopo in qualibet provincia relicto dicit, ad Romanum Episcopum affectum esse credamus, &c.

* Cap. 53, 54.
Cent. Magd.
10. col. 513.
514, 515.

In fine, after long debate, * Arnulfus being demanded by the President, *Si ne te abdicare a Sacerdotis honore, quo hactenus abusus es?* and he thereto answering dubiously, *Sicut dicitis.* Tum Comes Brochardus (the Nobles as well as Bishops being present in this Synod) demanded, *Quid est istud?* Sicut dicitis? *palam eloquatur, palam confiscatur, ne postea Episcopos crimina, quae voluerint finxisse dixeret, se confessum esse abneget.*

abnegat. Whereupon he answered, *Palam dico & profiteor me errasse, & a fidelitate deviasse, &c.* And by a * Writing under his hand, confessed his crime and abuse of his Pontifical Office and Ministry, whereof he acknowledged himself unworthy, desiring that another Archbishop, *qui digne praeesse & prodesse possit Ecclesiae*, might be consecrated in his place. Arnulfus being thereupon deposed and committed to prison in the City of Aurelia, Gerbertus (afterwards Pope) was made Archbishop in his place; and Signinus Senonensis Archiepiscopus (who would not consent to Arnulfus his deposition, *qua magis ipsius aule insatiabilis odio, quam Episcoporum sententia fiebat*, as he conceived) una cum Arnulfo in carcerem ire iubetur: *qua quidem re Hugo Rex suae tranquillitati consulere studebat: ac Triennium utrique in captivitate conservantur.*

About the year 996. * Pope John the 17. as some, or Benedict the 7. as others write, receiving and perusing the Acts of this Synod at Rome, ingenti ira exardescit, & proinus suum fulmen vibrans, omnibus Episcopis Galliae qui Arnulfum deiecerant aliumq; suffecerant, omnibus sacris interdicat. Hisce plus quam panicis terroribus praemissis, he caused another Synod of the French Bishops to meet at Rhemes, whereof Signinus, è carcere eductus, was made President, wherein the deposition of Archbishop Arnulfus was examined, and in conclusion, by the connivance of King Hugo, Arnulfus (against the Canons, and his own confession) was restored, Gerbertus (who made a most elegant Oration therein, demonstrating the simony and intrusion of Arnulfus, the justice of his deposition, and legality of his own advancement to it) deposed, or rather translated from thence to the Bishoprick of Ravenna, to give satisfaction to the King and him, *ex qua veluti scala posita in Romanum Episcopatum emergit.*

This Archbishop Gerbertus in his * 1. Epistle, Othoni Caesari, hath these expressions: *Loquatur Dominus meus servus suo propriis Epistolis solio more, ut ejus servitutis fiat exhibitio, &c. Quantum enim in nobis est, quod possibile est esse, consequens est nos perficere, si vestrum cognoverimus velle. Non dicatur Majestatis reus, cui pro Caesare stare semper fuit gloria, contra Caesarem ignominia. Epistola 154. Domino & glorioso Othoni Imperatori semper Augusto; Gerbertus gratia Domini Remorum Episcopus, quicquid tanto Imperatori dignum, &c. Paremus ergo Caesar, Imperialis edictis, tum in hoc, tum in omnibus quaecunque divina Majestas vestra decreverit. Non enim deesse possumus obsequio, qui nihil inter humanas res dulcius aspicimus vestro Imperio. Epist. 34. he hath the like passages. Epist. 12 he thus complains: Ipse Caesar omnium hominum excellentissimus, a surciferis asino coaequatur. Damicozum fidelissime; recordare quod te oraverim, me malle esse nullitem in Caesarianis castris, quam Regem in extraneis. And in his * Epistola ad Wilderodonem Episcopum Argentinensem, he thus asserts the Rights of the Kings and Church of France, against the Popes Usurpations. Tu dicis Arnulphum incendia, seditiones, traditiones, flagitia, captivitates, suorumque direptiones exercentem, suorum Regum interritus molientem, Patriam hostibus prodentem, divina humanaeque contemnentem, nec communione debuisse privari, nec potestate Principis abjici, sine Episcopi Romani iussione; cum Apostolus dicat: Quia Princeps non sine causa gladium portat, sed ad vindictam malefactorum, laudem vero bonorum. Favete omnes, qui Regibus vestris fidem promissistis, promissamque servare vultis, qui Clerum vobis commissum & populum nec tradidistis, nec tradere disponitis; vos inquam, qui tantorum scelerum facta perhorrescitis, favete his qui obediunt Deo jubenti. Peccantem & Ecclesiae non obaudientem habendum sicut Ethnicum & Publicanum: qui iterum dicit vobis; Vae vobis Scribae & Pharisei qui transgredimini mandatum Dei, &c. Et ne quis nos in invidiam adducat, quasi privilegiis Romanae Ecclesiae derogantes, audiat Hieronymum dicentem. Si auctoritas quaeritur, orbis major est Urbe: Quod si persona major Presbytero quaeritur, ille Sacerdos magnus Leo Papa accedat; Non tenetur, inquit, Petri privilegium, ubi non ex ejus aequitate fertur judicium, &c. At quid iudicata, si iudicanda exinde non informantur? aut quomodo mansuras in aeternum leges trecenti decem & octo Patres constituerunt, si horum constituta ad unius libitum permutantur, aut perimuntur? Apiarius Presbyter ab Afris damnatus, a Romanis communioni restitutus est. Scribunt Africani Papa Caelestino, contra Nycenam Synodum factum videri. Ajunt Calumniatores nostri, Summum Sacerdotem Arnulphum a Summo Sacerdote Romano debuisse tantum dijudicari; ait Beatus Augustinus, si Caelianum totius Africa primatem ejus accusatores, quod in vita non potuerunt, post mortem convincaat, a sacrorum proditori-*

(G g)

* Cent. Magd. 10. col. 515, 516 Ammonius lib. 5. c. 46. *Emilius, Gaguinus, Tilius.

Anno 996. *Platina, Stella, Fasciculus Temporum, & Balzus, in Benedicto 7. Centur. Magd. 10. col. 516, to 521. Ammonius, Martinus, Tilius, Sigebertus, Gaguinus, Paulus, Emilius

Anno 998. * Bibliotheca Patrum, Tom. 17. p. 615, 619, 634.

* Philip. Morney, Historia Papatus, p. 222, 223.

Rom. 13.

Mat. 18.

buz

bus voluminum ordinatum, vel ipsum proditorem fuisse, & post mortem sine retractatione se ei Anathema dicturum. Licuit ergo Episcopis Galliarum viventi Arnulpho confesso & convicto, ut Ethnico & Publicano dixisse Anathema; licuit inquam, sequi Evangelistas, Apostolos, Prophetas, sacra Concilia, vivorum Apostolorum decreta, ab his quatuor non discordantia, semper in usu habita, semper habenda, &c. Pressa jacet Tyrannide omnis Ecclesia Gallorum, atque non a Gallis, sed ab his a quibus sperabatur salus. Sed una salus hominis & Christe tu es; Ipsa Roma omnium Ecclesiarum hactenus habita mater, malis benedicere, bonis maledicere fertur, et quibus nec abe dicendum est, communicare, tuamque legem zelantes damnare, abutens ligandi et solvendi potestate a te accepta. So little did this Archbishop (soon after made Pope) esteem the pretended Supremacy of the Pope, or See of Rome.

Anno 996.
* Platina, Stel-
la, Onuphrius,
Martinus Pol-
nus, Fasciculus
Temporum,
Hermannus
Schedel, Barnes,
Balæus, Benno
Cardinalis, &
Centur. Magd.
10. c. 10, in
Gregorio 5. &
Johanne 18.
Nauclerus, An-
toninus, Crant-
zius in Saxo.
Vicellus, Dami-
anus, Aventinus
Annal. Boyorū
l. 5. Cuspinia-
nus in Othone
3. Nauclerus in
Gen. 34. Bonfi-
nius l. 10. De-
cadis 1. Rerum
Ungaricarum,
Scafnabargen-
sis, Blondus,
Sabellicus,
Bnead. 9. l. 2.
Carion, Radul-
phus de Dicto
Abbrev. Chron.
col. 47 r. Henr.
de Knyghton,
de Event. Angl.
l. 1. c. 6, 7.
* Calamitatum
lib. 3.

After the death of Pope John the 17. * Otto the 3. coming with an Army into Italy, jubet, commanded the Romans to chuse Bruno his kinsman, son of Otto Duke of Suevia, Pope, sperans ista ratione posse pacem stabilire, que electionibus Novorum Pontificum semper solebat perturbari. Hereupon, Clerus & populus sibi ab Imperatore metuentes, Brunonem in Pontificem eligunt, (called Gregory the 5.) à quo Otto cum benedictionem, tum Coronam Imperii accepit: Ottone ad Germaniam regresso, Romanus populus, novarum rerum cupidus, Crescentium ad consularem potestatem trahunt, & r's Romanas ejus fidei atque industria committunt. Crescentius & populus agre ferentes Gregorium, Germanum natione, Auctoritate Imperatoris creatum Pontificem, ideo illum sede Pontificia ejiciunt, & Johannem 18. natione Græcum, Placentinum Episcopum (hominem perniciosum, insatiabili mentis ardore Papatum muneribus, tumultu ac seditione, aliorum Pontificum more, ambientem) Pontificem creant; qui per factionem pecuniis corruptam sedem occupavit, quod illi exitium, divina ultione, horridum postea peperit. Gregorius, ad Imperatorem se conferens, de injuria queritur. Imperator indigne ferens hanc contumeliam, cum exercitu in Italiam redit; Urbem obsedit, oppugnavit impigre: Hereupon the Romans deserting Crescentius and Pope John, veniam ab Imperatore sibi dari petunt, aperiuntque Germanis portas: The Pope and Crescentius thereupon fled to the strong Castle of St. Angelo, where after some assaults, descendunt ad Imperatorem veniam petituri; in itinere intercipiuntur. Johannes Novus Pontifex, effossis prius oculis, (auribus quoque & navibus abscissis, as Damianus and others write) Pontificatu simul et vita privabatur. On this Pope John and his followers * Baptista Mantuanus belttowed these verses.

**Pernices mercantur equos; venalia Romæ,
Templa, Sacerdotes, Altaria Sacra, Coronæ,
Ignes, Thura, Preces, Cælum est venale, Deusque.**

Miror ego (inquit Platina) Historicos Johannem istum inter Pontifices numerasse, cum vivente adhuc Gregorio, sedem occupasset, nisi forte in conscribendis Pontificum vitis, ita faciendum censeant, ut in perpetua Historia sit. Nam & Tyrannorum perversa facta, optimorum Principum rebus gestis annumerantur; ut quantum inter se boni & mali dissideant à legentibus agnosci possit; quo malorum exemplo a vitis deterreantur, & bonorum exemplo a virtutes impulsu, vitam in terris beatam ducant. Qua quidem beatitudine Johannes iste caruit, Fur certe in Pontificatu et latro. Flores Temporum, and Aventinus relate, that this Pope John, de Capitolio precipitatus sit, indeque esse, ut nulli Pontifici invisere liceat. Crescentius (his Patron and advancer) vili jumento imponebatur, & vultu ad caudam verso, nasoque cum auribus abscisso, ut spectaculo esset omnibus, per plateas circumducebatur, ac truncatis membris, ante Urbis mania patibulo suspendebatur: This Emperor, Gregorium 5. in pristinam Pontificum sedem restituit: an unanswerable evidence of his Sovereign Jurisdiction, both over the Pope, City and Citizens of Rome, in relation to the election and confirmation of the Roman Pontiff. After which, Congregata Romæ Synodo, the Emperor and Pope perceiving the various contentions and events concerning the Emperors election, arising from the ambition of Princes, & Episcoporum philargyria, they ordained in this Synod, ut jam eligendi Cæsares apud Germaniæ Principes deinde maneret; scilicet, Maguntinensem, Treverensem, & Coloniensem Archiepiscopos, Comitem Palatinum Rheni, Ducem Saxoniæ, ac Marchionem Brandeburgensem, & Bohemiæ Principem ad dirimendas discordias

discordis in paribus suffragiis. Quam sanctionem Anno Dom. 1002. Otto Imperator approbavit, without which it had been a meer nullity. Which Constitution the Kings of France, iniquissime ferebant, sed aperto bello id illis eripere non audebant.

This Pope Gregory deceasing Anno 997. [a] Gilbertus, (alias Gerbertus) Archbishop of Ravenna, (of whom before) per Orthonem Imperatorem ad Romanæ urbis sedem evehitur, and named Sylvester the 2d. This Pope, artibus Diabolicis intentus, totus se Satanæ marcipabat, & iurejurando se tradidit from his youth, obtaining all his former preferments, and the Papacy, magicis artibus, & strenua opera Diaboli adjutus. Which he concealing after he was made Pope (lest he should seem the Devils Vicar, rather then Christs) Aeneum vero caput domus in abdito quodam loco servabat, per quod Diabolus de rebus futuris ab ipso rogatus, responsa dabat. Sylvester in tanto honorum gradu Diaboli ope constitutus, consuluit aliquando Diabolum de tantæ felicitatis suæ aînturnitate: qui respondit, Non eum moriturum, nisi Hierosolymis missam celebraret. Pontifex urbem Palestinæ intelligens, longissime mortem a se abesse somniabat, cum nihil minus quam de Hierosolyma advenunda cogitaret: Impiam igitur & ab omni emendationis cura, liberam agebat vitam. But soon after saying Masse in Lent, according to the custom of former Popes, in the Church of St. Croffe, called I. rusalem, in ipso sacris ardenti febre corripitur, & demonumq; audit strepitum; whereupon conceiving himself deluded by the Devils ambiguous answer, and that his death approached, Conscientiæ morsu savissimo excitatus, scelus suum deploravit, & presentibus Cardinalibus rem omnem multo cum gemitu aperuit. Membra omnia quibus Diabolo obsequium præstiterat (viz. manus & linguam, sunt, qui addunt, genitalia) præcidi jussit: Deinde truncum mortuum super bigam jussit poni, ut ubicunq; animalia perducerent & subsisterent sepeliretur; And then expiring (Anno Dom. 1001. as some, or 1003. as others compute) the Cardinals executed what he desired on his corps. Et quis non hinc intelligat (writes Balauus) qualem istud munus sit, qualis sit dignitas, quale officium, quod Diabolus sine censura novit, quodque Satanicis atque nefariis artibus adipisci possunt homines perditissimi? Quale sit etiam Missæ sacrificium, quod vivis & mortuis prodesse crebro jactitant, cum Diabolus tantam iragiam adversus sanctissimum Petri successorem & socium (Simonem Magum, potius) sub eo excitaverit, atque ad lacum tartareum secum tandem traxerit.

Before I proceed further, I cannot but take notice of a memorable passage of Cardinal [b] Baronius (a chief Assertor of the universal Supremacy, and uninterrupted Succession of the Popes and Church of Rome) touching the corrupt, detestable state of the Church and Bishops of Rome, in this age. Quæ tunc facies Ecclesiæ Romanæ? quam scdissima, cum Romæ dominarentur potentissimæ æque ac sordidissimæ Meretrices? Quarum arbitrio mutarentur sedes, darentur Episcopi, & quod auditu horrendum & infandum est, intruderentur in sedem Petri eorum amasii, et Pseudo-Pontifices, qui non sunt nisi ad consignanda tanta tempora in Catalogo Romanorum Pontificum scripti. Quis enim a Scortis hujusmodi intrusos, sine lege, legitimos dicere posset, Romanos fuisse Pontifices? Nusquam Cleri eligentis, vel consentientis postea, aliqua mentio, Canones pressi silentio, decreta Pontificum suffocata, proscriptæ antiquæ traditiones veteresque in eligendo Summo Pontifice consuetudines, sacrique ritus & pristinus usus, prorsus extincti. Sic vendicaverat omnia sibi libido seculari potentia freta, insaniens, astro percita dominandi. Dormiebat tunc plane alto (ut apparet) sopore Christus in Navi, cum ipse flantibus validis ventis, navis ipsa fluctibus operiretur. Dormiebat, inquam, qui ista non videre dissimulans, fineret sic fieri, dum non exurgeret vindex. Et quod deterius videretur, deerant qui Dominum sic dormientem clamoribus excitarent discipuli, stercentibus omnibus. Qualesnam reris delectos ab hisce monstris Presbyteros & Diaconos Cardinales fuisse putandum, cum nihil tam naturæ insitum sit, quam unumquemque sibi similem generare? Quos in omnibus his, a quibus delecti fuerint, consensisse dubitare quis poterit? imitatosque esse ipsos, sectatosque eorum vestigia quis non facile credat, & optasse hos omnes Dominum dormisse semper, & nunquam in judicium surrecturum, evigilaturum, nunquam adipforum cognoscenda & puniendâ facinora quis non intelligat? On which passage, Philip Lord Morney hath this observation, Et ex hoc solo loco judicet Lector, quam tantopere osentavit Episcoporum Romanorum successionem, (he might adde, his Supremacy, Headship over the Church, as Christs Vicar General) quo iure defendere possit? To which I shall subjoyn this observation of learned [c] Gualther, relating to the successive Popes

Anno 997
a Platina, Martinus Poionus, Onuphrius, Fascic. Temp. Stella, Barnes, Balæus, Cent. Magd: 10, c. 10. col. 547, 548. Naucerus, Antoninus Mart. nus, Heimanus Schedel, Gaguinus, Ammonius, Polychronicon, l. 6. c. 14. Benno Cardinalis in Greg. 7. Mart. Westm: Anno 998. Ulfarius De Statu & successione Ecclesiæ, cap. 3. Morney Hist. Papatus, p. 226 &c.

b Annalium Eccl. Tom. 10. Anno 912. Artic. 3. Phil: Morney Hist. Papatus, p. 227.

c Rodolphus Gualtherus Homil. 3. de Antichristo, Balæus in Vitis Pontif. l. 4. p. 174.

in the same age. Jam ergo penes cordatum quemvis judicium esto, non merito de Pontificum tyrannide & iniquitate conquesti sint optimi quique, **cum tot** (quos modo commemoravimus) **nebulones, tyrannos, fures, raptos, latrones, seditiosos, adulteros, et palam sacrilegos** (he might have added *homicidas, apostatas, Necromanticos, haereticos, idololatrios, atheisticos*) intra tam paucos annos, iedes illa gestaverit. Et quis fodes ceu sanctam veneretur, quæ tot pestes sustinere potuit? Nondum tamen impletus satis fuit impiissimorum hominum catalogus, &c. To these I could subjoyn the concurrent Testimonies of *Platina, Sabellicus, Wernerus, St. Bernard, Genebrardus, Bellarmin,* and others, collected by our incomparable *Jacobus Nisserius*, in his Book, *De Christianarum Ecclesiarum Successione & statu*, c. 2, 3, 4, to which I refer the Reader: concluding with this memorable passage of [e] *Ant. Coccinus Sabellicus*, evidencing the Emperors Supremacy over Popes: Non possum non multum mirari, unde Tragica hæc Pontificum fluxerint exempla, quam dira pietatis oblivio eorum mentes irrepserit, ut neque personæ quem sustinebant ratio ab his ulla haberetur, neque loci quem tenerent, **ut non immerito aliquis suspicaretur, quicquid moderaminis fuit et Majestatis in illis, qui a Caroli cognomento Magni temporibus ad Gallici Imperii exitum interfuit** (interfuit enim ætas una) **sedem tenuerunt, non tam sua sponte, quam Regum, Imperatorum, et in quorum tutela essent metu et reverentia, in officio manserunt.** Wherefore it was very necessary, at least expedient for the good government, reformation of Popes, Prelates, and the Church of God, that *Christian Kings and Emperors* should have a Superintendent coercive power over them, to keep them all in good order, to restrain, correct their detestable Enormities and exorbitances, especially since *Wernerus* (a *Carthusian* Monk) writing of this degenerate age, and Popes therein, pronounceth, **Sanctitatem Papam dimisisse, ac ad Imperatores accessisse hoc tempore, sicut Clare apparet;** and [d] *Genebrardus* records, **Hoc seculum uno infelix, quod per annos fere 150. Pontifices circiter 50. a virtute majorum proflus defecerint, Apotactici, Apostaticive potius, quam Apostolici:** And could such Monsters of men, and Apostates from the life and faith of Christ, be his Universal Vicars over his Church on earth, and not rather those pious Christian Kings, Emperors, who punished their excesses?

c Encad. 9. l. 1.
& 2.

d Chronograph.
l. 4. in principio,
10. seculi.

Anno 1003.
e Benno Cardinalis in vita
Gieg. 7. Joan.
Baconthorpius,
in Prologo 4.
Sentent. qu. 20.
Onuphrius,
Platina, Stella,
Vicellius, Hermannus
Schedel Barus, Balanus,
Centur.
Magd. 11. cap.
10. in Joanne
19. Sigebertus,
Anno 1003.
Simoneta l. 5.
c. 52.

Anno 1007
f Fulberti Episc.
Carnotensis,
Epist. 22. Bibl.
Patrum, Tom.
11. p. 11. Epist.
60.

[e] Pope *John the 19.* adjuvatore *Diabolo*, cuius tum erat *Papatum dare*, *Sylvestro*, mago ac *Satanico monstro*, successit in Romana sede; but with some contest; *Certamen enim fuit* (as *Benno Cardinalis*, and others record) *inter ipsius Sylvestri discipulos necromantes dum quisq; anhelaret ad rapiendum sibi Papatum.* This Pope by the persuasion of his Clergy *Romanum populum Pontificis electione privavit, adjectis his clausulis, Docendus (Ducendus) est populus, non sequendus: Major est dignitas legis que regitur Spiritu sancto* (whereby these Popes were not ruled, but by the unclean Spirit the Devil) *quam legis secularis. Leges Imperatorias nihil esse dicebat:* But by a divine retaliation, his Papal authority was so much slighted, that *Venero a suis domesticis sublatus est*, within 5. moneths after his consecration, to make way for his successor *John the 20.* qui prodigiosis artibus *Satanici Papatus sellam occupavit. A prædicto enim Sylvestro, qui Magus diabolicus erat, usque ad Gregorium septimum, sceleratissimum nebulonem, ac præstigiatores iniquissimum, famosi fuerunt incantatores Romani Pontifices omnes, Jannem & Jambrem Ægyptos Magos longe superantes,* as *Benno Cardinalis, Balanus*, and others inform us. This Pope totum se voluptatibus dedit, during all his Papacy, till at last by the practice of such who aspired after his Papal See, *non sine veneni suspicionem expiravit;* Anno 1009.

Earl *Rodulph*, a near neighbour to [f] *Fulbertus* Bishop of *Carnotum*, about the year 1007. *res Ecclesia Carnotensis per injustam occasionem invasit, unum de Clericis suis manibus interfecit; duos alios captos Sacramento illigavit. Et de his omnibus appellatus in Curia Regis,* (upon the frequent complaints of *Fulbertus*) & *coram plena Ecclesia sape vocatus, nec propter hominem, nec propter Deum ad justitiam venire dignatus;* he was at last excommunicated by *Fulbertus*: whereupon appealing to Pope *John the 20.* ad limina *Sancti Petri* contendit, *tamquam ibi possit accipere de peccatis absolutionem, unde venire non vult ad emendationem.* *Fulbertus* on this occasion writ an Epistle to Pope *John*, ut enim de sanguine filiorum tuorum ita arguere & castigare mineris,

mineris, sic ut meritum esse tua prudentia novit. Nec tua sanctitas injuste in communio- nem recipiat, quem divina auctoritas sicut Ethnicum alienat. Ille bone pastor evigila, evigila super nos, ne per incuriam tuam grex Domini detrimentum sustineat. Moreover, [g] *Gaufridus Vicecomes*, building a Castle at *Ileras*, within the Lands of *St. Mary*, belonging to his Bishoprick, bestowed on him by *Robert King of France*, he appealed to this King by Messengers and Letters, for advice and relief against these injuries, to command them *vestra regali auctoritate vivaciter imperando*, to redresse these in- juries; *ne apud extraneum Regem, vel Imperatorem, quod absit, compellamur a vobis exu- les, noluisse vos, vel non valuisse, Sponsam Christi sanctam Ecclesiam vobis regere commissam, intueri*: acknowledging the chief Government of the Church, as well as protection, to belong to the King, not Pope, within his Kingdom; and that the conferring of [b] *Bishopricks* and placing, confirming *Bishops* in vacant *Sees*, ap- pertained to the King (not Pope or Clergy) as fundry of his *Epistles* evidence.

[c] The Emperor *Henry* the 2d. who *ob eximium religionis studium Pii nomen forti- tus est*; by his Imperial power about the year 1007. summoned two Synods, not only of his Bishops and Clergy, but likewise of his Nobles; wherein himself was present, sharply reprehending the Bishops in publick Orations to them, for neglect- ing their duties, and not rooting out, and cutting off putrid Members with the sword of the Spirit, lest they should corrupt the sound. After which, about the year 1016. *Conventum Aquisgranum indicit, ubi Episcopis et Principibus congregatis, de republica quadam tractata sunt*, after which certain *Masses*, *Fasts*, and *Aims* were pre- scribed, to prevent Gods judgments then hanging over and inflicted on them for their sins, to appease his wrath. Anno 1017. *Idem Imperator Naviomagi et Politicorum et Ecclesiasticorum coegit Senatum, ubi inter cetera quadam de restauranda religione, quæ jam ad interitum inclinabat, deliberata & constituta sunt*. Anno 1023. the same Emperor called another Synod at *Salgunstat*, (*Selgenitat*) to compose the manifold differences and varieties of divine Offices, Canons, Customs in the *German Churches*, which caused manifold dissensions, and reduce them into one: which they endeavoured to effect by 20. Constitutions, whereof the 16. was this: *Ut nullus Romam eat, nisi cum licentia sui Episcopi, vel ejus Vicarii*. A sufficient e- vidence of this Emperors Supremacy, in calling Synods, and over all Ecclesiastical per- sons, causes, and in reforming corruptions in the Church and Clergy.

[d] Pope *Benedict* the 8. a meer Layman, *magicis artibus ad Papatum pervenit*, by the assistance of *Theophylact* his Nephew. He demanded no lesse then 100 marks annual rent, *cum equo albo & phalerato*, to be reserved to the Church of *Rome* for consecrating the Cathedral Church of *Bamberg*, from *Henry* the Emperor who built it. After whose death, *ab amulis Cardinalibus sede pellitur, & alius surrogatur, factum- que inde fuit schisma gravissimum*. Postea tamen per aureos nummos, inita cum a *ver- sariis* concordia, *pulso adulterino Pontifice, in sedem restituebatur*.

John the 21. *Theophylacti Nepotis arte nefaria, nullis adhuc initiatus ordinibus sacris, Pontificatum est adeptus. Huius Theophylacti et aliorum Pseudo-sacrificulorum in- cantationibus & maleficiis, omnia tunc Romæ ad Satanæ nutum regeban- tur. Theophylactus enim Sacrificiis Dæmoniorum in sylvis et montibus deditus, mulieres post se currere faciebat, quas magicis artibus ad sui a- morem coegerat*. This Pope was so vexed, opposed by the Romans (who sought to de- pose him) that he was enforced to crave the Emperor *Conrades* protection (whom he crowned) to secure him: who threatened utterly to destroy the Romans if they offered any violence to him. An evidence, that the Emperors Power and Supremacy then exceeded the Popes, even in *Rome* it self.

[f] *Theophylactus*, Pope *Johns* Nephew, *sedem Romanam Satanicis artibus ac ma- gicis præstigiis obtinuit*; (being called *Benedict* the 9th.) although he and his complices before his Papacy, *per nefaria curiositatis ritus atque caremonias, Spiritus malignos invo- care solebat, & fœminas quascunque volebat necromanticis operationibus in quibusdam nemoribus & sylvis in fœtos amplexus trahere*; He trained up *Hildebrand* in these mag- ical arts, *tantorum maleficiorum fidus minister, & pessimis magister, peior est factus dis- cipulus*. He was often dejected from his *Papal See* by the Romans for his vices, cruelty, ignorance; *Litterarum enim adeo rudis erat, ut collegam qui suo loco sacra tractaret, secum consecrare voluerit: verum pluribus id fieri improbanibus, ab in- cepto desistit*. Anno 1045. *Sede dejectus est, & Romani Johannem Sabinensem E-*

a Epist. 3. Do- mino suo Regi R. Sacerditi no Ibid. p. 6. 7. Epist. 195.

b Epist. 63, 89, 131, 132.

Anno 1007. c Cent. Magd. 11. cap. 9. de Synodis. Acta Metensium E- pisc. Crantzii in Saxon. l. 4. c. 35. Metropoli l. 4. c. 4. Anno 1016.

Anno 1017

Anno 1023

* *Sirius* Con- cil. Tem. 3. p. 572. Centur. Magd. 11. cap. 9. col. 447, 448.

Anno 1012. d *Platina*, *Onu- phrius*, *Balæus*, *Barns*, *Stella*, *Viculus*, *Fasci- culus* *Tempo- rum*. Centur. Magd. 10. c. 10. in *Benedict* 2. Crantzii *Me- trop.* l. 4. c. 4. Anno 1024. e *Benno* *Car- dinalis* in *Greg.* 7. *Platina*, *Stel- la*, *Balæus*, *Barns*, *Cent.* Magd. 11. in *Johanne* 21.

Anno 1034. f *Benno* *Cardi- nalis* in *Greg.* 7. *Fascicul.* *Tempo- rum*, *Stella*, *Platina*, *Wer- neri*, *Cristi- nus*, *Onuphrius*, *Barns*, *Balæus*, *Cent.* Magd. 10. c. 10. in *Bene- dict* 9

piscopum

piscopum in ejus locum substituerunt, Sylvestrum tertium appellantes. Pope Benedict agrestium & amicorum manu stipatus, Romam pergit, Sylvestrum 40. sui Pontificatus die, ex Lateranensi Patriarchio exturbat. Suoque jam loco restitutus, Antichristi vicarium egit strenue, sibi summum in Romano Imperio constituendi gubernatorem arrogans potestatem. Mortuo enim Conrado Imperatore, (this Pope endeavouring to disinherit Henry the 3d. his son) ipse ad Petrum Hungariæ Regem id honoris fastigium transferre ausus est, missa ei corona hoc versu insigni,

Petra dedit Romam Petro, tibi Papa Coronam :

Sed Henricus primo conflictu Petrum capit, Romamque venire disposuit. Quo audito, Benedictus timore perterritus, Papatum Johanni Gratiano, Complici suo (qui postea dictus est Gregorius sextus) vendidit, acceptis ab eo libris mille quingentis. Ob hanc venditionem ab omnibus accusatus erat Benedictus, ac judicio divino damnatus; as *Platina* and *Stella* relate: to which our *Balæus* subjoins: Et cur non magis ob Scortationes, idololatrias, necromanticas artes, incantationes, exorcismos, invocationes demoniorum, & id genus alia diabolorum portenta? *Mysterium est, solum hoc damna-*

a *Maffæus*, lib. 16. *Balæus* in *Sylvestro* 3. *Cent. Magd.* 11. c. 8. 10.

* *Balæus* & others in his life, *Mat. Michovien-* *ensis Chron.* *Poloniz*, l. 2. c. 13. *Chromerus de Rebus Poloniz*, l. 4. *Baronius*, Ann. 1041 1045. sect. 1, 2.

Anno 1040. * *Biblotheca Patrum*, Tom. 11. p. 131.

* *Here*, p. 125, 168.

Anno 1045. b *Platina*, *Stella Onuphrius*, *Vicellius*, *Barnes*, *Balæus*, *Cent. Magd.* 11. c. 10. in *Sylvestro* 3.

Anno 1046, 1047. a *Martinus Polonus*, *Platinus*, *Onuphrius*, *Fascic. Temporum*, *Balæus*, *Barnes*, *Cent. Magd.* 11. c. 10. in *Gregorio* 6. b *Historia* l. 5. c. 5, 6.

vis meritum sortitus est finem, a quodam demonum, quem familiari sapientius uti consueverat colloquio, suffocatus est: a After his death, his ghost wandred about in the shape of an horrid moniter, seen by a certain Hermit neer a Mill, having the body of a Bear, but head and tayl of an Asse. Being interrogated by the Hermit, Unde in eam incidisset metamorphosin? respondisse fertur, Hac specie oberro, quia in Pontificatu sine ratione, sine lege, sine Deo vixi, et omnibus probis Romanam sedem inquinavi: And was not this an excellent, real, universal Vicar of Christ, and Head of Christs Catholike Church? Or not rather a true Vicar, Head, Heir of the Antichristian, Malignant Church of Satan? * This Pope, Anno 1041. dispensed with *Cazimere* a professed Monk, right heir to the Crown of Poland, to marry, and to be made King of Poland, upon this condition, That the Polanders should render to him and his Successors an annual Tribute of money, one farthing for every head, shave their heads, not suffer their hair or beards to grow long, &c. and perpetually remember, that they were Feudataries and Tributaries to the Roman See.

* *Bruno* Bishop of *Herbipolis* in his *Expositio in Psalterium*, Psal. 50. thus comments on these words of King *David*; Tibi soli peccavi, as * sundry others before him. Si quis enim de populo erraverit, & Deo peccat, & Regi. Nam quando Rex delinquit, Soli Deo reus est. Iste igitur Rex, soli Deo peccare se dicit, quia hominem non habet qui eius facta dijudicet. Therefore neither the High Priest, nor Pope, by his glosse upon this Text, hath any power to judge or depose Kings for their innes, much lesse for oppoling their usurpations, and correcting their exorbitances.

b Pope *Sylvestro* the 3d. largitionibus, Magicis imposturis & per tumultum in pulsi Benedicti locum a suis Civibus surrogatus erat: which caused much bloodshed and schism in the Church, one Devil expelling and succeeding another. *Platina*, *Stella*, *Balæus* and others observe in his life, Eo tum Pontificatus devenerat, ut qui plus largitione & ambitione, non dico sanctitate vitæ & doctrina, valeret; is tantummodo dignitatis gradum, bonis oppressis & rejectis, obtineret. Quem morem, utinam non aliquando non retinuissent nostra tempora. Sed hoc parum est, pejora (ni Deus avertat) visuri aliquando sumus.

[a] Pope *Gregory* the 6. having bought the Papacy of *Benedict* the 9th. to recruit his Treasury, after solemn admonition, excommunicated, and that not prevailing, made War upon, and sent unto all those who robbed pilgrims or strangers, and took away their oblations by force, slaying and robbing them even in the very Churches of *Rome*, as our *Malmesbury* and others relate, by which means he not only restored, but exceedingly augmented the goods of the Church; whereupon the Cardinals stiled him a Symoniack, a Man-slayer, a thirster after blood, and unworthy Christian burial. Yea [b] *Radulphus Glaber*, a Monk of *Cluney*, living in that age, records, that *Henry* the 2. calling the Archbishops and Bishops of his Dominions together, complained thus of the universal corruption in the Clergy. Omnes gradus Ecclesiastici à maximo Pontifice usque ad Ostarium opprimuntur per suæ damnationis pretium, ac juxta vocem Dominicam, in cunctis grassatur spirituale latrocinium: *Glaber* subjoins, Et hac non solum in Gallicanis Episcopis, pullulaverat nequitia pessima, sed

sed

sed totam occupaverat *Italiam*: omnia quippe Ministeria Ecclesiastica eo tempore ita habebantur venalia, quasi in foro secularia mercimonia. Ipso tempore Romana sedes qua universalis jure habetur in orbe terrarum, prafato morbo pestifero, per viginti quinque annorum spatia miserrime l. braverat; fuerat enim eidem sedi ordinatus quidam puer circiter annorum duodecim, contra ius fasque, quem scilicet sola pecunia auri et argenti plus commendavit, quam aas & sanctitas. Et quoniam infelicem habuit introitum, infeliciorem persequitur exitum: sultabile, turpitudini illius conversationis & vita. [c] Tunc, tum in seculari potestate, tum etiam in Ecclesiastica Religione totius regimini persona constitierant, in puerili aetate, propter peccata enim populi contigit tunc illud Salomonicum, quod ait, Vx tibi terræ. Nam & ipse universalis Papa Romanus, nepos scilicet duorum, Benedicti atque Johannis, qui ei praeesseraut, puer ferme decennis intercedente Thesaurorum pecunia electus extitit a Romanis, a quibus exinde frequenter ejectus, ac inhoneste receptus, nulla potestate vixit. Et ut iam superius taxavimus, ceteros tunc temporis Ecclesiarum Praelatos, aurum potius vel argentum exaltabat, quam meritum. Proh pudor, de his evidentissime Scriptura ait, imo os ipsius Dei, Principes extiterunt & non cognovi, &c. Yea *William Archbishop of Tyrus made this just complaint of the general Apostacy and corruptions in all professors of Christianity in that age, occasioned by the evil examples, vicious and Atheistical lives of Popes, Bishops, and Clergymen, which drew down Gods judgements on them in most places: In occidente & in omni vena orbe terrarum, minime inter eos qui fideles dicebantur, fides defecerat, & Domini timor erat de medio sublatus: perierat de rebus iustitia, & equitate subacta violentia dominabatur in populis. Fraus, dolus & circumventio late involaverant universa. Virtus omnis locum dederat, & cesserat quasi inutilis, malitia subintrante. Videbatur sane mundus declinasse ad vespem, & filii hominis adventus secundus fore vicinior. Nam multorum refrixerat charitas, & fides non inveniebatur super terram. Confusis ordinibus cuncta ferebantur, & in Chaos pristinum mundus videbatur redire velle. Fornicationum genus quodlibet, quasi res licita, passim & sine rubore exercebatur impune. Sed nec inter affines aut propinquos tuta erant Matrimoniorum federa. Amica caelestibus & Deo placens, quasi res vilis, iussa migrare erat continentia. Nec parsimonia aut sobrietati locus erat, ubi luxur & ebrietas, & pernosa alea praecupaverant additum, atque arvia possidebant. Nec Clerus a populo vita nobiliore differebat, sed sicut in [d] Propheta legitur, Sicut populus, ita & Sacerdos. (Yea [e] St. Bernard addes, Non est jam dicere, ut populus sic Sacerdos, quia nec sic populus ut Sacerdos, the Popes, Prelates, Priests being then far more vile, impious, atheistical, exorbitant in all kinds then the common people.) Nam Episcopi, negligentes facti erant: Canes muti, non valentes latrare, &c. Quid plura? ut in summa dicatur, omne in praecepti vitium stetit, & omnis caro corrumperat viam suam. Nec propterea ad malum revocare poterant Domini comminantis in caelo sursum ostenta, nec signa in terra deorsum. [f] Erant enim pestilentia & fames terroresque de caelo, & terra motus magni per loca: & cetera qua Dominus in Evangelio diligenter enumerat. Sed obstinati in operibus mortuis, quasi sui in volutabro, & quasi iumenta putrescebant in stercore suo, pia Domini longanimitate abutentes: quasi quibus a Domino diceretur. [g] Percussisti eos, & non doluerunt; curavi eos, & non sunt sauciati. The source, fountain of all this impiety, pravity, Apostacy, sprang from Rome, which instead of one sacred head, had a Three-headed Cerberus ruling over it, thus related by [h] Otto Frisingensis, [i] Gotfridus Viterbiensis, and [k] others. Circa idem tempus pudenda confusio Ecclesiae Dei in Urbe Roma fuit, tribus ibi inbasoribus (quorum unus Benedictus dicebatur) sedem illam simul occupantibus; atque ad majoris miseriae cumulum, divisim simul cum redditibus Patriarchis: uno ad Sanctum Petrum, altero ad Sanctam Mariam majorem; tertio, id est, Benedicto in Palatio Lateranensi sedente, flagitiosum et turpem vitam (& egomet in Urbe Romanis tradentibus audi-vi, writes Otto) duxere, dabantque operam singulis, ne alter alteri seditione, impietate, & flagitiis esset inferior. Hunc miserimum statum Ecclesia religiosus quidam Presbyter, Gratianus nomine, videns, reliquiis pietatis matris suae compatiendo animadvertens, praefatos viros adit, eisque a sancta sede recedere, pecunia persuasit: Benedicto redditibus Angliæ, quia majoris videbatur auctoritatis esse, relictis. Ob ea Cives praefatum Presbyterum tanquam Ecclesiae Dei liberatorem in summum Pontificem eligunt, eum-

Chronicon. c. 8. Matthias Michovienfis, lib. 2. Chron Poloniz, c. 22. Johannis Longini, Chron. Baronius Tom. 11. Anno 1041. sect. 11. & Anno 1045. sect. 1. 2.

c. Glab. l. 4. c. 7.

* Belli Sacri, l. 1. c. 8.

d. Hof. 4. g. e. Sermo 1. in Conversione Pauli.

f. Mat. 24. 7.

g. Jerem. 5. 3.

h. Chron. lib. 6. c. 32.

i. Chron. pars 17. k. Balz. & Centur. Mgd. 11. c. 8. & 10. Morney Histor. Paparus, p. 218, 229. Ulficius de Christianarum Ecclesiarum successione & statu, cap. 4. Leo Officiis,

Gregorius
Heymburgensis
in Confut.
Prioratus Papæ,
part 2. Jac.

Usserius de
Christ. Ecclef.
Successione &
Statu, c. 4. p. 94.

Waltramus
de Inveſtit. Epiſ-
coporum, &c.
Baſiliæ 1566.

p. 716, 717.
Sigebeiti Chron.
Anno 1046. &
1047. Fascicu-
lus Temporum,

Stella, Onu-
phrius, Balzus,
in Gregorio 6.
Magn. Chron.

Germaniæ, Ab-
bas Ulſpergenſis
Chron.

De Regno
Italiæ, l. 8.

Chron. c. 80.

Herman. Con-
tracti Chron.

An. 1050. Ot-
to Friſingenſis

Chron. l. 6. c.

32, 33. Crant-
zius Metrop. l.

4. c. 15. l. 5. c. 1.

Saxon. l. 4. c. 41.

Centur. Magd.

11. c. 8. col. 400.

Magn. Chron.

Belg. p. 113.

114.

Anno 1048.

Fasciculus

Temporum, Pla-
tina, Stella,

Barnes, Balzus,

Onuphrius,

Centur. Magd.

11. c. 10. in

Clementi .i. &
Damaſo 2.

Anno 1049.

Benno Cardi-
nalis in Greg. 7.

Platina, Onu-
phrius, Stella,

Nauclerus,

Cent. Magd. 11.

c. 8, 10. Barnes,

Balzus, in Da-
maſo 2. & Leo-
ne 9. Surius

Concil. Tom. 3.

p. 577. Crant-
zius Metrop.

Otto Friſingen-
ſis, l. 6. c. 32, 33,

24. Sigonius de

Regno Italiæ l.

8. Morney Hiſt.

Papatus, p. 233,

234, 235.

que *mutato nomine* Gregorium Sextum (mis-printed Septimum) *vocaverunt*. Yea a certain [1] *Hermite* to quell these Schisms, writ thus to *Henry* the Emperour (as supreme Governor and Reformer of the Church and Popes of *Rome*) to suppress this Schism.

Imperator Henrice,
Una Sunamitis
Dissolve Connubium,

Omnipotentis vice,
Nupit tribus maritis;
Et triforme dubium.

Hereupon, [m] *Rex Henricus Conradi filius contra eos Romam vadit, et eis Canonica et Imperiali censura depositis*, Suidgerum Babenbergensem Episcopum, *Papam fecit, qui & Clemens* (Romana Ecclesia 146. Episcopus) *vocatus est, & vicissim ab eo Rex Henricus in Imperatorem benedictus est*, *ſurantis Romanis, ſe ſine ejus conſenſu, ejusque ſucceſſorum, nunquam Papam electuros*, according to the forecited Decrees of Popes, Councils, and the antient custom, right, prerogative of the *Roman* Emperors. [n] *Sigonius* observes: *Ecclesia jam prope per ducentos annos egrotans, & multa, & ea valida remedia requiſivit, uſq; adeo ut ad extremum, ne igne, quidem & ferrum, qua ultima inſanabilium morborum unt medica- menta, reprobaſſet*: which the Emperor, her chief Phyſician & Chyrurgian, now applyed to her moſt fretted ulcers. And [o] *Leo Cardinalis Oſtienſis*, relating the ſchiſms and tumults occaſioned by theſe three Popes at *Rome*, addes, that *Henry* the Emperour, *his de ſede Romana & Apoſtolica nefanda audiis, cœlitus inſpiratus*. Anno 1047. *Italiæ petens adijt Romam, cupiensq; ſedem Apoſtolicam hujusmodi purgare macula, Sutrii reſtitit, & ſuper tali tantoq; negotio deliberaurus, univerſale ibi Episcoporum Con- cilium fieri ſtatuit*. Igitur ad eius Imperium (not the Popes) illic Episcoporum, Abbatum, Religioſorumq; virorum grandi multitudine, Romanum quoque Pontificem, qui præſeſſet Concilio, invitavit. Quid multa? Concilio habito, Synodici Canonibus atque ſententiis Gregorius Symoniacus probatus, ſtante ſua ſede deſcienſ, Pontificaliſ ſe infulis exiit, & humi proſtratus (at the Emperors feet) temerata dignitatis veniam ſibi humiliter petiit. Clemens ſecundus, natione Germanus, Bambergensis Episcopus, in Synodo Romæ, jubente Imperatore Henrico tertio, viventibusq; adhuc tribus aliis Pontificibus, Pontifex et ipſe creabatur. Iſte eundem Henricum Coronavit. Cogitque Romanos jure urando (which ſome attribute to the Emperor, others to this New Pope) renunciare ſuo jure in eligendo Pontifice; ut ſchiſmata et ſimultates, quæ ex Pontificum electionibus naſci conſueverant, hoc modo vitarentur: Abente itaque in Germaniam Imperatore, Romani inſurandi in memores, ut moris eſt eis, Pontificem alium quam ſuis ſuffragiis creatum, Anno Dom. 1048. poſt novem menſes veneno tollunt. Quid vene- num miſcuiffe ſcribitur Brazutus, (as moſt, or as others) Stephanus, qui in Pontificatu ſucceſſit, afterwards called *Damaſus* the 2d. who out of ambition violently invaded St. Peters Chair (as *Platina* obſerves) according to the cuſtom then grown uſual at *Rome*; But this ambitious intruder *Damaſus*, without the Emperors li- cenſe, *vigeſimo tertio die Pontificatus ſui, venenato etiam poculo per eundem Brazutum ſublatus eſt*, Anno Dom. 1049.

(9) After the death of *Damaſus*, the Romans being much vexed by Pope *Benedict* the 9th. formerly depoſed and baniſhed by the Emperor, who returning to *Rome*, ad priſtinam dignitatem per ſas neſasque aſpirabat; thereupon, *Romani* (perſaſi ſeditionum quas excitaverant Papatus inſafores) conſilio Cardinalium, legatos ad ipſum Imperatorem dirigunt, et ut aliquem in Papam eligendum Romam mittat expoſcunt, as ſome; or, ut Pontificem ipſis daret, as others expreſſe it: *Alterna invidia magis, quam honore Regia moti*, as *Crantzius* obſerves. The Emperor thereupon *Brunonem Tullenſem* Episcopum (invitum & coactum) Romam mittit, ſimplicem ingenio virum; cum inter Episcopos *Germania* non eſſet qui veneficiis Romanis præfici veller: Who travelling toward *Rome* in his Pontifical habit; Abbatem *Cluniacenſem*, & *Hil'brandum* Monachum (Sacerdotium & Regnum ſub ſpecie religionis everſurum, ac juramentum Imperatori præſtitum non diu ſervaturum, multarumque calamitatum authorem) in itinere obvios habuit. Qui videntes eum Pontificiis ornatum inſigniis, apoſtaſeos crimen illi odioſe impingebant. Perſuadebant ergo illi, ut depoſito habitu Pon- tificio,

tifico, Romam consueto cultu peteret; dicentes, **Imperatori non esse concessum
tuis eligendi Papam** (egregie mentita est sibi iniquitas, adds *Balans*) sed Clero
& Romano populo, tam bene memores juramenti sui boni patres erant. *Bruno* ad-
monentibus morem gessit, deposito Pontificio apparatu privatus urbem ingreditur,
seipsum accusans (*Hildebrando* persuasore) quod Imperatori maluerit quam Deo ob-
temperari. Hereupon, *Romanus* Clerus eundem *Brunonem*, (some stile him *Barronem*)
in Pontificem eligunt, & eo libentius, **quod omnem auctoritatem eligendorum
Pontificum ab Imperatore** (ut par erat, writes *Platina*) **ad Clerum transfu-
lisset, non ad Cæsarem**, & propterea *Leonem* 9. illum appellabant, cum merus esset
Afinus, as *Balans* brands him. *Hildebrandum* ipsum statim sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ
Diaconum Cardinalem creat, ac Pontificii muneris consortem, committens ei curam
Ecclesiæ Sancti Petri.

This [a] Pope *Leo* the 9. writ a large Epistle, Michaeli Constantinopolitano & *Le-*
oni Acridano *Episcopis*, *adversus eorum inauditas præsumptiones*; for denying the
Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, and stiling *Michael*, *Universal Bishop and Patriarch*,
in derogation of his Papal Supremacy; which this Pope endeavours to vindicate by
misapplied Scriptures, and the Emperor (*Constantines* forged *Donation*, (therein reci-
ted at large, and in *Gratian* Distinct. 96.) giving Pope *Sylvester* therein, a superiori-
ty over all the other 4. Sees of *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, *Jerusalem*, and *Constantinople*,
ac etiam super omnes universo orbe terrarum Dei Ecclesias; granting him his Royal
Palace of *Rome*; *quod omnibus in toto orbe terrarum præfertur atque præcellit Palatiis*.
Deinde Diadema, videlicet Coronam capitis nostri, deinde Phrygium, id est micram, with
all his Imperial robes; and Decreeing, That Pope *Sylvester*, and all his Successors,
Diademate (*quod ex capite nostro illi concessimus*) *ex auro purissimo & gemmis preciosis*,
uti debeant, & in capite ad laudem Dei pro honore beati Petri gestare. Which forged
Donation (at large refuted by [b] Dr. *Crakenthorp* and sundry others) if admitted
true, infallibly evidenceth all the Popes Temporal and Ecclesiastical pretended Su-
premacy, Dominion, State, to be derived from this Emperor, not from Christ, or St.
Peter, and that it was originally vested in the Emperor and his Successors by Christ
himself, else his grant thereof to Pope *Sylvester* and his successors, was but a meer
nullity: since, *Nemo potest dare, quod non habet*.

Besides, this Pope writ an [c] Epistle, *Glorioso & Religioso Imperatori* *Con-*
stantino Monomacho, beginning thus: *Quantas gratias referre iugiter debeamus cre-*
atrici, & gubernatrici omnium sanctæ & individua Trinitati, [d] super inenarrabili
dono ejus, [e] quo operatur omnia in omnibus, etiam ex tua devotione et
religiosa industria, gloriosissime Fili atque Serenissime Imperator,
perpendere possumus quare talem nostris exhibuit, et grata pietate
providit diebus, cujus fida ope statum Sanctæ et Catholicæ Ecclesiæ
relevare, et terreni Imperii rempublicam meliorari confidamus. Tu
enim post nimium longas et perniciosas discordias, primus pacis et
concordiæ monitor, portitor, et exoptatus exactor efficeris; & cum
ipso vase electionis humillimo Paulo dicere videris: [f] Pro Christo legatione fungen-
tes, *tantum Deo exhortante per nos, obsecramus, reconciliamini propter eum,*
qui est [g] pax nostra, qui facit utraque unum, &c. After which asserting the
Headship and Supremacy of the Church of *Rome* above other Churches, upon false
principles, he subjoynes; Cujus venerabilem faciem tu quoque honorificare dispo-
nis, non ingratus illi, quæ tuum verticem diademate terreni Principatus decenter
insignivit, & tremendum & amandum populis effecit, & ut in sempiternum regnes,
Christmate adoptionis inunxit. Nempe ipsa antiqua & jam emerita *Roma* illum pri-
mum nobilissimum & religiosissimum *Constantinum*, cujus genealogia gloriaris & po-
tentia magnificaris, cujusque de nomine dictam urbem famosam regis, temporaliter
edidit, nutrit, provexit, & **super omnes mortales constituit**, nec a benefi-
ciis cessavit, donec eundem æterni regni gloria cumulavit. Unde multimoda gratia-
rum actione tuam excellentiam gloriosissime fili, magnificando, tanto majori super
tua devotione, & recognitione replemur gaudio, quanto **copiosior animarum
numerus ex tuo regimine pendet**, (therefore by this Popes confession, this Em-
peror had the chief regiment and care of his Subjects souls) **tuoque ininitur ex-
emplo**. Et ideo non cessamus orare communem Dominum, [h] *per quem Regis reg-*
nant, & Principes justa decernunt, ut in suo beneplacito te conservet longævum, &
(H h) com-

a Sarius Concil.
Tom. 3. p. 577.
to 597.

b In his Defence
of *Constantine*,
and Treatise of
the Popes Tem-
poral Monar-
chy, (the learn-
edest of this
kind & subject)
London 1621.

c Sarius Concil.
Tom. 3. p. 596.
597
d 1 Cor. 4.
e Eph. 1.

f 2 Cor. 5.

g Eph. 2.

h Prov. 8.

1 Cor. 9.

Mar. 24.

Alludit ad cognomen Monomachus.

* 2 Cor. 1.

* Leonis Epist. 1. c. 9. Sarius Concil. Tom. 3. p. 590.

Anno 1048. a Chronicon. Marsburgense, l. 1. cap. 21. Centur. Magd.

compleat in bonis desiderium tuum. Porro ergo qualiscunque Apostolicæ Vicarius sedis, pro modulo humilitatis meæ & possibilitatis, supplere laborans vicem mihi commissæ dispensationis, secundum Dei eloquium [1] *Va mihi est, si non evangelizavero: necessitas enim mihi incumbit maxima, possum orationem aeterno & distincto iudici propter unius regimen Ecclesiæ ex omnium Ecclesiarum merito, &c.* Alter which expressing his endeavours for the Churches peace, he thus proceeds, Ad quam acquirendam & obtinendam habemus maximum ex divina pietate solatium, & præsidium Charissimum, atque clarissimum filium nostrum Imperatorem *Henricum*, cuius de die in diem expectamus promissum et proximum adventum, utpote cum procinctu, & expeditione Imperiali properantis ad nostrum subsidium. Ad quod etiam superna gratia tuam Serenitatem animavit, ut hinc inde vobis duobus velut totidem brachiis inimicam gentem ab Ecclesia Christi propellentibus et procul effugantibus, afflicta nunc Christianitatis releveretur decus, & Reipublicæ reformetur status. Et quia abundante iniquitate & refrigescente charitate, Sancta Romana Ecclesia & Apostolica sedes nimium diu oblecta fuit mercenariis et non Pastoribus, a quibus sua, non quæ sunt Christi, quærentibus, devastata jacebat miserabiliter hactenus, divinum consilium voluit meam humilitatem suscipere tantæ Cathedræ pondus. Quo licet plurimum mei imbecilles prægraventur & deprimantur humeri, non parvum mihi subest sanctæ spei, quandoquidem ex utroque latere tales adsunt filii, religione et potentia præclarissimi. Quapropter devotissime fili, & Serenissime Imperator, collaborare nobis dignare ad relevationem tuæ Matris Sanctæ Ecclesiæ, et privilegia dignitatis atque reverentiæ ejus, necnon patrimonialia recuperanda in tuæ ditionis partibus, sicut manifeste cognoscere poteris ex venerabilium prædecessorum nostrorum, seu tuorum scriptis & gestis. Tu ergo magnus successor Magni *Constantini*, sanguine, nomine et imperio factus, ut fias etiam imitator devotionis ejus erga Apostolicam sedem, exhortamur, et quæ ille mirabilis vir post Christum eidem sedi contulit, et confirmavit, et defendit, tu juxta tui nominis etymologiam constanter adjuva recuperare, retinere, et defendere. Ita enim apud Deum singulariter pugnans cognominaberis, quod jamdudum inter homines cognominaris. Hoc sane gloriosissimus filius noster *Henricus* perficere molitur in suis partibus. Quæ omnia nobis & vobis provenient felicius & multiplicius, ubi quantocyus Dei gratia præveniente, & beatissimis Apostolorum principibus intervenientibus, & me qualicunque Vicario eorum mediante & obtinente, firmissimum pacis & amicitie inter vos ambos componetur fœdus, &c. He concludes his Epistle to him with these words, and this prayer for him. Benedictus Deus, & Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, * Pater misericordiarum, & Deus totius consolationis, dignetur tuam excellentiam benedicere omni benedictione spirituali, repleatque omni gaudio et pace, ut in præsentī seculo per longa tempora feliciter domineris, & in futuro sine fine cum Rege Regum, & Domino Dominantium regno cœlorum beate perfruaris, honorabilis, & desiderabilis nobis in Christo fili & gloriose Auguste, Amen. These Passages are a sufficient evidence; 1. That in this age *Michael* the Patriarch of *Constantinople* stiled himself, (as *John* his predecessor and others before had done) * OECUMENICUM & UNIVERSALEM PATRIARCHUM, and would be so stiled by all others; refusing by any means to renounce this Title, or acknowledge the Popes and Roman Churches supremacy. 2ly. That the chief care, protection, government of the Church of God, the restitution, preservation of its peace, by suppressing Schismes, discords, schismaticks, hereticks, and the open Enemies thereof, and invaders of its privileges, possessions, belonged to Christian Kings and Emperors, by this Popes own confession, who claimed his power, possessions, from their Donations, and implored their assistance upon all occasions.

The (a) Emperor *Henry* the 3. Anno 1048. *Conventum habuit Marsburgi, ubi cum Regni statibus deliberationem habuit, De electione Papæ, et Collatione Episcopatum in Germania*, as belonging to the Imperial Jurisdiction.

11. cap. 9. col. 454.

This

This [a] Pope Leo the 9. coming into Germany, was present at the Synod of *Mentz*, summoned by the Emperor Henry the 3. *Imperatoze p[re]sente et p[re]sente* therein (as *Schafsbuurgensis* and others record,) wherein sundry Decrees were made against *Simony*, and *Clergy-mens marriages*, keeping of hounds, hawks, intermeddling with secular affairs, and following filthy lucre; this good Emperor being most active to reform the extravagances of the Clergy in that age, which gave general scandal to the Laity: *Sabico* Bishop of *Spires* was accused of Adultery in this Synod, and put to his purgation. This [b] Pope Leo the 9. having given the Emperor occasion to suspect his fidelity, by renouncing his advancement to the Roman See by the Emperors authority; to recover his favour and good opinion, Anno 1050. in a Synod at *Rome*, *Principes et Civitates (Italiae) Imperatozi iurejurando astringit*, as to their Sovereign Lord. [c] Afterwards being routed with all his forces by the *Normans*, and returning with dishonour to *Rome*, *hausto per Brazutum veneno*, (by the treachery of *Hildebrand*) *diem clausit extremum*, Anno 1054.

After his death, *Victor* 2. [d] *Ex Henrici 3. Imperatoris sententia Pontifex* hoc modo declarabatur. The *Romans* tearing the Emperors power, de ordinando Pontifice non audebant aliquid attentare contra iusjurandum dicto Imperatori sub *Clemente* 2. prius datum. Mittunt ergo pro eligendo Pontifice, ad ipsum Imperatozem, *Nuncium Hildebrandum*, qui tum filium ejus *Henricum* juniorem, autoritate suæ legationis fretus, Imperii successorem designavit. *Victor* inde Pontifex eligebatur, non tam liberis suffragiis, quam ut *Henrico* gratificaretur, in eligendo Pontifice Germano. Hic *Victor* magnam Synodum *Florentia* congregavit: in qua (*p[re]sente Casare*, as *Hermannus Contractus* informs us) complures Episcopos, de *Symonia*, hoc est, quod a secularibus Dominis, & non ab ejus Sanctitate, honores ac dignitates pro lucro susceperant; Some Popes by *Hildebrands* perswasion beginning then to wrest out of Emperors, Kings, Princes, and Noblemens hands, the Elections, Donations, Collations, Investitures of Archbishopricks, Bishopricks, all sorts of Ecclesiastical Dignities and Benefices, under the specious forged pretext of *Symony*, that so Popes and Prelates alone, might monopolize the conferring and sale of them to themselves alone. But this *Victor* Anno 1057. prædicti *Brazuti* ministerio ad *Hildebrandi* nutum, veneno absumebatur.

Anno 1057. Soon after [e] *Victors* death, à *Clero & Romano populo*, non expectata, nec explorata prius Imperatoris voluntate, *Stephanus* 9. Pontifex assumebatur, contrary to their former & late oaths and allegiance to the Emperor. This Pope reduced the Church of *Millain* under the obedience of the See of *Rome*, from which it had been exempted above 200 years. Per *Hildebrandum*, *cujus opera utebatur plurimum*, passim per *Italiam* & *Burgundiam* Ecclesias *Symoniaca* hæres infestas, purgavit: (Sic enim appellabant *asini indocti* si quis Ecclesiasticum beneficium à Laico & non ab ipsis acciperet) & *Henricum* Imperatorem, ejusdem criminis reum, quo plurimum Romanorum Pontificum auctoritati derogaretur, damnabit; if *Platina* deserve credit therein. This Pope holding a Synod at *Florence* against this pretended *Simony*, Pluralities, and Priests wives, *Brazuti* pharmaco, *Hildebrandi* impulsu, tactus occubuit, Anno 1058. Whereupon *Hildebrand* posting to *Rome*, Omnes Clericos adesse jussit, p[re]sentesque Sacramento adiecit, ne quenkumque p[re]siantur in Pontificem eligi, nisi sit ille omnium, adeoque suo etiam consensu, designatus Pontifex. But the *Romans* mutinying against the Clergy, who endeavoured to deprive them of their Votes in the Popes election: *Benedictus* 10. Pontifex acclamatur, & clamore populari Pontifex habebatur, during *Hildebrands* absence at *Florence*: who posting to *Rome*, expostulated with the Cardinals for suffering a Pope to be intruded on them against their Oath, perswading them to elect *Gerardus* in his place: But fearing and not daring to elect a New Pope at *Rome*, ob plebis furorem; Senas simul profugunt, ibique rem perficiunt; *Gerardus* being there elected Pope, assumed the name of *Nicholaus secundus*: This new Pope and his complices, *Sutrii* pergens constitit, coactoque Concilio *Benedictum* Pontificem exit, qui factio- sis ultro cedens, returned to *Veltras* his former Bishoprick by his Successors consent. After which he held a 2d. Synod in *Rome*, wherein these Decrees were made concerning the future election of Popes, to secure his own Title against Pope *Stephen* [f] si quis pecunia, vel gratia humana, aut populari, militarive tumultu, sine concordia & canonica electione Cardinalium, fuerit in throno Petri collocatus, is non Apostolicus, sed

Anno 1050.

a Crantzius in

Saxon. l. 4. c.

43. Otto Fri-

tingensis, Abba-

Ufpergentis,

Trithemius in

Chron. Anno

1049, 1050.

Cent. Magd. l.

c. 9.

b Hermann.

Contracti Chr.

Centur. Magd.

11. cap. 9. col.

454.

c Platina, Stel-

la, Benno, Onu-

phius, Balxus,

Barns, Centur.

Magd. 11. cap.

10. and others.

Anno 1054.

d Platina, Onu-

phius, Stella,

Sabellicus, Fas-

ciculus Tempo-

rum, Martinus

Polonus, Balx-

us, Barnes, Vi-

celius, Dominis,

Magd. 11. c. 10.

in Victore 2.

Benno Cardi-

nalis, in Greg.

7. Hermann

Contracti Chr.

Cent. Magd. 11.

c. 9. de Synodis,

col. 456, 457.

Anno 1057,

1058.

e Platina, Onu-

phius, Stella,

Sabellicus, Her-

mannus Schel-

del. Martinus

Polonus, Fas-

ciculus Tempo-

rum, Volaterra-

nus, Vicellius,

Centur. Magd.

11. c. 10. in

Stephano 9. &

Benedicto 10.

& Nicholao 2.

Otto Frisingen-

sis, l. 6. c. 33.

Anno 1059;

1060.

f Surtius Concil.

Tom. 3. p. 599,

600. Centur.

Magd. 11. c. 9.

sed Apostaticus, id est, a ratione deficiens, merito vocetur: licet atque Cardinalibus, Clericis et Laicis Deum colentibus, illum ut prædonem anathematizare, et quovis humano auxilio a sede Apostolica propellere, atque quovis in loco, si in Urbe non liceat, Catholicos hujusce rei causa congregare. This Decree, if Apostolical, Orthodox, made this Pope himself, all his Predecessors, and most of his Successors in the Roman See both Robbers and Apostates; and layd a seditious, schismatical ground for all Christians to rise up tumultuously against succeeding Pontiffs as such. Moreover, *Inspectore Deo est statutum, ut Electio Romani Pontificis in potestate Cardinalium Episcoporum sit*; ita ut si quis Apostolica sedis sine præmissa concordia & canonica electione eorum, ac deinde sequentium ordinum Religiosorum Clericorum & Laicorum consensu inthronizatur, is, non Papa vel Apostolicus, sed Apostaticus habeatur. This Decree confines the Popes Election only to the Cardinal Bishops, but yet requires the subsequent assent of the inferior Clergy and people to his inthronization. After which they proceeded to take away all Emperors, Kings, Nobles, & Laymens Rights of Patronage and presentations to any Church or Benefice, either with, or without reward. *Ut per Laicos nullo modo quilibet Clericus aut Presbyter obtineat Ecclesiam, nec gratis, nec precio.* And to make this bitter pill to be swallowed with less regret, they subjoynd this plausible Decree thereto against Pluralities, *Nec aliquis Presbyter duas Ecclesias simul obtineat*: not with intention conscientiously to observe it, but to raise moneys by dispensing with it: Next they decreed, *Ut cujuslibet ordinis Clericos Laici non judicent, nec de Ecclesiis ejiciant*, to exempt all Clerks from Secular Jurisdiction, though never so criminal, vitious, or indirectly intruded into Churches by the Pope or other Prelates. *Ut nullus Laicus ad quemlibet gradum Ecclesiasticum repente promoveatur, nisi post mutatum habitum secularem, diuturna conversatione inter Clericos fuerit comprobatus*; Though many of their Popes were meer Lay-men when first elected; Yea one of them, Pope Joan (alias John the 8.) a woman, a most notorious Whore, not a man, so long conversant with Clergymen under the disguise of a Male, in mans apparel, that she was advanced to the Popes unerring chair, Anno 855. and not long after (as the [a] Marginal Authors attest) begotten with child by one of her lecherous Cardinals, publicly delivered of her spurious issue before all the people in her solemn Papal procession to the Church of Lateran, in the publike street, between the Colosse, and St. Clements Church, and there died of child-birth, Anno 857. *Ac propter hoc scelus publici partus, omni honore Pontificio spoliata, sine pompa Papali sepulta erat.* [b] Laurentius Surius gives us this further account of Pope Nicholas the 2d. his Decree against Symoniacks, and several resolutions relating thereunto: *Dominus Papa Nicolaus Synodo in Basilica Constantiniana præsidens dixit; Erga Simoniacos nullam misericordiam in dignitate servanda habendam esse, decernimus, sed juxta Canonum sanctiones, & decreta Sanctorum Patrum, eos omnino dimittimus ac deponendos esse Apostolica autoritate sancimus. De iis autem qui non per pecuniam, sed gratis sunt a SIMONIACIS ordinati, qua questio a longo tempore est diutius ventilata, omnem modum dubietatis absolvimus, ita ut super hoc Capitulo neminem deinceps ambigere permittamus. Quia igitur usque adeo hæc venenata perniciēs hactenus inolevit, ut vix quælibet Ecclesia valeat reperiri quæ hoc morbo non sit aliqua ex parte corrupta, eosque usque modo gratis sunt a Simoniacis consecrati, non tam censura justitia quam misericordie intuitu in acceptis ordinibus manere permittimus: nisi forte alia culpa ex vita eorum contra canones eis existat. Tanta quippe talium multitudo est, ut dum rigorem Canonici vigoris super eos servare non possumus, necesse sit, ut dispensatorie ad pie condescensionis studium nostros animos ad præsens inclinemus. Ita tamen autoritate Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri & Pauli omnimodis interdiciamus, ne aliquando aliquis Successorum nostrorum, ex hac nostra permissione regulam sibi vel alicui assumat vel præfigat: quia hoc non autoritas antiquorum Patrum jubendo aut concedendo promulgavit, sed temporis nimia necessitas permittendum a nobis extorsit. De cætero autem*

a Cantons Chr
pars 5. Martinus
Polonus, Mari-
anus Scotus,
Platina, Stella,
Vicius, Balae-
us, Barnes, Cent.
Magd. 9. c. 10.
Mar in i Mino-
ritæ Chronicon.
Franciscus Pe-
trarcha Chron.
Bocacius de cla-
ris mulieribus,
c. 99. Antoni-
nus Arch. Tit.
16. c. 1. pars 7.
Otto Frisingen-
sis, l. 7. Volater-
ranus, l. 22. Sa-
bellicus Enead.
9. l. 1. p. 469.
Herman. Sched-
del, ætas 6. f.
192. Trithemius
in Chron.
Hirsaug. Sige-
bertus, Anno
854. Ranulphus
Cestrensis, Po-
lychron. l. 5. c.
32. Naucerus,
Albertus Crantz-
ius, Fasciculus
Temporum, Cælius
Rhodiginus Antiqu.
Lect. l. 4. Continuator.
Johan. Lucid. in Chroni-
con. Cyprian Valerian,
de Sacerdotum Barbis,
Baptista Mantuanus, lib. 3.
Laonicus Chalcocondilas,
Hist. Barlaam,
in Dialogo de Principatu
Papæ, Philip. Morney
Histor. Papatus, p. 164,
to 168. Alexander Cook
his Pope Jones,
a learned unanswerable
Piece. b Concil. Tom. 3, p.
600.

si quis hinc in posterum ab eo quem Simonaicum esse non dubitat, se consecrari permiserit, & consecrator, & consecratus non disparem damnationis sententiam subeat, sed uterq; depositus poenitentiam agat, & privatus a propria dignitate persistat. Nihilominus auctoritate Apostolica decernimus, quod in aliis Conventibus nostris decrevimus, ut si quis pecunia vel gratia humana, vel populari seu militari tumultu, sine concordia & canonica electione ac benedictione Cardinalium Episcoporum, ac deinde sequentium ordinum religiosorum Clericorum fuerit Apostolicæ sedi inthronizatus, non Papa vel Apostolicus, sed Apostaticus habeatur, liceatque Cardinalibus Episcopis cum religiosi, et Deum timentibus Clericis et Laicis, in valorem etiam cum anathemate, cum humano auxilio et studio a sede Apostolica repellere, et quem dignum judicaverint præponere. Quod si hoc intra urbem perficere nequiverint, nostra auctoritate Apostolica extra urbem congregati in loco qui eis placuerit, eligant, quem digniorem & utiliorem Apostolicæ sedi perspexerint, concessa ei auctoritate regendi & disponendi res & utilitatem Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, secundum quod ei melius videbitur juxta qualitatem temporis, quasi jam omnino inthronizatus sit: which justifies the Emperors future deposing of such Popes by force of armes.

This Pope, was the first I meet with, who by these Constitutions robbed the Emperor, inferior Clergy, Nobles and Citizens of Rome of their antient Rights and Jurisdictions in the elections of Popes, and vested it only in the Bishops Cardinals, against all former precedents. Our English Apostle *John Wickliff* asserted, that this election (a) **Electio Papæ a Cardinalibus, per Diabolum est introducta;** (b) **Quæ major infidelitas, quam approbare electiones Cardinalium qui ex nobis indubie sunt Diaboli incarnati?** quod si eligerent qualemcumq; personam in Papam, tunc ipse esset Pater beatissimus & immediatus Christi Vicarius. Hec autem hæresis loco sortis Apostolorum, quæ elegerunt Matthiam, per Diabolum introducta, ponit *Zizania* ad Catholicos in fide Catholica discordandum. Medicina ergo foret tales electiones, cum non sint Apostolicæ, refutare. Neither had the Council of *Constance* any colour at all to censure these Positions of *Wickliff*, if we seriously consider what kind of creatures these Cardinals have displayed themselves to be in most ages, places, since this grand trust reposed in them; whose lively character (c) *Nicholaus Clemangis*, Archdeacon of *Baion* hath long since given us. Cardinalium qui Papa assident Spiritus, verbatum est, gestus tam insolentes, ut si artifex quisque vellet superbia simulacrum effingere, nulla congruentius ratione id facere posset, quam Cardinalis effigiem oculis intuentium obijcendo: ex sortis tamen infima Clericali, in hanc elationem cum se iis Apostolicæ pompæ incremento, pervenerunt: quippe quibus id olim erat negotii, ut offerendis mortuis, sepultureque mandandis inservirent. Nunc vero Phylacteria sua in tantum dilataverunt, ut non modo Episcopos (quos Episcopellos solent passim vocare) seu Patriarchas, Primates, sed Archipræsules velut infra se positos despiciant, imo se jam ab illis supplicibus propemodum adorari sinant, quin etiam Reges ipsos æquiparare contendant: (After which he displays their other vices.) Their Flatterers give, and they arrogate to themselves the Titles of Principes, Reges, Senatores et Patricii magni, Patres conscripti in Diademate Principis, Majestas Reipublicæ Christianæ, Orbis Cardines, Ecclesiæ Columnæ, Capita, Lumina; Candelabra lucis, decoris, præstantiæ atque splendoris; stellæ fixæ in cælo, Reverendissimi, Splendidissimi, Super-illustris, Illustrissimi, Maximi, Potentissimi, Digni: Yea they assert, quod æquiparatur Regibus; & faciunt unum corpus cum Papa, (qui omnes Dignitates mundi præcedit, & est superior, & maior Imperatore) et judicant totum mundum. No wonder then if Popes elected by these new upstart, reprobate *Lucifers*, have advanced their thrones above the Stars, and all that is called God, or worshipped; and confederated with Popes to rob all Christian Emperors, Kings, Princes, Nobles, Laymen of their Elections, Patronages, Advowsons, Presentations, Investitures, (under the false Notion of *Symony*) to ingross them all into the Popes and their own disposals, by way of *Provisions*, that they alone might have the *Monopoly* of their sales to enhance the price.

tatis, pars 1. cap. 1, 4, 5, 8, 10, 11, & pars 2. cap. 3. with sundry other Authors there quoted by him.

Pope *Nicolaus* having made these Decrees by *Hildebrands* advice, was by divine retaliation Anno 1062.

a Wickliff Artic. 40. in Concil. Constanti. sess. 8.
b Wickliff in speculo militantis Ecclesiæ, c. 10. Ms. in Bibliotheca Regia Westmonaster. Otthuin. Grat. Fascic. rer. expetend. & fugiend. fol. 137.
c Nichol. Clemang. in lib. de corrupto statu Ecclesiæ, c. 10, 11, 12. vide ejusd. librum contra Annatas Otthuin. Gratii Fascicul. f. 192.

* Isidorus Mascon. de Majestate Militantis Ecclesiæ, l. 1. pars 1. c. 5. p. 113. Anastasius Germonius, de Sacrorum Immunitatibus, l. 8. c. 6. sect. 70. Bartholomæus Cassanæ Catalog. gloriæ mundi, pars 4. sect. 7, 8, 10, 11, 12. Mauricius de Alzedo, de Præcellencia Episcopalis Digni-

retaliation taken in this his own net, thus recorded by (d) *Benno Cardinalis*, and (e) *Balaus*, to posterity. Postquam sedit *Nicolaus*, *Hildebrandus*, quia Papatum adipisci non potuit, ad Archidiaconatum quoquo modo invadendum se convertit. Et *Mancium* tunc Archidiaconum *Romanae* Ecclesiae multis injuriis afflixit ac circumvenit. Qui victus contumeliis & dolis, atque ejus *Hildebrandi* pecunia deceptus, ad ultimum concessit, ut illius vice Archidiaconatu fungeretur. Hac concessione arrepta *Hildebrandus* Papam *Nicholaum* ex improvise aggressus, coegit inverecundis precibus & militum minis, quos pecunia collegerat, metum mortis etiam quibusdam terribilibus significationibus incutiendo, ut eum Archidiaconum ordinaret, atque constitueret. Et post paucos dies, Anno scilicet Domini 1061. ipse *Nicholaus* defunctus est, veneno (ut dicitur) a *Brazulo Hildebrandi* complice suffocatus; in pursuance of his own Decree. This Pope being thus sent packing by *Hildebrand*, to make way for himself to possess his See: Cardinales, *Hildebrandi* ambitionem non ignorantes, Imperatorem multis precibus coegerunt, ut eis in Electo suo *Parmensi Episcopo Cadolo* favorem et auxilium praestaret. Quod factum, cor *Hildebrandi* altius percussit, & manifeste factus est ex illo die Imperatoris inimicus: Omnia juratae fidelitatis vincula dirupit: & facta conspiratione cum inimicis Imperatoris, & cum *Normannis*, ut quem *Cadolo* a Cardinalibus Electo opponeret, *Anselmum Lucensem* Episcopum decepit, & eum in Papam eligi a quibusdam Romanis facit, Imperatore neque salutato, neque consulto, ipsumque mutato nomine, *Alexandrum* secundum vocavit, *Anselmum* igitur, quem sub dolo *Romani* elegerant, pariter, & *Parmensem* Episcopum *Cadolium*, quibus poterat artibus *Hildebrandus* vexavit: qui utrique succedere anhelabat. *Cadulus* being dispossessed by *Alexander*, thereupon the *Lombards* sided with *Cadulus* by the Emperors consent. Qui magno cum exercitu *Romam* obsedit: commissoque praelio, uno atque altero, cum suis est fugatus. *Henricus* vero Imperator, ut Schisma tolleretur, *Othonem Colonensem* Archiepiscopum cum sua auctoritate illuc misit. Qui *Romam* veniens, multis egit de Imperatoris jure in eligendo Pontifice, et in *Alexandrum*, qui sine consensu ejus electus esset, graviter inculcavit. Tunc *Hildebrandus* ad hominum perniciem natus, & propter victoriam nuperrime partam elatior factus, orationem Archiepiscopi interruptit, acriterque tuetur Pontificis partes, Electionem ejus asserens esse apud Clerum. *Otho* (plus fortassis, in ea re Pontifici quam Imperatori deferens) facile cedit: petiitque ut Synodus pro sedando Schismate *Mantuanæ* congregaretur. In qua constituit *Alexander*, non esse missam audiendam a Sacerdote Concubinario factam. Filiis tamen Sacerdotum sacris initiari licere permisit, interposita Pontificis auctoritate. Papam a solis Cardinalibus eligi decrevit: with other particulars which I pretermitt. Hereupon, (as * *Balaus* observes) His temporibus, (by *Hildebrandi* persuasions and instructions) Episcopi plusquam Principes, Regibus Imperare ac leges praescribere conantur, decimasque magna austeritate extorquent. Hac quoque fuit eorum Vicariorum Christi religio, ut quo ventri luxuriae suo satisfacerent, non sunt veriti totas Nationes bellis immiscere. Accedit nunc * *Benno* Cardinalis de *Alexandro* Papa testimonium: Ubi *Alexander*, tandem intellexit, se dolis & arte ab *Hildebrando* & inimicis Imperatoris Electum atque inthronizatum, quodam die cum intra Missarum solennia sermonem haberet ad populum, praedicavit, se nolle sedere in sede Apostolica, absque licentia Imperatoris: Et publice dixit, Se litteras hujus rei gratia missurum ipsi Imperatori. (Such was his conscientious Loyalty, notwithstanding his predecessor *Adrians* and the Council of *Romes* fresh Decrees to the contrary:) Quo audito, *Hildebrandus* multa murmurando, vix manus, donec missa compleretur, abstinuit. Missa vero expleta, ipsum *Alexandrum* cum militari manu, ab Altari duxit in Cameram, & nondum exutum Pontificalibus indumentis, pugnis dure colaphizavit, increpans, et inproperans, quod vellet inquirere gratiam Imperatoris. Et statuit *Hildebrandus*, ut ex eo die non darentur ei amplius quam quinque solidi *Lucensium* denariorum: Et extunc *Hildebrandus* omnes redditus *Romanae* Ecclesiae sibi retinuit (*Alexandro* in vincula conjecto) & immensam pecuniam congregavit. *Alexandro* igitur sub miserabili iugo *Hildebrandi* Anno Domini MLXXIV. quodam vespere (non sine toxico fortassis) defuncto, eadem hora *Hildebrandus* a suis Militibus, sine assensu Cleri et populi est inthronizatus, timens ne alius per mortem eligeretur

* In Gregor. 7.
* In Nichol. 2.
p. 208, 209.
Platina, Stella,
Fasciculus Tem-
porum, Herman-
nus Schedel,
Martinus Polo-
nus, Centur.
Magd. 11. c. 10.
Barnes, Balanus,
Sabellicus, Vo-
laterranus, in
Alexandro 2.
& Gregorio 7.
Jo. Aventinus
Annal. Boiorum
1. 5.

* De Romano-
rum Pontificum
Actis, l. 5. p.
211.

* In Gregorio
7.

Stella, in Alex-
andro 2.
Anno 1074.

geretur. Contrary to his immediate Predecessors, and his own Decrees. In cu-
jus electione, nullus Cardinalium subscripsit. Ad quam cum veniret Abbas *Cassi-*
nenfis, ait ipse *Hildebrandus*, Frater nimium tardasti. Respondit Abbas, Et tu
Hildebrande nimium festinasti, qui nondum sepulto Domino tuo, Pa-
pæ sedem Apostolicam contra Canones usurpassi. Hoc modo inthroni-
zatus *Hildebrandus* qualiter vixerit, qualiter a se Cardinales, qui testes vitæ & Do-
ctrinæ ejus esse debuerant, removerit; quam miserabiliter veraverit, quan-
tis hæresibus mundum corruperit, quanta perjuria, quam immensas
prohibitiones consecraverit, vix a multis describi potest. Clamat tamen altius san-
guis Christianorum eo autore et incentore miserabiliter effusus. Sex aut octo Pon-
tifices (as *Benno* Cardinalis, *Platina*, *Onuphrius*, *Balaus*, and others attest in his life)
Gerrardi Brauzii Judæi ministerio venenis enecavit, ut ita sterneret ei ad Papatum
via. Indeed (a) *Platina*, (b) *Surins*, and others out of him record, that this Pope
was unanimously elected, not only by the Cardinals, (as the forecited late Popes and
Councils Decrees prescribed) but likewise by all the several Orders of the Clergy,
and of the people of Rome; That, adeptus Pontificatum Gregorius, * Imperator in
gratiam cum Gregorio rediit, eundemque in Pontificatu confirma-
vit, ut tum Imperatorum mos erat. But *Benno* Cardinalis, *Balaus*, and
most others averr, that this Impostor, Incantator, ac prestigiator Diabolicus, inaudita ty-
rannide Papatum invasis, statim usurpans Pontificiam sedem in ipsius *Alexandri defuncti*,
& latenter per ipsum veneno occisi, obsequiis. This Firebrand having thus intruded him-
self into the Papal Chair, Primus, specie religionis, Antichristi Imperii fundamen-
ta jecit, as (c) *Eberhardus Salisburgensis* Episcopus averred about 180. years after his
death: And (d) *Johannes Aventinus* records, *Hildebrandus*, qui & *Gregorius septimus*,
fretus armis Normannorum, &c. Primus, contra morem majorum, con-
tempta Imperatoris auctoritate, Pontificatum maximum occupavit:
Miramque personam sibi impositam esse à Christo, se quodcumque ut liberet, ligare, solvere
posse, jussit, utramque personam agitare. Occidentem adserere omnem potestatem in
se transferre, neminem parem necdum superiorem ferre, justa aliorum diminueret, cæteris
jus atque honorem præripere, cuncta in se transferre. Cæsares, Reges, Augustos, ut
precario regnantes, floccifacere; Pontifices, Episcopos in ordinem redigere, devovere,
capite diminueret, lites, bella concitare, discordias serere, factiones confirmare, iurjurandum,
pacta, sacramenta solvere * capit: etiam si injuria vel ipsum Cæsarem affecerit, tamen se
metui oportere, in quadam gloriatur Epistola; utpote qui errare non possit, & a Christo
Domino servatore nostro Petroque acceperit potestatem, ut solvat, ligetque utcumque li-
beat. Tum mores ambitione avaritiæque corrupti paulatim invalueret, tempora pericu-
losa capere, qua nobis cavenda Christus Servator noster, Petrus ac Paulus longo ante
tempore probe cantarunt. Tum illa qua de *Sylvestro* & *Constantino* vulgo inculcan-
tur, & alia pleraque, que ob modestiam Christianam referre pudet, non minus imperi-
id, quam impudenter mendaciterque conficta sunt; simulata religio, species pietatis invasis.
Compilationes, nudina sacrorum irrepsere, & sacrosancta Philosophia humanis commen-
tis, fabulis anilibus a sychophantis callida interpretatione pollui, corrumpi, violari capit,
adeo, ut sine multorum pernicië religio sancta procurari, & ad pristinam maiestatem re-
stitui non possit, &c. After which he subjoynes, *Hildebrandus* primus Imperium
Pontificium condidit, quod Successores per 150. continenter annos
invito mundo, invitis Imperatoribus adeo durere, ut inferos supe-
ros in servitutem redegerint, atque sub jugum miserint, atque cun-
cta fulmine perterruerint,

Quo bruta tellus & vaga flumina,
Quo Styx, & invisi horrida Tanari
Sedes, Atlanteusque finis
Concinitur; mutant ima summis.

Utrumque libet de cælo ad inferos præcipitant, versus ex infero ad astra tollunt: Jam
Imperator Romanus nihil amplius; appellatio modo est sine co-
pore, sine specie. So *Aventinus* complains.

(e) *Onuphrius Panuinius* (quantumvis summus authoritatis Pontificie atq; *Hildebran-*
dinæ

a In *Gregor. 7.*
b *Surius* Con-
cil. Tom. 3. p.
602.
* Fuit is *Hen-*
ricus a.

c *Aventinus*
Annalium
Boiorum, l. 7.
d *Annalium*
Boiorum, l. 5.
p. 417, 452.

* capit.

e *Onuphrius* in
vita *Gregorii* 7.
col. 271, 272.
Jacobus *Usseri-*
us de *Christia-*
narum *Ecclesi-*
arum successio-
ne & statu, c. 7.
p. 122.

dinæ divinitatis fantor & amplificador) asserts, Hinc uni cum omnes Latine Ecclesiæ, tum præcipue Romana acceptum referre debet, quod libera sit, et ab Imperatorum manu eruta, quod tot divitiis, opibus et profana ditione locupletata; quod Regibus, Imperatoribus, et omnibus Christianis Principibus sit præfecta; atque postremo, ut omnia verbo uno complectar, maximus iste eximiusque status, in quo Ecclesia Romana est omnium Christianorum Domina; cum antea, tanquam vilis ancilla, non ab Imperatoribus modo, sed a quovis Principe Romani Imperatoris præsidio sulto premeretur; ab hoc maximæ illius et omni seculo tremendæ venerandæq; Romani Pontificis, et infinitæ pene potestatis jus manabit. Nam etsi ante Romani Pontifices, tanquam religionis Christianæ Capita, Christianique Vicarii, et Petri successores colerentur, non tamen eorum auctoritas ultra protendebatur, quam in fidei dogmatibus vel asserendis, vel tuendis. Cæterum, Imperatoribus suberant; ad eorum nutum omnia fiebant; ab eis creabantur: de eis judicare, vel quidquam decernere non audebat Papa Romanus. Primus omnium Romanorum Pontificum Gregorius vii. * armis Normannorum fretus, opibus Comitisse Mathildis mulieris per Italiam potentissima confusus, discordiaque Germanorum Principum Bello Civili laborantium inflammatus, præter majorem mozem contempta Imperatoris auctoritate et potestate, cum Summum Pontificatum obtinisset, Cæsarem ipsum, (a quo, si non Electus, saltem confirmatus fuerat) non dico excommunicare, sed etiam Regno imperioque privare, ausus est. Res ante ea secula inaudita: Nam fabulas quæ de Arcadio, Anastasio, & Leone Iconomacho circumferuntur, nihil moror. This Gregory the 7. to advance the Grandeur and Sovereign Authority of the Church and Pope of Rome, layd down these 27. Papal Dictates, as unquestionable foundations: of which (* Onuphrius confesseth) major pars antea parum in usu fuerat, et a nemine prædecessorum suorum unquam attentata.

* See Jo. Aventinus Annal. Boiorum l. 5. Centur. Magd. 11. cap. 8.

* Onuphrius in Gregorio 7. col. 248. Gregorius 7. in Registro l. 2. p. 5. Epist. 55. Binius Concil. Tom. 3. pars 2. p. 196. Jacobus Usserius De Christianarum Ecclesiarum Successione & statu, cap. 5. Morney Histor. Papatus, p. 241.

1. Quod Romana Ecclesia a solo Domino sit fundata.
2. Quod solus Romanus Pontifex jure vocatur Universalis.
3. Quod ille solus possit deponere Episcopos, vel reconciliare.
4. Quod Legatus ejus omnibus Episcopis præsit in Concilio, etiam inferioris gradus, & adversus eos sententias depositionis possit dare.
5. Quod absentes Papa possit deponere (whether Emperors, Kings, or Bishops.)
6. Quod cum Excommunicatis ab illo, inter cætera, nec in eadem Domo debemus manere.
7. Quod illi soli licet, pro temporis necessitate, novas leges condere, novas plebes congregare, de Canonica Abbatiam facere: & e contra, divitem Episcopatum dividere, & inopes unire.
8. Quod solus possit uti Imperialibus insigniis.
9. Quod solius Papæ pedes omnes Principes deosculentur.
10. Quod illius solius nomen in Ecclesiis recitetur.
11. Quod unicum est nomen in mundo.
12. Quod illi liceat Imperatores deponere.
13. Quod illi liceat de sede in sedem, necessitate cogente, Episcopos transmutare.
14. Quod de omni Ecclesia quemcunque voluerit Clericum valeat ordinare.
15. Quod ab illo ordinatus, alii Ecclesiæ præesse potest, sed non mutari: & quod accipere ab alio Episcopo non debet superiorem gradum.
16. Quod nulla Synodus generalis absque præcepto ejus debet vocari.
17. Quod nullum Capitulum, nullusque liber Canonicus habeatur absque illius auctoritate.
18. Quod sententia illius a nullo debeat retractari, & ipse omnium solus retractare possit.
19. Quod a nemine ipse judicari debeat.

20. Quod

20. Quod nullus audeat condemnare Apostolicam sedem appellan-tem.
21. Quod majores causæ cujusunque Ecclesiæ ad eam referri debeant.
22. Quod Romana Ecclesia nunquam erravit, nec in perpetuum (Scriptura testante) errabit.
23. Quod Romanus Pontifex, si Canonice fuerit ordinatus, meritis B. Petri indubitanter efficitur sanctus, testante Sancto *Ennodio Papiensi* Episcopo, ei multis sanctis Patribus faventibus, sicut in Decretis beati *Symmachi* Papæ continetur.
24. Quod illius præcepto & licentia subjectis liceat Reges accusare.
25. Quod absque Synodali conventu possit Episcopos deponere & reconciliare.
26. Quod Catholicus non habeatur, qui non concordat Romanæ Ecclesiæ.
27. **Quod a fidelitate in quorum Regum subiectos potest absolvere.**

Pope Gregory having laid these new Papal foundations, (a) *gradum sibi fecit & viam, ad ea omnia quæ animo conceperat, peragenda*: designing the enthral-ling of all Christian Emperors, Kings, Kingdoms, Patriarchs, Prelats to his usurped Antichristian Sovereignty. (b) *Atque cum omnium Principum, summus esset Imp.* Henricus, ab ipso faciendum esse exordium Simoniacæ tragediæ, arrogans *Nebulo* censuit: *Inito igitur Pontificatu, statim cepit urgere Canones antecessorum Pontificum, de Simonia & Celibatu, quos fecerant ejus usi astuto consilio: non ob id, (as Balzus observet) ut Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum impiam nundinationem tolleret, sed ut aliqua ratione honesti Principibus eriperet potestatem conferendi Ecclesiastica officia; et ut sic redigerentur sub servitutem Romanæ sedis omnes Episcopi, qui propter investitu- ræ jus Principibus erant magis obnoxii et fideles, quam Pontifici Romano.*

The Original ground of this Popes subsequent insolent summons, and proceedings against the Emperor under this grand pretext of *Simony*, is worthy special observation, thus related by (c) *Cardinal Benno* in his life. *Hildebrandus* instabat Imperatori (per literas Pontificalibus Crists superbas, as others relate) *ut ejiceret Episcopos Simoniacos*: quod ni faceret, non posse se partes officii sui exequi. Imperator credens, quasi ex zelo legis, quasi a throno Dei procederent hæc mandata, sine mora obediebat; sine mora, sine discussione, sine judiciario ordine Episcopos ejiciebat: dum per hanc obedientiam se Deo sacrificare existimabat, dum adhuc versutias *Hildebrandi* minus intelligebat. *Hildebrandus* vero expulsos a Rege Simoniacos relocabat, & quos Regi infestos reddiderat, eos sibi familiari amicitia reconciliabat, & multis & magnis juramentis sibi fideles & obnoxios efficiens præ aliis exaltabat. Et modico tempore iis artibus regia domo perturbata, & pene amicis destituta, sibi vero amicitia majorum principum comparata, ex improvise, sine legitima accusatione, sine canonica vocatione, sine judiciario ordine, obedientem sibi Imperatorem excommunicat, et regni Principes ab eo separavit. Et cum Apostolus præcipiat, *Ne quis circumveniat in negotio fratrem suum*; quantum in eo fuit, mortificavit potius quam castigavit. Sic autem Imperator multo modo circumventus, præter Canonum ordinem excommunicatus, et consensu *Hildebrandi* et consilio, magna ex parte Imperii honore expoliatus, et bellis, et cædibus immensis fidelium suorum prægruatus, frustra Canonicam audientiam implo- ravit. Among other Bishops advanced by this Emperor, most Saxon Prelates as well as Princes rebelling and taking up arms against him, Anno Dom. 1075. with some more German Bishops revolting from the Emperor, and joyning with these Rebels, against their allegiance, were thereupon deprived by the Emperor of their Bishopricks, who put others in their places. Having vanquished the Saxons in a set battel, he imprisoned divers of these Prelates and Princes; who escaping out of prison, to strengthen their rebellious parties and engage this Pope against their lawfull Sovereign, (to whom they knew him a professed implacable enemy, designing his utter ruine) (d) videntes Regem bellis tangi posse, non deieci, vexari, non superari, quippe cujus robur adhuc erat inexpugnabile; Thereupon, ut vires ejus extenuarent, confectis, conscriptisque super eo criminibus, (quæ pessima et immundissima potuit odium et libor excogitare, et quæ mihi scribenti & tibi legenti nauseam pararent, vera falsis miscentes) apud Romanum Pontificem *Gregorium septimum* eum deferebant; non de- cere tam flagitiosum, plus notum crimine quam nomine, regnare:

a Onuphrius in Gregorio 7. col. 250.

b Balzus de Roman. Pontif. actis, l. 7. p. 216. Placina Benno in Gregorio VII. Surtius Concil. Tom. 3. p. 607.

Anno 1075. c Historia de vita Hildebrandi Pontificis Romani, p. 45. Edit. Francofurti 1581. Centur. Magd. 11. c. 8. col. 420.

1 Theol. 4. 61

e Anonymus: Historia de vita Henrici 4. Caroli, Francofurti 1581. per Reinert Reinertium Steinhemium Edit. p. 12. & in Germanicorum Historicorum, Tom. unus, Francofurti 1585. p. 287.

maxime cum sibi regiam dignitatem Roma non contulerit; oportere Romæ suum jus in constituendis Regibus reddi: providerent Apostolicus et Roma ex consilio Principum, cujus vita et sapientia tanto congrueret honori. Qua surreptione delusus Apostolicus, simul et honore creandi Regis, quem sibi fallaciter obtulerant, impulsus, Regem banno innodavit, et Episcopis aliisque regni Principibus, ut a communione excommunicati Regis se retraherent, denunciavit. Se cito venturum in *Tentonicas* oras, ubi de negotiis Ecclesiasticis, & potissimum de regno tractaretur. Quin etiam & hoc addidit, absolvit omnes a juramento, qui fidem Regi juraverant, ut contra eum impelleret absolutio, quos fidei tenuit obligatio. Quod factum multis displicuit, (si cui displicere licet quod Apostolicus fecit) et asserabant, tam inefficaciter quam illicite factum quod factum est. Sed non ausim assertiones eorum ponere, ne videar cum eis Apostolici factum refellere. *Hor et Episcopi, tam illi quos amor, quam quos timor in partem Regis traxerat, metuentes ordini suo, ab ejus auxilio se plerique retrahabant;* quod & major pars Procerum (by the Bishops perfidious leading example) *factisabat.* As an Historian living under this Emperor relates in the History of his life, compiled immediately after his decease.

Nota.

a Chronicon. Sclavorum, Francofurti 1581. l. 1. c. 28. p. 24, 25
Ottonis Frisingensis Chron. l. 6. c. 34. Cent. Magd. 11. c. 8. col. 419, 420, 421.
b Annalium Boiorum, l. 5. p. 451.

The crimes these Rebellious *Saxon Princes and Prelates* forged, then complained of and objected against him, are thus related by a *Hermoldus Presbyter Buxoviensis*. Missa ergo relatione Saxonum Principes ad Apostolicam sedem conquesti sunt, reverendissimo Papæ *Gregorio* septimo, Qualiter Rex divinæ legis contemptor, *Ecclesiis Dei, in statuendis Episcopis, omnem Canonicæ electionis libertatem adimeret, ponens per violentiam Episcopos quos voluisset.* Insuper, quod more *Nicolaitarum* de uxore sua publicum fecisset prostibulum, subiciens eam per vim aliorum libidini; aliaque perplurima, quæ inconvenientia visa sunt, & auditu difficilia, Quamobrem Dominus Apostolicus, zelo justitiæ permotus, missis Legatis, *vocavit Regem ad Apostolicam audientiam.* (b) *Joannes Aventinus* more largely & particularly relates those malicious scandals presented by them against the Emperor to the Pope, and what advantage he made thereof. Famam Cæsaris, gravi & perenni opprobrio, & ad omnium convicia exposito, lædunt. Crimina, (quorum ne nomina quidem *Gallis, Germanisque* nota sunt, & quæ ab eo qui Imperatores *Suetonii* legerit, conficta esse necesse est) *Henrico* objectant. Legatos Romanos ad cives, Pontificem maximum mittunt, qui dicerent, avaræ, superbeque imperari, nullum pauperem, nullum inopem audiri, lasciviam, superbiam, avaritiam, pro æquitate, jure, & justitia invasisse; prætores, apparitores, scribas, tinea, muresque aulicos trahere, rapere; paucorum potentiam invaluisse, horum arbitrio cuncta agitari, pecuniam vi exigi, a fanis quoque tolli, penes eosdem opes, pecuniam, gloriam, magistratus esse, justitiam, sacerdotia, Pontificatus, provincias, cuncta, venalia esse. Illum qui notior sit flagitiis quam nomine, venari, lascivissimum, gaudiis corporis deditum esse, neglecta Republica, non modo inconcessis, permissisque voluptatibus temperantiam non servare, sed etiam ea scelera designare, quæ vix referri, audire nedum credi fas sit. Greges puellarum & adolescentulorum, sacratarum fæminarum, sacrificulorum choros prætorium frequentare: hosque ali publica annona, horum consilio Episcopos, Mytæ, Monachorum Præsules, ovibus Christi imponi; præterea illum non solum alienas constuprare uxores, sed etiam (honor sit auribus) sorores incestasse, uxorem suam vi, sed arte ad id facta prostituisse, Veneris sacrificia, ubi amator juxta amicam consideret, moxque extincto lumine iniret, perpetrare; ædes sacras profluvio genitali polluere, hisque Mysteriis etiam Pontifices declarari commemorant. Proponunt deinde, Imperium beneficium esse Urbis æternæ; proinde hortantur atque petunt, ut Caput Orbis terrarum, Pontifex populusque Romanus jure suo dent operam, atque una secum rem publicam administrarent, decernantque ex consilii decreto, et coetu Principum, qui regnet, atque tanto imperio, justitia atque sapientia inclutus dignus sit. Pleraque hujusmodi missa facio. Illud præterire non possum, statim cum hos versus divulgatos esse

Ab.

*Abbatissarum Reginarumque Subactor
Propter adulterium sumpsit Episcopium.
Mundi Roma caput, si non ulciscitur illud,
Qua caput Orbis erat, cauda sit & pereat.*

* Grata admodum Gregorio alioqui faciles aures vituperantibus atque criminantibus Cæsarem præbere solito, istæ fuere: tanto Cardine rerum nequaquam cessandum arbitrabatur: quippe sibi persuaserat, tempus oportunitate venisse, quando Romanos Flamines a servitute vindicaret, Imperatoris jugum, ejus opibus diminutis, excuteret, autoritatem antiquaret, omnem potestatem in se transferre liceret, itaque Principatum Pontificalem confirmaret. Nihil speciosius videbatur, quam sublato metu, neminem mortalium formidare. Et ut liberet Ecclesiastica libertate perfrui atque esse Imperatorem, cujus arma, vis, non metuerentur, ut qui arbitrio Romani Pontificis precario duntaxat regnaret. *Gregorius* ergo hæc mente observans, *Saxonum* animos verbis confirmat, sibi hanc rem curæ fore respondet, se propediem in *Germaniam* profecturum, Concilium totius Imperii in certum diem indicturum, ubi communi consensu de hujusmodi rebus agitur, pollicetur. In the mean time to cover over this design, * *Gregorius* statim *Henricum* Imperatorem admonet, Ne deinceps largitione corruptus, Episcopatus & Beneficia alicui per Simoniacam cupiditatem committat: **aliter se usurum in se, et delinquentes censuris Ecclesiasticis.** His admonitionibus non modo non obtemperabit *Henricus*, verum etiam *Agnetam* Imperatricem bene admonentem, quid fieri cum religione oporteret, omni administratione depulit, quæ *Romam* profecta non diu supervixit. Hereupon this Pope summoning a Council in his Palace of *Lateran*, Anno 1076. Legatos ad *Henricum* Cæsarem misit, denunciaturus ei, Ut secunda feria secundæ hebdomadæ Quadragesimæ ad Synodum *Romæ* occurreret, **de criminibus quæ obicerentur causam dicurus:** (to wit, of his pretended Simony in conferring Bishopricks and Benefices gratis to those he judged most deserving, against his Papal Decrees, which hereditary right he would by no means part with) alioquin sciret, se absque omni procrastinatione eodem die de corpore sanctæ Ecclesiæ, Apostolico Anathemate abscindendum esse. The first summons and affront of this kind ever offered by an Antichristian proud Pontiff, to any Christian Emperor. Hereupon the Emperor, then intangled by the *Saxon* Prelats and Princes in new wars, to prevent as much as in him lay the threatened storms, thunderbolts of this infernal Firebrand, (to whom he formerly sent Messengers to *Rome* to expostulate with him, for crying out, * *Jus Romanæ sedis nequaquam Cæsari Germano permittendum esse, et quod Imperatores inscio et inconsulto sedem Pontificalem invaderent:* who thereupon returned him this feigned answer, *Se non alia recepisse conditione hanc electionem, quam ut Imperator sua suffragia adiungeret.* Hac simulatione humilitatis motus Imperator vocationem quam *Romani fecerant ratam habet,*) dispatched new Messengers to *Hildebrand* to satisfy him, and excuse his non appearance there at the time prefixed, * Primum qua potest celeritate Nuncios *Romam* mittit, qui se excusent, & Pontificem, a tam horrendis conatibus abducerent: Verum *Hildebrandus* Pontificali fastu tumidus, Imperatoris Legatos contra Gentium jus in carcerem conjectos, fame, siti, frigore pene enecat, denique cum dedecore summo urbe ejicit. En tibi Successorem *Petri* germanum. Hac necessitate compulsus *Henricus* sibi non stertendum ratus, consilium inquit de Synodo convocanda *Wormaciæ*, atque ipsum Pontificem vicissim, ut ibi compareat, sua auctoritate citat. Existimabat enim, *Papam* Sententia Cæsaris et Synodi quasi exautoratum, non posse excommunicationis fulmen promulgare. To this end the Emperor, cunctos Regni sui Episcopos & Abbates *Wormaciæ* in Dominica Septuagesimæ coire jubet: dispatching this elegant Epistle to *Anno* Archbishop of *Colen*, (if not the like to other Bishops) wherein he summoned him to this Council, and relates the causes which induced him to summon it.

* *Henricus Dei gratia Rex*, Annoni Colonienſi Archiepiſco, gratiam, salutem dilectionem; In maximis negotiis, maximis maximorum opus est consiliis, qui & facultatem habeant exterius, & voluntate non careant interius; ut rei cui bene cupiunt, bene consulerent, & velint & possint. Quia in cujuslibet rei profectu, nec facultas sine voluntate,

* *Aventinus* lib. Centur. Magd. 11. c. 8. col. 419.

* *Platina*. *Omniphonius*, *Stella*, *Ralsus*, in *Gregorio* 7. *Surius* Concil. Tom. 3. p. 602, &c.

Anno 1076. * *Lamb.* *Scharnburgensis* Hist. Anno 1076 & others forecited.

* *Centur. Magd.* 11. c. 8. col. 419.

* *Aventinus* *Annal.* *Boionum*, l. 5. Cent. Magd. 11. c. 8. col. 419, 420.

* *Henrici* 4. *Imperatoris* vias, & ad diversos *Epistolæ*, l. an. c. 151. p. 29, 30. & in *German. Historiarum*, Tom. unus, *Francfurti* 1585. p. 323, 324. Centur. Magd. 11. c. 8. col. 421, 422.

nec voluntas sine facultate proderit : quod utrumque tu fidelissime (ut arbitramur) equaliter possides : vel ut verius dicamus, licet maximo tibi, maxima non desit facultas, major tamen adhuc maxima facultate (si te bene novimus, si fidem tuam diligenter notavimus) in nostram & regni utilitatem tibi exuberat voluntas ; de prateritis enim fideliter exhibitis, in futuris crescit spes fidelius exhibendis. Tua autem dilectioni committimus, ne spes nostra sit minor fide tua : quia de nullius regni Principum vel Episcoporum fidelitate, quam de tua, maiora speramus ; sicut hactenus non modo in prateritorum rerum exhibitione, verum etiam in sperandarum promissione tua gavisi sumus. Adhuc igitur hoc in tempore opportuno, tua cum facultate voluntas, quam non modo nostra, verum etiam omnium Episcoporum, fratrumque tuorum, imo totius oppressa Ecclesia exoptat necessitas. Non etiam hanc oppressionem ignoras ; tantum vide, ne oppressa te Ecclesia subtrahas, sed regno & sacerdotio condoleas ; quo utroque, sicut hucusque, Ecclesia est exaltata, ita nunc heu humiliatur viduata. Nam unus dum utrumque sibi vendicavit, utrumque dissipavit : nec in uno profuit, qui in neutro prodesse voluit, nec potuit. Et ne distius notati nomine te suscitamus, accipe quem dicimus, Hildebrandum scilicet, Monachum habitu, quidem dictum Apostolicum, non pastozis cura, sed inbasozis violentia Apostolica sedis praesidentem : & de sede pacis catholica pacis unita vincula dissipantem, ut tibi met in promptu est scire. Ut enim de pluribus pauca referamus, Regnum et Sacerdotium Deo nesciente tibi usurpavit ; in quo piam Dei ordinationem contempsit, quae non in uno, sed in duobus duo, id est, Regnum et Sacerdotium, principaliter consistere voluit : sicut & ipse Dominus Salvator noster in passione sua, de duorum gladiatorum sufficientia typica, intelligi innuit ; cui cum diceretur, * Ecce Domine duo gladii hic, respondit, satis est ; significans, hac sufficienti dualitate, spirituales & carnalem gladium in Ecclesia esse gerendum, quibus omne nocivum fore tam putandum : videlicet, Sacerdotali, ad obedientiam Regis pro Deo : regali vero gladio ad eripendendos Christi inimicos exterius, et ad obedientiam Sacerdotii, interius, omnem hominem docens fore constringendum : & ita de alia in aliam Charitatem tenderetur, dum nec regnum Sacerdotii, nec Sacerdotium regni honore privaretur. Hanc Dei ordinationem qualiter Hildebrandica insania confuderit, tu ipse nosti, si scire voluisti, nam nullum ejus judicio licet esse Sacerdotem, nisi qui hoc a fastu suo emendicaverit. Me quoque, quem Deus in regnum, non autem illum vocavit in Sacerdotium, quia me de Deo, et non de illo regnare velle vidit, quia ipse me Regem non constituit, regno privare studuit, minitans, regnum animamque mihi se tollere, quorum neutrum concessit. Hac & his similia cum saepius in nostram (ut ipse nosti) comminationem struxeris, non tamen adhuc sufficere credit, qui de die in diem, nova & exquisita confusionis genera nobis ingerit, ut in nostris nunciis noviter argumentum dedit. Nam Charta exponere non sufficit, qualiter eosdem Nuncios nostros tractaverit, quam indignis modis affecerit, quam crudeliter eos incarcerationi, & carceratos nuditate, frigore, fame, siti, ac plagis contriverit, sicque demum in exemplum per medium Civitatis circumductos, omnibus spectaculum praebe jussit, ita ut eundem cum Decio Tyranno insanire, & Sanctos assare credas, & dicas. Unde ne pigeat charissime, communi nostrum, scilicet & mea & coepiscoporum tuorum petitioni satisfacere, ut in Pentecostem Wormaciam venias, & ibi plura, quorum pauca docet Chartula, cum ceteris audias Principibus, & quid agendum sit doceas, rogatus per dilectionem Coepiscoporum, monitus per Ecclesiae utilitatem, obligatus per vitæ nostrae, & regni totius honorem.

Nota.

b Jo. Aventinus
Annal. Boio-
rum, l. 5. p.
452, 453. Cent.
Magd. 11. c. 8.
col. 422, 423,
424, 488, 489.
Barney, Balais,
Benno Cardin-
nalis, Abbas
Uspersensis,
Platina, Siella,
Onuphrius,
Favenculus Tem-
porum, Her-
mannus Sche-
del, Sabellius,
Volare rinas,
Oronius, Eufia-
gastus, Chron.
l. 6. c. 34, 35,
34. Marimum
Chron. Belg. p.
112.

[b] The Emperor, Bishops and Abbots being assembled in this Synod at Worms, statim de Hildebrando deponendo consilia tractare ceperunt: His itaque confedentibus, Hugo Blancus Cardinalis Romanus supervenit, cum literis eorum quos in Urbe Roma Pontifex habebat adversarios. Illæ in frequenti Senatu lectæ sunt, in quibus, Hildebrandum perjurii, et ambitus accusant ; eundem plerique avare, superbe facere conqueruntur, hocque rejecto alium Pastorem postulant. Fit Patrum consultum hujusmodi, Hildebrandum, qui se Gregorium nuncupat, prius sine consensu nostro, adversus Imperatoris Romani, rerum Domini a Deo constituti, voluntatem, contra morem majorum, contra leges, contra auctoritatem, Pontificatum maxinum, quem pridem ambivit, et judicio convictus perpetuo abjuravit, inbasit, &c. (Huic Hildebrando, qui semper in Ecclesiastico rigore constantissimus fuit, ista causa (Clementis 2.) in qua sententia Principis

Principis & Episcoporum prævaluit, semper displicuit. Exhinc Romanæ Ecclesiæ in electione Canonica Pontificum in tantum infirmata invenitur, quod iste, quatuorque sequentes, ab Imperatore ibi positi, in Catalogo (Pontificum) indeniuntur. Quilibet autem indultus & opera præfati Hilaebandi sub Leone juniore Libertatem ex parte, sub Alexandro vero plene rehabuerit, sicut proborum virorum relatione cognovimus infra dicemus. Exhinc schisma gravissimum, eo quod Hildebrandus absque consensu Regis per electionem constitutus fuerat; writes Otto Frisingensis.) The Letters from Rome adde, Monachus desertor est, novis dogmatibus sacrosanctam Philosophiam adulterat, divinas literas falso interpretando suæ causæ servire cogit, concordiam Collegii scindit, sacra, prophana, divina, humana commiscet: utrumque juxta polluit, Diabolis, hoc est acerbissimorum hostium spurcissimis criminationibus, iniquorum maledictis aurem commodat & credit, Testis, Judex, Accusator, Inimicus idem est. Marites ab uxoribus separat: scorta pudicis conjugibus, stupra incestus, adulteria casto præfert connubio; populares adversus sacerdotes, vulgum adversus Episcopos concitat. Neminem initiatum rite esse docet, nisi qui ab eo sacerdotium emendicavit, atque ab ejus auribus mercatus fuerit: vili plebecula gratificari studet, vulgi imperiti auram captat, simulata religione, decipit, defraudat, circumvenit: in senatulo muliercularum de Sacratissimis religionis mysteriis pertractat; supremi numinis legem, qua se idem quoque ligavit, solvit; utrumque, & Imperium et Pontificatum, sicut Decii, et falsoz Deozum cultores facitque consueverunt, usurpat. Hæc ob causas, sanctissimus Imperator, Pontifices, Senatus, populusque Christianus, illum Hildebrandum abdicandum, sibi eundem non placere, neque oves supposito committendas, censent. Damnationi Pontificis, haud gravatam omnes qui tunc aderant Episcopi, subscripserunt, præter Aelberonem Herbipolensem & Hermannum Medimanicum Episcopos; minus id convenire, & Canones violari asserentes, quibus Episcopus quis sine Generali Concilio, sine Legatis & probatis accusationibus & testibus, necdum probatis quæ objicerentur criminibus condemnari, prohiberetur: multo magis Romanus Pontifex, adversus quem nec Episcopi nec Archiepiscopi quicquam haberet ponderis accusatio. Verum Trajectensis Præsul Willielmus monendo eos, ut vel damnationi Pontificis subscriberent, vel Fides Regis, quam Sancta attestazione promississent, renunciant, utrosque tandem in reliquorum pertraxit sententiam. Omnium itaque nomine Literæ ad Hildebrandum adornantur, quibus commemoratis prius ejus criminibus, Pontificatu quam contra leges hætenus usurpasset, se abdicare jubetur. Verum ipsas subjecimus literas. Cum primum Ecclesiæ gubernaculum invasisset, etsi bene nobis cognitum esset quam illicitam & nefariam rem contra jus & fas familiari tibi arrogantia præsumpsisset: dissimulanda tamen dispensatoria quadam taciturnitate, tam vitiosa introitus tui exordia putavimus: sperantes videlicet, tam criminosa principia consequentis regiminis tui probitate & indultia emendata, & aliquatenus oblitterata. Verum nunc, ut lamentabilis universalis Ecclesiæ status clamat, & deplorat, malis initiis tuis peiores actionum decretorumque tuorum progressus, infelici respondens tenore & pertinacia. Cum enim Dominus & Redemptor noster, pacis & charitatis bonum, quasi singularem fidelibus suis characterem impresserit (cujus rei testimonia plura existant quam ut Epistolari brevitate comprehendi valeant) Tu e contrario, dum prophanis fides novitatibus, dum magis amplo, quam bono nomine delectaris; dum inaudita elatione, distenderis, veluti quidam signifer Schismatis omnia membra Ecclesiæ, quæ secundum Apostolum, quietam & tranquillam vitam ante hæc tua tempora agebant, Superba crudelitate, crudelique Superbia lacerasti: flammæque discordiæ, quas in Romana Ecclesia diris factionibus excitasti, per omnes Ecclesias Italia, Germania, Gallia, Hispania furiali dementia sparsisti. Sublata enim quantum fuit, omni potestate ab Episcopis, quæ eis divinitus per gratiam Sancti Spiritus, qui maxime in ordinationibus operatur, collata esse dinoscitur, omni- que rerum Ecclesiasticarum administratione plebeio furori per te attributa, dum nemo jam alicubi Episcopus aut Presbyter est, nisi qui hac indignissima assentatione a fastu tuo emendicabit, omnem Apostolicæ institutiones vigorem, illamque pulcherrimam membrorum Christi distributionem, quam Doctor gentium toties commendat & inculcat, miserabili confusione miscuit: sicque per hæc tua gloriosa decreta (quod sine lachrymis d. ci non potest) Christi fere no-
men

men perit Quis autem illud pro indignitate rei stupeat, quod novam quandam indebitamque potentiam tibi usurpando arrogas, ut debita universæ fraternitati jura destruas? Asseris enim, cujuscunque nostrum Parochiani aliquid delictum ad te vel sola fama perveniat, ultra jam non habere quemquam nostrum aliquam potestatem vel ligandi vel solvendi, extra & præter te solum, aut eum quem tu * spiritualiter ad hoc delegeris. Quæ sententia quod omnem infamiam excedat, quis in sacris literis eruditus non videat? Quia ergo per hos, aliosque præsumptionum tuarum Spiritus, Ecclesiam Dei tam graviter periclitantem, immo fere pessumdatum diutius tolerare omni malo deterius judicavimus: placuit, ut communi omnium nostrum consilio, tibi quod hactenus tacuimus, innotescat: **quamobrem nec modo possis, nec unquam potueris Apostolicæ sedis præesse.** Tu ipse bonæ memoriæ N. Imperatori teipsum corporali Sacramento obstrinxisti, quod nunquam ipso vivente Imperatore, aut Filio ejus Domino nostro Glorioso Rege, qui modo summæ rerum præest, Papatum aut ipse susciperes, aut alium (quantum in te est) suscipere patereris, absque assensu vel laudamento patris, dum viveret. Ad hoc Sacramentum sunt hodie testes plerique Episcopi, qui hoc tunc & oculis suis videre, & auribus audire. Illud etiam recordare, quomodo ipse in aliquos ex Cardinalibus, cum ambitio Papatus nullaret, ad tollendam æmulationem, hac occasione et conditione ut ipsi hoc idcirco facerent, sacramento te obligasti, quod nunquam Papatum habiturus esses. Utraque hæc Sacramentorum quam sancte, quam caute observaveris, tu videris. Præterea, cum tempore *Nicholai* Papæ Synodus celebraretur in qua Centum viginti Episcopi confederant, sub anathemate hoc statutum et decretum est, ut nullus Papa fieret, nisi per electionem Cardinalium, et approbationem populi, et per consensum et auctoritatem Regis: atque hujus Concilii seu Decreti tu ipse auctor, persuasor, subscriptorque fuisti; atque hoc quali factore quodam gravissimi scandali, totam Ecclesiam repleti, de convictu & cohabitatione * alienæ mulieris familiariori, quam necesse sit. In qua re verecundia nostra magis quam causa laborat, quamvis hæc generalis querela ubique personuerit, omnia Judicia, omnia decreta per scæminas in sede Apostolica actitati, denique per eas totius Orbis & Ecclesiæ jura administrari. Nam de injuriis & contumeliis Episcoporum, quos filios meretricum, & id generis indignissime appellas, nulla querimonia sufficit. * Quia ergo & introitus tuus tantis perjuriis initatus est, et Ecclesia Dei tam graviter tempestate per abusionem nobilitatum tuarum periclitatur, et vitam et conversationem tuam tam multiplici infamia dehonestasti, obedientiam quam tibi nullam promissimus, nec de cætero nullam servaturos esse renunciamus: et quia nemo nostrum, ut publice declamas, tibi hactenus fuit Episcopus, ita nulli nostrum amodo eris Apostolicus.

* specialiter.

Nota.

Nota.

* See Jac. Uffertus de Christianarum Ecclesiarum successione & Acta, c. 5. p. 135, 136, 137.

* Abbas Uffertus de Christianarum Ecclesiarum successione & Acta, c. 5. p. 136.

* Encad. 9. l. 3. p. 504, 505.

* Naumburgensis.

* Henrici Imperatoris 4. Cæsaris Vita & Epistolæ, Francofurti 1581. p. 31, 32. German. Hist. Tom. unus, p. 301. Cantabrigiæ, 11. c. 3. fol. 424, 425.

Hæc subscripserunt Ecclesiarum Episcopi plurimi: *Sigfridus Moguntinus*, (qui juxta * *Sabellicum* Concilii Præses exiit) *Udo Treverensis*, *Wilhelmus Trajectensis*, *Hermannus Alenimaticum*, *Henricus Lucensis*, *Richardus Viridunensis*, *Babo Tullensis*, *Hermannus Spirensis*, *Burchardus Halberstadiensis*, *Wernerus Argentinenfis*, *Burchardus Basiliensis*, *Otho Constantiensis*, *Adelbertus Herbipolis*, *Rupertus Bambergæ*, *Otho Ratisbonensis*, *Elingardus Fruxini*, *Ulricus Eichstadii*, *Fridericus Monasteriensis*, *Hezelo Hildesianus*, *Hildebertus Mindensis*, *Benno Osnaburgensis*, *Eppo * Numburgensis*, *Immanus Padelbornensis*, *Thicco Brandenburgenfis*, *Burchardus Losanus*, *Bruno Viennensis ad Rhodanum*.

Ex eadem synodo, & ipse Imperator ad Pontificem satis duras scribit Literas, & alias ad Clerum, universumque populum Romanum; quibus Pontificem sua Sede ex-cuti Sede mandat. His Epistole *Hildebrand* runs in this title.

* HENRICUS, non usurpative, sed pia ordinatione Dei, Rex, Hildebrando jam non Apostolico, sed falso Monacho. Hanc talem pro confusione tua salutationem promeruisti, qui nullum in Ecclesia ordinem prætermisisti, quem confusione, non honoris, maledictionis, non benedictionis, participem non feceris. Ut enim de multis, pauca & egregia loquamur, Rectores Sanctæ Ecclesiæ, videlicet Archiepiscopos, Episcopos vel Presbyteros, non modo non tangere, sicut Christos Domini non timui-

timuisti, quin sicut **Servos**, nescientes quid faciat Dominus eorum, sub pedibus tuis calcasti, in quorum conculcatione tibi favorem ab ore Vulgi comparasti, quos omnes nihil scire, te autem solum omnia nosse iudicasti: qua utiq; scientia non ad ædificationem, sed ad destructionem uti studuisti, ut jure hoc beatum *Gregorium*, cujus nomen tibi vendicasti, de te credamus prophetasse, dicentem sic, *Ex affluentia subjectorum plerumque animus Prælati extollitur, existimat se plus omnibus nosse, cum se videat plus omnibus posse.* Et quidem nos omnia hæc sustinimus, dum Apostolicæ sedis honorem conservare studuimus: sed tu humilitatem nostram timori fore intellexisti: ideoque et ipsam regiam potestatem nobis a Deo concessam, exurgere non timuisti, quam a nobis auferre ausus es minari, quasi a te nos regnum acceperimus: quasi in tua, et non in manu Dei sit Regnum vel Imperium, quia Dominus noster **Iesus Christus** Nos ad regnum, te autem non vocavit ad Sacerdotium. Tu enim his gradibus ascendisti, scilicet altitia, (quod Monachica professio abominatur) pecuniam, pecunia favorem, favore ferrum, ferro sedem pacis adisti: et de sede pacis, pacem turbasti: dum subditos in Prælatos armasti; dum Episcopos nostros, a Deo vocatos, tu non vocatus spernendos docuisti: dum Laicis Ministerium eorum super Sacerdotes usurpasti, ut ipsi deponant vel condemnent, aut ipsos de manu domini per impositionem manuum Episcoporum docendos acceperant. Ne quoque (licet indignus inter Christianos sum ad regnum vocatus) te teste, quem Sanctorum Patrum traditio soli Deo judicandum docuit, pro aliquo crimine nisi a fide (quod absit) exorbitaverim, deponendum asseruit; Cum etiam Julianum Apostatam prudentia sanctorum Episcoporum, non tibi, sed soli Deo deponendum commiserit. Ipse vero quid verus Papa beatus *Petrus*, clamat? *Deum time, Regem honorifica.* Tu autem quia Deum non times, me constitutum ejus inhonoras. Unde Beatus *Paulus*, ubi Angelo de Cælo, alia si prædicaverit, non pepercit, te quoque in terris alia docentem non excepit: ait enim, ** Si quis vel Ego, vel Angelus de Cælo, præter id quod evangelizavimus, vobis evangelizaverit, anathema sit.* Tu igitur hoc Anathemate, et omnium Episcoporum nostrorum judicio damnatus, Descende; vendicatam tibi sedem Apostolicam relinque; alius in solium beati Petri ascendat, qui nulla violentia religionem palliet, sed beati Petri sanam doctrinam doceat. Ego **Henricus** Dei gratia, cum omnibus nostris Episcopis tibi dicimus, Descende, Descende.

[a] Huic Decreto, non solum *Germania, Gallieque*, sed *Italia* quoque Episcopi Conventu *Ticini* acto (or, *Papæ* Imperatoris jussu habito, as *Onuphrius* and others relate) subscribere, positisque sanctis Evangeliiis, juraverunt, & juramento firmaverunt, nullo modo se deinceps (or nunquam) *Gregorium* pro Papa habituros, recepturos; vel obedientiam exhibituros.

Clerum similiter universumque populum tali compellat Epistolio Imperator (printed with his other Epistles in the forecited Authors.)

Henricus Dei gratia Rex, *Universa Sancta Romana Ecclesia Clero & populo, gratiam, salutem, & omne bonum*: Hæc fides & firma, & inconcussa creditur quæ semper & eadem & præsentis, & absentis servatur, nec diuturna ejus cui debetur absentia, nec longi temporis tædio immutatur. Et de alia Epistola: **Erurgite in eum fidelissimi**; et primus in fide, sit primus in ejus damnatione; non autem ut ejus sanguinem effundatis dicimus: quippe cum major sit sibi post damnationem pena, vita, quam mors. Sed ut eum, si nolit descendere; cogatis, et alium communi omnium Episcoporum vestrorum consilio a Nobis electum, in Apostolicam sedem recipiatis, qui quod iste in Ecclesia vuleravit, curare velit, et possit.

Marianus Scotus writes thus of this Councils proceedings. In Concilio 24. Episcoporum, Abbatum, multorumque Clericorum Wormatiæ mense Martio facto, presente Henrico Rege, decretum est, ut bannum **Hildebrandi** Papæ nullus curaret, nec Papa esset. [b] *Martinus Polonus* thus; Imperator vero tunc Wormatiæ 24. Episcoporum & multorum Nobilium congregato; iubet omnia Decreta **Gregorii** Papæ

* 1 Pet. 2. 17.

* Gal. 1. 8.

a Aventinus Annal. Boiorum, l. 5. p. 452, 453. Onuphrius in Gregorio 7. Paulus Bernardus in Vita Gregorii 7. p. 82. Cent. Magd. 11. c. 8, 9. Jacobus Ullrichus de Christianarum Ecclesiarum successione & statu, c. 5. p. 125.

a Lib. 3. Aeras 6. Anno 1077. p. 426. b Supplicatio Henrico p. 124.

* cassari.
r Chronicon
absolutissimum
An. 1076. p.
221 Albert.
Scadius, Anno
1076.

d Ad Herman.
Appendix, An.
1176. p. 346.

Papa * cessati, [c] *Abbas Vspergensis* stories; *Habitus est Concilium apud Wormatiam, ubi presente Rege Henrico universi pene Teutonici Episcopi, præter Saxones* (then in rebellion and confederacy with this Pope) **Hildebrandum Papam** abdicaverunt, mittentes ei *Epistolam*; &c. concluding thus; *Tu quoque nulli nostrum amodo eris Apostolicus.* [d] *Bertoldus Constantiensis*, thus relates the proceedings; *Hæc temporibus Henricus Rex per Simoniacam hæresin Ecclesiam sadare non cessavit*, scilicet pro pretio Episcopatus, Abbatis, & alia hujusmodi investiendo, & inter alia crimina etiam excommunicatis communicando. Cum autem Rex jamdudum sepe a Papa præmonitus se corrigere nollit, & Papa in admonendo nihil proficeret; ad ultimum mandavit ei, quod in Romana Synodo proxima eum excommunicaturus esset nisi resipisceret. *Quæ Legatio in octava Nativitatis Domini ad Regem pervenit. Unde Rex in Septuagesima apud Wormatiam colloquio facto, & aliam in Lombardia apud Placentiam, omnesque quos potuit, obedientiam prædictæ Papæ exhibendam abiurare fecit; & missa Legatione ad Romanam Synodum, quæ in proxima Quadragesima celebrata est, ipsum Apostolicum ab Apostolica sede contumaciter iussit descendere. Sed missi ejus turpissime in Synodo tractati, vitæ a Romanis, adjuvante Papa, evaserunt. Ipsum autem Regem, Synodo judicante, fidelitate hominum, regno, et communione privavit, et omnes ei ad Regnum juratos, juramento absolvit. Omnes Episcopos qui Regi sponte contra Papam fuerunt, officio & communione privavit; reliquis autem, qui invitati eidem conspirationi intererant, usque ad festivitatem Sancti Petri indiciam dedit.* * *Matthew Paris* registers; *Imperator collecto Wormatiæ 24. Episcoporum & multarum Concilio Principum decerni jubet, omnia Decreta et facta Gregorii Papæ (qui prius Hildebrandus dicebatur) debere irritari: ibique omne Concilium, præter paucos, Hildebrandum abiuravit, &c.*

* Hist. Angl:
Anno 1077. p.
10, & Schaff-
naberg. Anno
1076.

b. Aventinus
Annal. Boiorum
l. 5. p. 453.
Cent. Magd. II.
c. 8. col. 424,
425.

* See here p.
178, 180.

* See Paulus Bernreidensis, vita Gregorii 7. p. 83.

Nota

The Pope in the mean time to engage the Romans to side with him against the Emperor, [b] *Roma concionem in Templum vocat, cum Sacerdotibus, equitatu, piebe, Senatu agit; Caput mundi (inquit) Romani rerum Domini, victor gentium populus, et Imperium et Pontificatum, in quos libuerit, transferre potest*: (where then is the Popes Supremacy, and Cardinals right of electing Popes without the Romans precedent consent or privy?) Sicut ante ducentos & septuaginta quinque annos, a *Caicis in Germanos transfuit*: (therefore not Pope *Leo* the 3d. * as Pontificians falsely boast.) Quemadmodum militem ignavum Imperator exauthorare potest, ita militi ducem injultum deferere licet. Vestrum munus est Quirites, vestrum est beneficium, vestro sanguine atque sudore tantum partum Imperium, quod bonum, faustum faelxque sit. Mecum, filii charissimi decernetis, quoniam *Roma* posthac regnabit, *nec me superstitie Rex libero populo, quem non creabit, imponetur*. Post hac *Gregorius milia talentum, quindicies virum distribuit. Ea a Normannis & Machtylda contributa fuere. Opes quoque Ecclesiasticas, quibus haftenus pauperes alebantur, militibus & rei bellicae peritis largitus est. Quod & Hildebrandini, Gerhochus & Paulus non inficias eunt, & hic tanquam beneficium excusat, & id licere defendit. Romanus ergo hoc donativo oppugneratos, stecio nomine libertatis insecutos, Gregorius facile ad se desicere persuasit. Dum autem talia sunt, Rulandus Sacerdos Parmensis, Literas Imperatoris, Conciliiq, (Wormatiae) Decretum deferens: eadem sacram ingreditur, ad Gregorium in Romana Synodo confedentem pertulit, & absque omni salutationis honore, * Tibi (ad Hildebrandum inquit) Caesar noster Christianissimus, Sanctissimi Italiae, Germaniae, Galliae Episcopi, sacer orbis Christianus praecipunt, ut te munere, quod actu, pecunia, gratia occupasti, confestim abdicces. Nec enim fas est invitis illis, te adversus auctoritatem Imperatoris, contra Christianae Ecclesiae Decretum, obli Dei ultra incubare. Deinde ad ceteros versus; Pientissimi (inquit) fratres, Pastorum jure vestro deligite: deinde sacratissimus Consul, Tribunus & Princeps vester, mox majorum auctor fiet: Iste enim Hildebrandus, neque Pastor, neque Pater, neque Pontifex; Fur est, Lupus, latro atque Tyrannus.*

Tyrannus. Vix hac fatus erat, Joannes Portuensis profilit, facto impetu surgens, & immensa voce clamavit, **capiatur, capiatur** ingeminat. Fit tumultus: Urbis praefectus & ceteri Parmensem gladiis strictis circumstunt, in Temploque confodere parant. Ille vix ope Gregorii (ut Paulus refert) evasit. Post hac Pontifex multis verbis, amarissime in Caesarem perorat; flagitia, quibus a Saxonibus iniustus erat, aperte dicit, crimina memoriter recitat: Tum ab omnibus (uti mos gentis est) acclamatum, **Immanis Tyrannus a fastigio rerum deturbetur: truculentissimus rei publicae et Ecclesiae hostis, sacro ense cum sociis et consultoribus feriat, atrocissimum facinus ferro recidatur.** Alius qui Romano Imperio dignus sit, substituatur. Gallina tum Romae ovum serpente quasi arte celatum, peperit. Gregorius posteaquam huiusmodi dicta sunt, ovum Imperium, serpente Regem, qui Romae domicilio Imperii conterendus sit, interpretatur. Multa dein de innocentia & potestate sua praefatur. Deinde **Hildebrandus**, velut alter **Machabeus** (ut, inquit **Gerhobus Reicherfgerensis**) gladium arripens; B. Petri Apostolorum Principis nomine invocato, Caesarem Anathemate, **his conceptis verbis percellit.** Henrico Regi, filio Henrici Imperatoris, qui contra tuam Ecclesiam inaudita superbia insurrexit, totius regni **Tentonicorum & Italiae Subernacula contradico, et omnes Christianos a vinculo Iuramenti quod sibi fecere vel facient, absolvo; et ut nullus ei sicut Regi serbiat interdicto.** Atque ita absolvit omnes a iuramento qui fidem Regi juraverant, ut contra eum impelleret abiolutio quos fidei tenuit obligatio.

[c] *Johannes Aventinus* in his Annals, presents us with this larger, and more particular relation of *Hildebrand's* invectives and proceeding against the Emperor, after his sentence denounced against him in this Synod, what sad effects they produced, and what opinion most sober disingaged men had thereof. Postremo ubi huiusmodi multa *Gregorius* dixit, concionem ut bono animo sit, & se Christo propitio, fortiter ad resistendum sacrilego, lascivo, temerario, injusto, imperito, superbo, avaro, crudeli, impuro inveni parer, cohortatur. *Nordmannos, Machtyldam, Saxones* armis invictos, divi *Petri* rebus studere, alios haud dubie fulmine sacro attonitos causam iustiore secuturos; beatos denique esse proponit, qui persecutionem patiantur. Post hac Concilio dimisso, sexcenta fulmina, totidem tonitrua, diram grandinem bullas appellant, in *Galliam, Germaniam, Italiam* mittit. Docet, a se Regem qui Christianam Philosophiam contemnat, Templum subvertat, **Haereticorum auctor sit et consecratus, execratus, regnoque abdicatum.** Omnes qui in ejus verba Religione adacti jurarint, et Sacramento solutos esse, commemorat. Exinde se Majorum vestigia, Patrum scita, placita Magistrorum Ecclesiae, legem divinam, summum coelestis Thesauri, se insequi. Christum Dominum Deum nostrum D. *Petro*, ejusque successoribus Romanis Episcopis censuram totius orbis humani detulisse, eosdemque exlitis constitutos Censores esse, qui judicarent de moribus, de Curia Coelesti, atque Spiritibus aeternis, nedum mortalibus. In arcanis sacrae Historiae contineri, divina oracula esse, *Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam, & porta inferi non prevalebunt adversus eam; & Tibi dabo Claves Regni caelorum, Quodcumque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum & in caelis.* Nemo omnium (inquit *Septimus*) ne Reges quidem atque Imperatores hic excipiuntur. Recitat inde veterum gesta, ubi legamus *Hylericum* a Romano Pontifice non ob flagitia, sed quod inutilis foret, regno amotum; *Francosque* jurejurando, quo illi attricti erant, a Primario Urbis Sacerdote absolutos; ab eodem *Pipinum* Regem substitutum esse. Imperatoribus *Theodosio, Arcadio, Philippo, Anastasio, Ambrosio, Innocentio, Constantino, Anastasio* Episcopos sacris interdixisse. Addit, in gestis divi *Petri* contineri, ejus cui Pontifex maximus infensus sit, sermonem, conspectum, tanquam dirae contagionis pestem, vitandum esse. Proinde concludit, qui quidem animam suam salvam esse velit, **Regi devoto per sacrosanctam Religionem audiens dicto non sit, imo Univerfi Imperata mandataque, detrectent rebellionemque, faciant.** Saxones quoque, veteres amicos *Gregorius* muneribus explet. Neminem spernendum, neminem contemnendum esse decernit, quacunque potest largiendo, pollicendo parare, nequaquam cunctatur. Scinditur in contraria populus *Germanus* studia. Principes apud *Oppenheim*, oppidum superioris *Germaniae, Rhenum* continuum coeunt; pars, sicut *Hugo Alsatus*, ob egestatem

c Annal. Boiorum, l. 5. p. 453, 454.

Matth. 18. 17.

atque inimicitiam (nemo enim est qui omnibus placeat, aut denique hoste careat) omnia misceri bello, ubi ditarentur, ac vindictam fumerent, omnia Marte, cui cuncta licent, ardere auebant. *Rudolphus Burgundionum*, ac *Suevorum* regulus, senectute venerabilis domi forisque præclarus, cæteris Principibus bonis artibus præstans, Cui Soror Caesaris nuptum collocata erat, cum *Berchtoldo* a *Zaringen* genero suo, cum hostibus, quos tamen maxima clade pro Cesare fratre Uxoris suæ pugnans affecerat, spe Regni inescatus, sentire capit. *Welfo* quoque Dux *Boiorum* nova molitur. *Sigefridus Mogoninus* Archimystes, *Hermannus Mediomatricum*, *Albertus Vangionum* Episcopus, *Willelmus Hersaentium* Monachorum antistes in *Boiaria*, *Altmannus* genere Saxo *Bathavenfis* Pontifex, cum *Gebhardo Suevo* Juvavensium Pastore, *Adalberone Boio*, clarissimis Natalibus orto *Wurtzeburgensium* primario Sacerdote, condiscipulis suis (quippe eodem tempore *Lutetia Parisiorum* literis operam dederant) sub toga & censura Sanctissimorum Patrum, melius quam sub armis & strepitu forenfi Caesarum, tranquillitati & Reipublicæ Christianæ consultum iri arbitrabantur. Atque hi omnes quos commemoravimus, ad *Saxonas* sine cunctatione, deserta Caesaris optimatumque causa, deficiunt, ad prætextum mutatae voluntatis religionem obtendunt. *Hainricum* communi consilio abjurant, se perpetuo ejus fore hostes, quoad vita suppetat, jurejurando sanciunt. Postea arma capeffunt, Caesari insidiantur, ejus rebus studentes oppugnant, omnia tumultu, cuncta terrore & luctu complentur. Cædes, incendia fiunt, insontes & qui neutri parti favebant, qui fidem Regi servabant, rebellare recusabant, pacem & otium bello præferrebant, armis se committere abnuebant, **Simoniaci Nicolaitæ Hæretici appellantur**, proferuntur, in sceleratorum numero habentur, aris sacris, convivio, colloquio, suppliciis, conspectu a conjuratis arcantur. Sacerdotes, Monachi, Episcopi, fratres Germani, amici, cognati, affines, liberi, parentes, miles, tribunus, herus, famulus, pueri, puellæ, conjuges, populus, Principes inter se discordant, dissentiunt publice, privatim altercantur, rixantur, pugnant, belligerantur, invicem mutuis vulneribus, cæde, parricidio, incendiis, rapina consistantur: agri vastantur, fana spoliuntur, ararium diripitur, fiscus exinanitur, villæ incenduntur, ades igne concremantur, urbes, castella vi expugnantur, leges silent, arma fervent, omne jus in viribus est. Quicquid victori colibuisse, victus patitur, virgines rapiuntur, liberi a complexu parentum avelluntur, matres familiæ vi constuprantur: terra, flumina, humano cruore rubescunt. Animæ cum corporibus intereunt, ad inferos raptantur, æternis suppliciis mactantur. *Wurtzeburgenses*, *Vangiones*, *Mediomatrici*, *Bathavi*, *Salesburgenses* Episcopos suos exigunt, quod *contra instituta Majorum Civibus suis suadebant, solenne fidei poluere*, cujus Germaniæ populos patientissimos esse inter illustres gravesque rerum auctores, licet hostes nostros convenit. Pastores igitur illi extorres, sine lare, sine ovibus errabundi, destituti ovili, ad *Saxoniam* se conferunt. **Plerique tum privatim, publice indignum facinus clamitant, pro concione Gregorio maledicunt, Hildebrando male precantur, Antichristum esse prædicant, pietatis sub specie (inquirebant) debacchatur, honestis nominibus bonum Publicum simulat, titulo Christi negotium Antichristi agit.** In *Babylonia*, in Templo Dei sedet, super omne id quod colitur, extollitur, quasi Deus sit, se errare non posse, gloriatur: In excolenda gloria sua pertinacis spei, atque concupiscentiæ Imperatoris suo arbitrio constituendi, se devovet, homines non peccatis, sed lege Christi atque Sacramentis solvit, pacem, atque pietatem religionis nostræ labefactat, bella, seditiones concitat, stupro, cædi, perjuriis, perfidiæ, rapinis, incendio ambitionem suam oculendam, fabulas comminiscitur, annales corrumpit, res gestas invertit, sed etiam cœlestia oracula adulterat, divinas Literas falso interpretando suæ libidini servire cogit, sacram Historiam lacerat, inter mulierculas de sacris Philosophatur literis. Quicquid dixerit, Legem Dei putat, ad aviditatem suam incongrua conquirat testimonia, sententias depravat, ad voluntatem suam Scripturam trahit repugnantem. Nimum sibi de Phariseorum supercilio fumat, ut quosque damnare vel solvere arbitretur, cum apud Deum, non sententia Sacerdotis sed vita hominis quærat. Præterea *Hildebrandus* ille divinæ Majestati refragatur, **Christianissimo Principi divinitus constituto, et a Deo inaugurato resistit: versutus, fallax, obscurus, callidus, imperium Orbis, titulo Christi, sub ovina pelle, ambit.** Alios, pecudes ignavas, stultos, supites,

stipites, caudices, Asinos qui ejus Sycophantias vafamentaue non intelligant, putat. Huc omnes nervos intendit, ut Ducem gregis oppresso in ordinemque redacto, in oves desertus præsidio Imperatoris licentius impuniisque grassetur, Si [a] *Omnia potestas a Deo est, maxima quoque, nempe Cæsarea ab eo sit necesse est*, [b] *Christus cum cum populum rebus imponere conaretur, aufugit*; & [c] *duos de nãreditat ambigentes, qui cum arbitrum ceperant, ad Cæsarem cui Imperium Orbis terrarum commissum est, ablegavit*. Pontificibus quoque Judæorum præcepit, [d] *Reddite quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari*; [e] *Cui vectigal solvit, tributum pendit, censum dedit*. Idem nos, D. Petrus docet, [f] *Deum timere, Regem honore afficere*. [g] D. Pauli præceptum est, *Fidem Regi servate*, quod si quispiam Cælitum alter docuerit, [h] *de vocis esto*. Flagitium hujuscemodi *Hildebrandi inerpiabile, scelus hactenus inauditum, procul ab Orbe Germano abigendum, ense, (quem Imperator supremus ad vindictam malorum Cæsari tradit) refecandum; lupus sub ovina pelle sæviens, ferro tollendus. Septimus ille non verbis et disputationibus; sed vinculis et carcere fatigandus est*. Nempe dictum est a Christo Deo Opt. Max. *Petro ejusq; successoribus, Romanis Episcopis*. [i] *Vade retrò Sathana, offendiculum mihi es*: & [k] *Qui gladium acceperit gladio pereat*. This was the general verdict passed against him.

a Rom. 13. 1. 2.

b Joan. 6. 15

c Lu. 12. 13.

d Mat. 22. 21.

e Mat. 17. 27

f 1 Pet. 2. 17.

g Rom. 13.

h Gal. 1.

i Mat. 16. 23

k Mat. 26. 52.

*Posteaquam autem Pontifex Romanus hæc accepit, ut hanc invidiam leniret, adversarios placaret, suos confirmaret, Episcopis, Ducibus præfectis universis *Tentonibus* Christianam Religionem defendentibus, ita modestius rescripsit. Et si ea quæ scimus, bene, recte, sapienterque in celebri Romano cœtu summa prudentia, summo consilio gesta sunt: tamen accepi nos contra pietatem Christianam egisse videri plerisque, qui egregium sane facinus, velut ab odio & livore, ab Superbia atque aviditate profectum, carpunt, abominantur. Quamobrem rationem actorum reddere, rem ordine explicare placuit. Teste conscientia nostra, nihil invidiæ, nihil simultati, nihil ambitioni datum est. Quicquid hactenus actum est, amore divinæ justitiæ feci. Dum adhuc privati essemus, vocabamur amici parentum regis, quem crebro ac frequenter, & amice Literis familiaribus commonuimus, ut resipisceret, eundem per Natales clarissimos, per avitam paternamq; gloriam & virtutem, per salutem, vitam, ac majestatem imperii sæpius obtestati sumus, ut rumorem de ejus sceleribus (quæ Deus prohibeat ut edere in vulgus velim) dissipatum, falsum esse factis coargueret. Idem soli c. tius Pontificatum Max. adepti, jam communis ejus animi parens factitavimus; Ipse iidem subinde nobis rescripsit, atatem, fortunam, potentiam paucorum, qui summam Imperii obtinerent, excusavit. Idcirco parpuratos quosdam, quorum consilio Sacerdotia, Pontificatus, contubernia Monachorum vanabant, ac lupi templis non pastores præficiantur, repetundarum postulavimus, condemnavimus. Postremo illos in malo obstinatissimos execrati sumus. *Henrico* uti illos aula, prætorio, curia, sermone exigeret, præcipimus. Verum enimvero tantum abfuit ut nobis recte consultant obtemperaverit, uti omnes *Italia*, plerique *Gallia* atque *Germania* Episcopi, ejus fasu atque instinctu, *jugum D. Petri* a Christo cervicibus ovium impositum excusserint, *Censuram Romanorum Pontificum rejecerint*, & ut paucis summam scelerum, illius explanem, Primo eos quos captæ pecuniæ accersivimus, in numero sceleratorum impiorumq; computavimus, devitare noluit. Deinde, non solum nullam præ se fert spem resipiscendi, sed subnotari etiam a quopiam suos mores gravi & iniquo patitur animo. Postremo, templum divinum dissensione labefactare, discordiæ mala ferere studet. Neque precibus, neque minis ad bonam frugem commovetur. Hæc ob causas eundem a Societate sacrosanctæ concionis amovimus, ex albo Christianorum erasimus, ut qui sponte recte facere negligit, hac contumelia coactus officium suum, & quod se dignum est, faciat. Si quidem ipse servari (quod Deus avertat) non vult, & omnino ad perniciem suam per præceptum tendit, nos qui Pastores ejus, & rationem Deo de ejus anima reddituri sumus, desideræ atque socordiæ convinci, ac perinde perire nolumus. Quod si utique quispiam, non tam Judicio, quam morbo animi nos uti, *nostramque sententiam injustam esse existimaret*, si talis est, ut doceri queat, sacras literas, decreta Magistrorum, Ecclesiæ consulta, veterum annales nobiscum evolvet, comperiet pro certo, nos plus æquo iustoque humaniores, ne dicam seigniores fuisse. Quanquam neminem omnium esse credam qui mecum animo dissenciat, tamen si quæ sentiat palam eloqui forsitan non audeat. Enimvero si ille a nobis injuste hoc fulmine afflatus foret, tamen eum supplicem venire oporteret, veniam atque piaculum, quo solveretur petere. Proinde, pientissimi filii,

b Aventinus
Annal. Boio-
rum, l. 5. p.
456, 457.

Pontificis Epi-
scola ad adver-
sarios.

qui magis Deum quam homines timetis, qui iustitiam regi, veritatem iræ præferatis, bono estote animo, labore, patientia, factis fortibus vires exercete, bonis præceptis obtemperate, fortiter adversus insanos facite. Magnæ curæ magna merces est. Immortalis Imperatoris partes defenditis, qui si cæpto quoad vita suppetat perseveraveritis, immortalitate, præmio virtutis vestræ vos condonabit. Equidem perpetuo Deum Opt. Max. deprecor, ut vobis virtutem præstet, regem ad sanitatem redire cogat: tunc plane intelliget, me & vos longe eum magis amasse, majoremque gratiam ab eo inibimus, quam illi qui animo indulgentes, assentando, palando, adulando perversam gratiam gratificantur. Si ille resipuerit, Omnium quæ adversus me gesserit, oblivionem decernam, & consilio vestro cum eo in gratiam redibo, in Templumque divinum reducam.

Sub idem tempus idem *Gregorius Saxonas* sociosque certiores facit *Romanis* Concilium Augustam indictum displicere, tantam rem *Romæ*, (ubi penetrabile Religionis nostræ, sedes & domicilium Imperii sit) transigendam esse; se tamen, licet invitis *Romanis*, *Mantuanam*, quæ *Machtylda* pareat, profecturum, ubi bene inter bonos agier liceat. Mittuntur igitur a conjuratis ad *Hildebrandum*, *Maugoldus Veringensis* dynasta, frater *Hermannii* historici, *Aribertus* mysta, cum aliis compluribus, qui Pontificem Max. in *Germaniam* deducant.

The [a] Pope after this sentence, raised up such factions and Rebellions against the Emperor, both in *Germany, Saxony, Sweden, Hungary, Italy*, and elsewhere, that the *German* Prelates and Princes of the Popes faction, by his instigation, threatned to chuse another Emperor, unlesse he were absolved from his Excommunication by the Pope within one year: whereupon the Emperor, to satisfy them herein, sent an Embassy to the Pope, humbly petitioning him, to absolve him from his *Anathema*: and the German Princes, conventu habito decernunt, ut si *Gregorius* in *Alemanniam* pergat, *Henricus* supplex veniam errati petat: Quod se facturum Rex ipse interposito juramento pollicitus est. The insolent Pope receiving the Emperors Embassie by the Archb. of *Triers*, and others, returned this insolent answer at first (as *Lamb. Schafnabergensis* and others record) Si veraciter, inquit, facti poenitet, *Coronam* et cætera regni insignia, in argumentum veræ et ex animo factæ poenitudinis, nostræ potestati dedat, et se post tam contumax admissum, Regio nomine et honore deinceps indignum profiteatur. Durum nimis hoc visum est Legatis: Cumque vehementer insisterent, ut sententiam temperaret, nec calamum conquassatum iudicii austeritate penitus contereret: Vix & ægre tandem exoratus annuit: ut cominus veniret, & si veram pro admissis poenitentiam gereret, culpam quam sedi Apostolicæ contumeliam irrogando contraxerat, sedis Apostolicæ decretis nunc obediendo expiaret. Hereupon the Emperor, by the Popes command, passing into *Italy* with an Army, came to *Canusium* with all expedition, where the Pope then was with the Countesse *Machtylda*, & cum Castellum triplici muro septum esset, intra secundum murorum ambitum receptus, foris derelicto omni comitatu suo, depolito cultu & ornamento regio, nihil præferens regium, nihil ostentans pompaticum, nudis pedibus (ut oppidanos ad misericordiam commoveret) jejunos a mane usque ad vesperam spectabat *Romani* Pontificis sententiam præstolando, suppliciterque intromitti petebat. Hoc secundo, hoc tertio die fecit: Denegatum ingressum æquo animo tulit, aut tulisse dissimulavit, quamvis aspera esset hyems, & gelu cuncta rigescerent. * In suburbio quidem opido triduo immuratus, continuo veniam petens, perverboris iudicis injuriam et violentiam patienter, et publice, et cum lachrymabili afflictione, nudis pedibus, et cum laneis vestibus, hyeme præter solitum aspera, apud *Canusium*, spectaculum Angelorum factus et hominum, et *Hildebrandi* ludibrium triduo permansit: During which time (as *Johannes Aventinus* relates) nunciari Pontifici jubet, Cæsarem adesse, ut pacem cum eo faciat bonorum virorum arbitrato, & salvo rerum statu, scilicet, ne sanguis Christianus effundatur, neve stupra, incendia, parricidia, prædæ (quæ licentia etiam belli iusti impune committuntur) in populo Dei fiant, edantur: Vnum postulare,

captis; In cruce se jactans Papæ, sæpissime clamans, Parce beate Pater, pie parce mihi peto plane, Papa videns silentem miseratus ei, Satis est, est. Nam benedixit eum, Missam cantavit, corpus dedit et Deitatis. Domuizo Presbyter, l. 2. de Vita Mathildis Comitissæ, c. 1. Ingolstadt: 1612. p. 186.

a Benno, Platina, Onuphrius, Balxus, Barns, Stella, Martinus Polonus, in Greg. 7. Surtius Concil. Tom. 3. p. 603. Aventinus Anal. Boiorum, l. 5. p. 457, 458. Abbas Ulpergensis, Chron: Anonymus, Cuspinian, Grimston, Sabellicus, Hermann: Schedel: and others in Henrico 4. Cent. Magd. 11 c. 8, 9, 10. Sigeberti Chronicon An. 1077. Lambertus Schafnabergensis Hist. Anno 1077. Morney Hist. Papatus, p. 247, & c. Jac. Vilerius De Christianarum Ecclesiarum successione et statu, c. 5. Binius Concil: Tom: 3: pars 2 p: 1286, 1287, 1288

* Ante dies septem, quam finem Janus haberet, ante suam faciem concessit Papa venire Regem cum plantis nudis, a frigore

ne contra fas jusque maledictis acerbissimorum hostium magis, quam innocenti sibi credatur. Optimum quemque vituperationibus vulgi imperiti, nedum inimicorum expositum esse, præcipue eum, qui in rerum fastigio, quasi illustri loco & theatro collocatus, omnibus pateat. Ita humana sunt, nemo est qui universis complacet. *Gregorium* quoque vulgo male audire atque castigare, quod familiaris frequentiusque secreto atque in occulto, quam tantum Pontificem deceat, cum *Machtylda* colloquatur. *Saxonum* Legati, qui præsentibus erant, intercedunt, ne pax fiat, summo-
pere laborant. Quamobrem toto triduo Cæsar, in conspectum Pontificis non est admissus. At *Hugo* Monachorum *Cluniacensium* Antistes, cæterique boni minis, precibus hortari, suadere, orare, terrere, quovis modo instare, vociferari, **perbica-
ciam hanc Tyrannidem appellare, non desistere, donec pepulere**, ut *Gr. gregorius* tandem rogatu *Machtyldis*, *Ad-lai Sabaudienfis* Comitis, & *Cluniacensis* Abbatis, quarto die introductus, absolvitur, & Ecclesiæ reconciliatur, upon unreasonable conditions. a Quarto demum die in conspectum ejus admissus, post multas hinc inde dictas sententias, his postremo conditionibus excommunicatione absolutus est, ut die & loco quemcunque Papa designasset, evocatis ad Generale Concilium Teutonicis Principibus prælo esset, & accusationibus quæ intenderentur, responderet: ipso Papa, si ita expedit videretur, cognitore causarum assidente, & ad ejus sententiam, vel retineret regnum, si objecta purgasset, vel æquo animo amitteret, si probatis criminibus regio deinceps honore indignus, juxta Ecclesiasticas leges decerneretur, nullam sive retento, sive amisso regno, hujus injuriæ vindictam a quopiam hominum in perpetuum exacturus. Usque ad eam autem diem, qua causa ejus legitime discussa terminaretur, nulla Regno cultus ornamenta, nulla regis dignitatis insignia sibi adhiberet, nihil circa rerum publicarum administrationem, juxta consuetudinem suo jure ageret, nihil quod ratum fore oporteat decerneret. Postremo, præter regalium servitiorum exactionem, quibus necessario ipse & sui sustentandi essent, nihil regium, nihil publicum usurparet; omnes etiam qui ei sub jurejurando fidem dirissent ab hujus sacramenti vinculo, et conservandæ erga eum fidei debito, apud Deum, et apud homines interim liberi et peditique manerent. *Rupertum Babenbergensem* Episcopum, & *Udalricum de Cosheim*, & cæteros, quorum consiliis se, remque publicam prodidisset, a sua in perpetuum familiaritate amoveret. Quod si purgatis quæ objicerentur, potens confortatusque in regno perstitisset, subditus Romano Pontifici semper, dictoque obtemperans foret, et ad corrigenda quæcumque in regno ejus contra Ecclesiasticas leges præva consuetudine inolevisset, consentiens ei, et pro virili proportionem cooperator existeret. Ad ultimum, si quid horum prævaricaretur, irritam fore hanc quæ nunc tantopere expetita sit, anathematis absolutio-
nem. Quinimo jam pro convicto, confessoque habendum esse, nec ultra pro asserenda innocentia sua, audientiam impetraturum, Principesque regni omni deinceps quæstione, cuncta jurisjurandi religione liberatos, regem alium, in quem communis electio consensisset, creaturos esse. Gratanter Rex accepit condiciones, & servaturum se omnia quam sanctissime poterat assertionibus promittebat. Nec tamen promittenti temere fides habita est: sed Abbas *Cluniacensis*, quoniam Jurare Monasticæ religionis obrentu detrectabat, fidem suam coram oculis omnia cernentis Dei interposuit. Episcopus quoque *Ciitensis*, & Episcopus *Vercellensis*, & *Azzo Marchio* & alii conventionis ejus Principes, allatis Sanctorum reliquiis, sub jurejurando confirmaverunt, facturum esse quæ pollicebantur, nec aliqua rerum asperitate, vel casuum varie succedentium mutabilitate ab sententia deducendum. Upon consideration of these premises, b *Matthias Illyricus*, *Johannes Wigandus*, and *Andreas Corvinus*, make these observations. Vides, Christiane Lector, exemplum dominationis Pontificiæ, non Petriniæ absolutionis. Nemo enim Apostolorum tanto fastu usus est. Nihil hic audis de fide in Christum. Tantum vero *Hildebrandus* sceptrum Imperii juber deponi, sibi tradi, se coli: ut omnia nimirum pro suis cupiditatibus, tam in regno Politico, quam Ecclesiastico decernat & agat. Hocine est Christi vocem sequi; *Reges Gentium dominantur, vos autem non sic*. [c] Projectum ante se in terram Imperato-

a Lambertus Schannaber-
genfis Hist. An-
no 1077.
Centur. Magd.
11. cap. 8. col.
431, 432.

N. 25.

b Cent. Magd.
11. c. 9. col. 431

d Epistola De-
dicatoria Cen-
tur. 11. p. 1.
rem fix, p. 22.

rem Romanum non prius absolvit, nisi Imperii fascibus sibi traditis, & facta promissione juramenti omnium gravissimis, sese nihil in Imperio acturum penitus, nisi iste crudelis lupo, habito in *Germania* Conventu, ipsi coronam, potestatemque gubernandi omnem restituisset. Quod unquam spectaculum in mundo, tristius, horribilius, indignius, auditum est, quam hoc? O Sol, potuistine tantum facinus, istius arctolici Romani tam crudeliter in potestatem politicam favientis aspicere? O terra, tam umne portentum in arce *Canusii* potuisti sustentare? Sed Deus mundo iratus, tam tetrum illius Pontificis facinus permittit compleri, alioquin terra ipsa hiatu facto alacorem, ipsum dicimus *Hildebrandum*, vivum cum arce absorpsisset: Quis igitur dubitabit, *Pontifices Romanos ipsissimos esse Antichristos*; quia Politicam potestatem non solum omni dedecore conspuunt, sed etiam coronam Imperii, atque omne civile jus ad se quam violentissime rapiunt, &c. Juramentum Pontifici præsistum his verbis apud *Platinum* extat. Rex *Henricus*, *imposita pace ex sententia Domini nostri Gregorii Septimi, affirmo me pacta & fœdera conservaturum, curaturumq; ut quoquo voluerit idem Pontifex, sine ullo discrimine, suscipiens & Conitatus proficisci possit, maxime autem per loca nostro Imperio subiecta, neque per me staturum, quo minus libere Pontificio munere ubique locorum uti possit. & hac observaturum me jurejurando addito.* Actum *Canosii* Quinto kalend. Februarii, indictione Decima quinta.

* Cent. Magd.
11. col. 432. i
Platina in Gregorio 7.

a Gregorii 7.
Regist. l. 4.
Epist. 12. Edit.
Binii Concil.
Tom. 3. pars 2.
p. 1:16.

b Binius Concil.
Tom. 3.
pars 2. p. 1288.

c Tom. 1. Scriptori: Germani:
M. Frehers, p. 162. Lamb.
Schafnaburgensis. An. 1077.
* Sub falsa pace,
Sigebertus, Mat.
Paris An. 1077.
Vincentius Beluac, Speculum
Histor. l. 25. c. 55.

e Annal. Boiorum, l. 5. p. 457, 458

f Historia Ann. 1077 See Centur: Magd: 11. c. 9. col. 431
Usserius De Christianarum Ecclesiarum Successione & statu, c. 5. p. 133, 134.

[b] Pope Gregory himself in his Letters to the Nobles of *Germany*, gives them this Narrative of the Emperors and his own deportment in this Tragical transaction. Ad oppidum *Canusii* in quo morati fuimus, cum paucis (*Henricus*) advenit; ibique per triduum ante portum Castri, deposito omni regali cultu, miserabiliter, utpote discalceatus, & laneis indutus persistens; non prius quam multo fletu Apostolicæ miserationis auxilium & consolationem implorare destitit, quam omnes qui ibi aderant, & ad quos rumor ille pervenit, ad tantam pietatem, & compassionis misericordiam movit, ut pro eo multis precibus & lachrymis intercedentes, omnes quidem insolitam nostræ mentis duritiam mirarentur; nonnulli vero in nobis, non Apostolicæ severitatis gravitatem, sed quasi tyrannicæ feritatis crudelitatem esse clamarent. Denique instantia compunctionis ejus, et tanta omnium, qui ibi aderant, supplicatione devicti, tandem relaxato Anathematis vinculo, in communionis gratiam, & sinum Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ recepimus. In what manner, and with what Papal faith and sincerity he received him to the holy Communion and bosom of the Church, himself relates:

[c] Solam ei communionem reddidi, non tamen in regno, a quo eum in Romana Synodo deposueram, instauravi; nec fidelitatem omnium qui sibi juraverant, vel erant juraturi, a quo omnes absolvi in eadem Synodo, ut sibi servaretur, præcepi: Whence the Author [d] *Apologetici, De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, and others observe, Ad comprobandum Ecclesiasticæ reconciliationis testimonium, sacram communionem corporis & sanguinis Dom. de manu Pontificis accepit, mensam cum eo adiit, ac deinde dimissus est in pace (*falsa): qualem scilicet pacem Judas simulavit, non qualem Christus reliquit. Aderat enim legatio hostium suorum, quærentium omnibus modis interrompere initum hoc reconciliationis pactum, quibus Papa rescripsit talibus verbis, *Ne solliciti (inquiens) sitis, quoniam culpabiliores eum reddo vobis.* Certe culpabiliores facere aliquem, præcipue

autem Regem, quem præcepit Petrus Apostolus honorificare, Hoc non est Oves Christi pascere: Ecce autem propria sunt Regia quædam ornamenta, Corona et purpura, atque alia Regni insignia (which [e] *Johannes Aventinus* largely insists on) a quibus Regem abstinere ad arbitrii sui tempus decernit Papa; hujus scilicet intentionis gratia, ut sic, aut contemptibilior esset ipsius Regis in regno persona, donec rehaberetur regnum, quod jam parabat in electione alterius, dum fuerat ipse legitimus Rex in Italia: aut si non permissus a se regalia resumeret ornamenta, certiores perinde haberet circa eum causam excommunicationis: quod videtur non esse officium pietatis, nec signum concordie et unitatis. How ill the *Italians* resented, and what censure they passed on the Pope and Emperor for these Antichristian unparallel'd Proceedings, [f] *Lambertus Schafnaburgensis* thus relates at large. *Italia* Proceres ea re cognita admodum Regi indignabantur. Exclamabant, se *Hildebrandi* excommunicationem nihili æstimare, quam ipsum omnes *Italiæ* Episcopi iustis ex causis jampridem

iampridem excommunicasset, qui Sedem Apostolicam per Simoniacam hæresin occupasset, adulteriis, aliisque capitalibus criminibus pollueret, Regem secus ac deceat, crimemq; gloriæ suæ intulisse nunquam abolendum, quod homini hæretico et probis omnibus infamato, maiestatem regiam summisserit: et quem iustitiæ patronum, legumq; Eccles. vindicem sibi parassent, is foedissima subjectione sua, fidem plane Catholicam, auctoritatem Ecclesiæ, dignitatem Republicæ prodiderit. Se in ultionem ejus omnes quas potuerint Papæ injurias irrogasse; & nunc, quod dictu quoque turpe sit, se in mediis perturbationum fluctibus relictis, ipsum sibi consuliisse; et cum hoste publico privata necessitudine in gratiam redisse. Hæc potissimum Principes Italiæ jactando, et passim per populum serendo, ingens Regi odium brevi confabuerant. Adulta postremo seditione, una omnium voluntas, una sententia erat, ut abdicato patre, qui ultro regni fascibus indignum se effecisset; filium ejus, licet impubem adhuc, et regni negotiis immaturum, Regem sibi facerent: et cum eo Romam profecti Papam alium eligerent; per quem & ipse protinus Imp. consecraretur, et omnia Papæ hujus Apostatici gesta cassarentur. Perlato ad Regem tam molestæ conspirationis motu, misit propere quicquid apud se Principum erat, ut quacunque ratione, quaqua possent industria effratæ multitudinis animos mitigarent: ne moleste acciperent, aut in contumeliam suam factam reputarent, quod extrema necessitate compulsus communis commodi ratione fecisset: nec Teutonicis Principibus, qui sibi per calumniam regnum eripere dedita opera machinantur, nec Romano Pontifici, qui ad evertendum statum sanctæ Ecclesiæ spiritali gladio circumquaque fulguraret; aliter satisfieri potuisse, quam ut ante statum diem excommunicatione absolveretur. Nunc se omnibus angustiis quibus vias ejus conclusissent inimici, liberatum, omnem deinceps curam industriamque ad vindicandas suas et illozū injurias transfaturum.

[a] *Hermoldus* records; that *Henry* after this sentence, accepit in mandatis, from this Pope, ut anno integro *Roma* non discederet, equum non ascenderet, sed in veste humili circumiret limina Ecclesiarum, ora ieiunibus & jejuniis, reddens dignum poenitentiae fructum; Quod Rex humiliter adimplere satagit. Videntes ergo Cardinales, & ii qui de Curia sunt, quia præ timore sedis Apostolicæ contremiscunt potestates, et curvantur ii, qui portant orbem; suggerunt Apostolico, ut transferat regnum ad alium virum: dicentes; indignum esse, ut talis regnet, qui de publicis convictus est facinoribus. Percunctanti ergo Apostolico, *Quisnam in Alemannia dignus esset tanto culmine?* Designatus est *Dux Suevorum Rudolphus*, quod scilicet fuerit vir bonus, amator pacis, & circa cultum Sacerdotii & Ecclesiarum optime affectus. Cui Dominus Papa auream transmisit coronam, hoc versu intitulatam:

* *Petra dedit Romam Petro, tibi Papa coronam.*

Præcepitque *Moguntino & Colonensi* (some read *Trevirensi*) cæterisque Episcopis & Principibus ut adjuvarent partes *Rudolphi*, et statuerent eum in Regem: Quotquot ergo receperunt Verbum Domini Papæ, eligerunt *Rudolphum in Regem*, additque sunt parti ejus *Saxones & Suevi*. Cæteri Principum, Civitatesque quæ sunt circa *Rhenum*, non receperunt eum, omnesque *Francorum* populi, eo quod jurassent *Henrico*, et juramenta temerare noluisent: (notwithstanding the Popes absolution from their Oaths, which they reputed void.)

The time and manner of *Rudolphus* his election, and coronation is thus related by *Abbas Ussergensis*, Anno 1077. *Rudolphus*, mediantibus *Sigefrido Mogunt.* Metropolitano, & *Adelberone Wirceburgensi* Episcopo, *Bertholdo* quoque Duce *Carinthiæ* aliisque nonnullis Principibus, in præsentia quorundam Romanæ sedis Legatorum, non voluntarie annuentium, apud *Forcheim* in Regem elevatur. A quibus etiam deductus *Moguntiam*, 12. Kalend. Aprilis, a *Sigefrido* Episcopo in Regem ungitur. Ubi eodem die pessimo auspicio, seditione facta, multa turba vulgi cæsa est ab ejus militibus, unde vulgus accensum in ipsos exarsit, magnisque ictibus multos obruncans;

a Chron. Slavovom, l. 1. c. 28.

* *Aventinus* Annal. l. 5. p. 458. Chron. Antonin. Tit. 16. c. 1. sect. 21. Mar. Paris Hist. Ang. Anno 1077. Centur. Magd. 11. c. 8. col. 439. *Sigeberti* Chron. Anno 1077. *Gotfridi Viterbiensis* chron. part 17. Vincent. Spec. hist. l. 25. c. 152. & others out of them.

Anno 1077. b *Abbas Ussergensis* Chron. p. 222. *Aventinus* Annal. Boiorum, l. 5. p. 458.

cans, ceteros ad curiam palam fugavit, ipsasque regias aedes incendere voluit, nisi quod Episcopus *Sigefridus* pro veloci decessione *Rudolphi* oblidem se interposuit. Ita *Rudolphus*, & cuncti ei qui cum eo venerant, ejeti sunt, ipse quoque *Sigefridus* Episcopus magnis blasphemis eliminatus, *Moguntiam* non intravit amplius. While these things were thus acted in *Germany* by the Popes treachery, *Henricus* consistebat apud *Romanam* Papæ mandatis obsecundans, ignarusque malorum quæ adversus ipsum agebantur; as [a] *Hermoldus* informs us: Surrexit ergo quidam *Strateburgensis* Episcopus, amicissimus Regi *Henrico*, & velociter veniens *Romani*, diu quæsitum regem, invenit inter memorias martyrum diversantem: De cujus adventu Rex lætus effectus, cepit percunctari de statu regni, aut si omnia in pace consistenter? Cui ille intimavit, Novum Principem electum, factuque opus esse, ut quantocyus *Teutonicam* terram reviseret, ad confortandos amicorum animos, & conatus hostium reprimendos. Cumque Rex prætenderet, nequaquam sibi sine licentia sedis Apostolicæ obeundum: Ille respondit, **Robertis certe, omne hoc conspirationis malum de parte Romanæ perfidiæ manasse.** Imo si captionem evadere voles, de urbe tibi clanculo exeundum est. Egressus ergo noctu Rex exiit *Italiam*, formatisque pro tempore rebus in *Longobardis*, venit in *Teutonicam* terram. Lætati que sunt de insperato adventu Principis omnes Civitates *Rheni*, & universi qui favebant parti ejus. Congregavitque exercitum grandem, ut expugnaret *Rudolphum*. After which Anno 1078. *Henry* routed *Rudolphus* in a pitched battel between them juxta *Sironii*: wherein *Bernardus Magdeburgensis* Archimysta, author belli civilis, a popularibus inter fugiendum occisus, vel suspensus est. *Sigefridus Moguntinus* Archidiaconus ex fuga extractus, cum jam in crucem ageretur, clementia Cæsaris superveniente, nece liberatus est. *Vernherus Merburgensis* Episcopus Cæsaris ibidem pietate patibulum evasit, ambobus copia abundi facta ipsi se rursus ad *Rudolphum* contulere. (O the ingratitude of these obstinate Prelates and Archtraytors; *Albertus Vangionum* Pontifex Cæsarem ne aspicere quidem voluit, proinde arcta custodia asservari jussus; inde pecunia corruptis custodibus elapsus est, ad *Rudolphumque* rediit. The Pope after this victory, upon *Rudolphus* complaint, excommunicated the Emperor the second time, for taking upon him the Kingly Robes and dignity without his command, and opposing *Rudolphus*, whom he had constituted King in his stead, in this ensuing form. *c Beate Petre*, Apostolorum Princeps, inclina quæso aures tuas, & me servum tuum exaudi, quem & ab infantia educasti, & utque ad hunc diem ab iniquorum manibus vendicasti, qui me pro mea in te fide oderunt & persecuti sunt, tu mihi testis es optimus, & pia Jesu Christi mater, & frater tuus *Paulus*, tecum Martyrii particeps, me * non sponte, sed involuntum Pontificatus gubernacula suscepisse. Non quod rapinam arbitratus sim, sedem tuam legitime conscendere, sed malebam vitam meam in peregrinatione degere, quam locum tuum pro fama & Gloria tantum occupare. Lætor ego ac merito quidem, mihi tua (not *Dei*, or *Christi*) gratia, non meritis meis, populi Christiani curam demandatum esse, concessamque ligandi atque solvendi potestatem. Hac igitur fiducia fretus, pro dignitate & tutela Ecclesiæ suæ Sanctæ, Omnipotentis Dei nomine Patris, Filii & Spiritus Sancti, & *Henricum* Regem, *Henrici* quondam Imperatoris filium, qui audacter nimium & temerarie in Ecclesiam tuam manus injecit, Imperatoria Administratione regiaque deficio, et Christianos omnes Imperio subjectos, juramento illo absolvo, quo fidem veris Regibus præstare consueverunt. Dignum est enim, ut is dignitate careat, qui Majestatem Ecclesiæ imminuere conatur. Præterea vero, quia monita mea, immo tua, ad sui ipsius populorumque salutem pertinentia contempsit, & se ab Ecclesia Dei, quam seditionibus pessundare cupit, separavit, cum

* *Mat. 16. 18. Anathematis vinculo colligo; certo te sciens esse Petrum, in cujus Petra, ut in vero fundamento, Rex noster Christus edificavit Ecclesiam suam: Fuere tum multi post erectionem, qui pacis mentionem facerent;* Quibus ita *Gregorius* respondit; Se pacis condiciones non abnuere, modo *Henricus* ipse primo cum Deo pacem inerat; Non ignoratis, inquit, quamdiu & quantis malis *Romanam* affecerit Ecclesiam, quotiesque a me sit admonitus, ut meliorem vitam moreque probatores indueret. Hoc tribuimus benevolentia & Charitati qua *Henrico* patri conjuncti olim imbibit, sed nil profecimus; adeo mores a patre averfos imbibit. Instabant tamen ex his qui aderant nonnulli, Regem non ita cito anathematizandum esse.

a Chronicon Slavorum, l. 1. c. 28, 29. Aventinus, Annal. Bolorum, l. 5. p. 458, 459.

b Abbas Ulstergensis, Chron. p. 223. Aventinus Annal. Bolorum, l. 5. c. 459. Anonimus, Cuspinianus, Chronicon in Henrico 4. Cent. Magd. 11. c. 8.

c Platina, & Paulus Bernicensis, in vita Gregorii 7. sanctus Concilii Tom. 3. Binius Concil. Tom. 3. pars 2. p. 1228, 1229. Cent. Magd. 11. c. 8. Jacobus Ulsterius de Eccles. Christi, successione & statu, c. 5. p. 138. Morney Hist. Papatus, p. 602. Aventinus Annal. Bolorum l. 5. p. 454, 460. See here p. 49.

* A most Antichristian talismant, most Authors asserting the contrary.

* Mat. 16. 18.

esse. Quibus ita Pontifex respondit; Quando inquit Christus Ecclesiam suam beato Petro commisit, & dixit, *Pasce oves meas*, excepitne Reges? (as if excommunicating and deposing Emperors, were the feeding intended in this text, against *Christi, Peters, St. Pauls doctrines, examples.) Nam cum eidem ligandi & solvendi potestatem daret, nullum excepit, vel neminem ejus potentia subtraxit. (An undoubted truth, if meant as Christ intended it, only by *preaching of the Gospel, and of sinnes committed against the Law of God, and Gospel of Jesus Christ; but a meer impertinent forgery if intended of disobeying Papal or Episcopal Canons not warranted by Gods word, or of Excommunications, depositions of Christian Emperors or Princes from their Crowns, never intended in this text. Hanc ob rem qui dicit se vinculo Ecclesiae ligari non posse, restat etiam ut fateatur, se absolvi ab ejus potestate nullo modo posse; & qui hoc impudenter negit, a Christo & Ecclesia ejus se omnino sejungit. At Henricus cognita Gregorii censura, multas literas ad Gentem et Nationes conscripsit, quibus se contra jus fasque damnatum a Pontifice ostendebat. Gregorius autem id a se jure factum, non verbis tantum & literis, verum etiam ratione, & testibus comprobatur, reipsa ante oculos omnium proposita. (So Platina, Surius and others averr.)

* Eadem tempestate Gibertus Ravennas Archiepiscopus, qui Caesaris erat partium, a Romano Hildebrando dignitate eximitur, cunctusque Clerus ab ipsius obedientia exemptus est, Decebat enim, ut Platina ait, Praesulem Romanum non modo imperium, sed etiam Ecclesiam sursum ac deorsum agitare, et turbare. Haec sunt virtutes tanti Apostolici.

The Italian, German, and French Bishops perceiving this Popes implacable, incorrigible malice, rebellion and treason against the Emperor, (a) Quamobrem Italicae, Germanicae, Gallicae, Pontifices Quinquegenalibus Moguntiaci, sept. Calend: Julii, apud Bixinam Boiariae urbem (Imperatoris jussu present in it) conveniunt, Hildebrandum contra pietatem Christianam, factis facere, agere decernunt, eundem ambitus, haereseos, impietatis, sacrilegii condemnant, hujuscemodique Decretum factum est. Quoniam Hildebrandus, falsus Monachus, Pagus, Divinaculus, somniorum Prodigiolorumque est conector, male de religione Christiana sentit; primus Pontificatum Maximum contra morem Majorum in vitis omnibus bonis, emit, ac contra voluntatem nostram Orbis terrarum Domini, vi retinere conatur, Berengarii antiquissimi erroris Symmyskes et discipulus, conjuratus est hostium Reipublicae, atque sacrosancti Imperii, Caesaris Christianissimi, qui sapientis pacem ei, ejus sociis ultro obtulit, salutem corporis et animae insidiatur: vitam Imperiumque perdere conatur, jus divinum, humanumque pervertit, falsa pro veris docet, sacrilegia, mendacia, homicidia, incendia, veluti benefacta indulget, collaudat, ad haec perpetranda Classicum canit. Tyrannum perfidum suo more tutatur, discordias inter fratres, amicos, cognatos ferit, lites nutrit, inter conjuges divorcia facit: suavis homo sacerdotibus, qui uxores habeant legitimas, sacrificios esse pernegat, interius tamen Scottatores, adulteros, incestuosos aris admovebat. Quicquid usquam pacis Christianae fuerat, labefactabit. Nos ergo auctore Deo Opt. Max. eundem Pontificatu Maximo amovendum decernimus. Quod si ubi haec audierit, ultro se abdicare, parere huic decreto recusavit, perpetuo repulsum passurum, aditu arcendum censemus.

[b] Abbas Ulspurgensis somewhat varieth the expressions of this Councils Decree; Quia, inquit, (Gregorium) illum constat non a Deo electum, sed a seipso in fraude ac pecunia impudentissime objectum, qui ecclesiasticum subvertit ordinem, qui Christiani Imperii perturbavit regnum, qui Regi catholico ac pacifico, corporis et animae intentat mortem, qui *perjurum defendit Regem, qui inter concordantes minabit discordiam, inter pacificos lites, inter fratres scandala, in

* Mat. 22. 21.
John 18. 36.
Rom. 13. 1, 2, 3
1 Tim. 2. 2
2. 3. Tit. 3. 1.
2 Pet. 2. 12, 13.
17. Mat. 10. 18,
19. Act. 25. 11,
12. c. 26. 2, 3, 4.
2 Tim. 3. 16.
* See here, p. 52,
to 58.

* Cent. Magd.
11. c. 8. col.
435. Aventinus
Annal. Boiorum
l. 5. Onuphrius,
Balzus and o-
thers in Greg.
7.
2 Aventinus
Annal. Boio-
rum, l. 5. p. 46c.
461: Abbas
Ulspurgensis,
Chron: Cent.
Magd. 11. c. 8,
et 10. col. 492,
493. Sigeberti
Chron. and
others.

b Chron. p. 224
Cent. Magd. 11.
c. 10. col. 497.

* Rudolphus.

conjuges divoritia, et quicquid quiete inter pie viventes stare videbatur, concussit: Nos auctore Deo, congregati in unum, Legatis ac literis freti tredecim et novem Episcoporum, die sancto præteritæ Pentecostes Moguntinæ congregatorum, contra eundem Hildebrandum atrocissimum, sacrilegia ac incendia prædicantem, perjuriam et homicidia defendentem, Catholicam et Apostolicam fidem, de corpore et sanguinis Domini in quæstionem ponentem, Berengarii antiquum discipulum, divinationum ac somniorum cultorem, manifestum Necromanticum, Phitonico Spiritu laborantem, et idcirco a vera fide exorbitantem, judicamus canonice deponendum et expellendum, et nisi ab ipsa sede his auditis descenderit, in perpetuum condemnandum. Facta sunt autem hæc vij. Kal. Julii feria 5 Indict. 3. These Bishops in this Council deemed the Emperor and themselves above the Pope, and enabled judicially to depose him for these crimes.

* Historia de vita Hiltebrandi Pontificis Romani. Set forth by Reinerus Keineccius Steinhemius, printed Francofurti, 1581.

* See Abbas Vipergerensis Chron. p. 223, 224. Centur. Madg. 11. c. 8. Barnes and Balæus in Greg. 7. Sigonius de Regno Italiæ, l. 9.

* Balæus de Rom. Pontif. Actis, l. 5. p. 218. in Græg. 7. Ortuin. Grat. Fasciculus, fol. 39, 40. Usserius de Christianarum Ecclesiarum successione & statu, c. 5. p. 130. Morney Hist. Papatus, p. 256. record it likewise.

* Benno Cardinalis, living under this Pope, and present at these transactions, informs us of the names of many great Cardinals and others of note, who condemned his proceedings against the Emperor as Tyrannical, Unchristian, Heretical; and thereupon, qui Hiltebrandum reliquerunt, cujus intolerabiles et gravissimos errores publice detestati, nunquam ad eum reverti sunt: Diversæ etiam scholæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ ab ejus communione recesserunt. Leo tunc temporis Archipresbyter Cardinalium, & Benno, & Hgobaldus, & Johannes Cardinalis, & Petrus Cancellarius & Cardinalis, ordinati ante tempora Hiltebrandi: Natro, Innocentius, Leo, hi tres ab eo consecrati, deseruerunt cum errores ejus execrati: similiter Theodinus Archidiaconus, quem ipse constituit Archidiaconum, & alii Cardinales Diaconi: Johannes, modo Archidiaconus, & Crescentius, Johannes primicerius scholæ cantorum, cum omnibus suis: Petrus oblationarius cum omnibus suis, excepto uno Poppo; Prior scholæ regionariæ cum omnibus suis Subdiaconis: Archiacolythus, & Subpulmentarius cum suis: Centius, Judicum primicerius cum aliis Judicibus, & cuncti Milites signa banna gestantes, Prior scriniorum, cum plerisque suis: Ipsi etiam Episcopi cum jam vellent eum deserere, (as well as all those forementioned) Hiltebrandus convocatis ad se Laicis, eis consilium suum aperuit, & quod Episcopos a Colloquio Cardinalium vellet separare, indicavit. * Post hæc ipsos Episcopos convocavit, & turbis Laicorum stipatus, Sacramentum ab ipsis Episcopis cum terrore et minis erexit et extorsit in manu sua jurare coegit, ne unquam ab eo dissentirent, nunquam Regis causam defenderent, nunquam superordinato sibi Papæ faverent, vel obedirent. Quo facto eos per Principem Salernitanum in Campaniam misit: & sic eos a consortio Cardinalium & a Romana Urbe separavit. Nec solum Episcopos, sed etiam Urbis Presbyteros & inferioris ordinis Clericos, insuper & Laicos juramentis alligavit, ne ulla ratione, ullo tempore, condescenderent in causa Regis. These Cardinals and others forecited, who condemned, renounced communion with this Pope, charged him with these practices: Quod ejus a consilio & a custodia ejus Cardinalibus, vita ejus & fides & Doctrina sine testibus fuit; cum sacri Canones præcipiant, ut in omni loco tres Cardinales Presbyteri, & duo Diaconi Papam non deserant, propter testimonium Ecclesiasticum, & propter stylium veritatis.

Scripturas sacras violenter intorsit in adjutorium falsitatis: quod genus Idololatriæ quantum sit, late patet in Scripturæ sacræ campis spaciis. Præter voluntatem et consilium Cardinalium, extra ordinem judicandi sacris Canonibus determinatum, Imperatorem in nulla Synodo Canonice accusatum, præcipitanter excommunicavit; in qua excommunicatione nullus Cardinalium subscripsit. He further observes this signal divine Judgement: * Ut primum ad excommunicandum Cæsarem de sede surrexit, sedes ipsa noviter lignis fortissimis composita, subito, Dei nutu, terribiliter scissa est in plures partes: Ut manifeste daretur intelligi, quanta sceleris illa tam periculosa excommunicatione et præsumptione, quamque terribilia schismata seminaret contra Ecclesiam Christi, contra sedem Beati Petri, quam crudeliter dissiparet Cathedram Christi, conculcando leges Ecclesiæ, impetando cum potentia et austeritate.

In descriptione ejusdem excommunicationis, ea inserferunt in quibus manifeste a fide

fide Catholica errabit, cum iniuste excommunicatum Imperatorem, & Episcopos communicantes ei, excepti ab excommunicatione tertio gradu communicantes eis, & unitatem Ecclesiæ scindens, quantum in ipso fuit, duas Ecclesias fecit.

Idem præsumptor, sejunium indixit Cardinalibus, ut Deus ostenderet, quis rectius sentiret de corpore Domini, Romana ne Ecclesia, an Berengarius? per hoc manifeste probatus infidelis, cum in Niceno Concilio scriptum sit, quia dubius in fide, infidelus est. Et de corpore Domini signum quæ fuit, quod petente beato Gregorio ad firmam mulieris fidem contigit, quando pons Christi formam accepit digiti. Et nesci duos Cardinales Othonem & Cunonem, ad Sanctum Anathasiam, ut cum Suppone, ejusdem Ecclesiæ Archiepiscopo, triduanum sejunium peragerent, & illis tribus diebus, singuli per dies singulos Psalmeterium & missas decantarent, ut supradictum signum eis Christus ostenderet, quod minime contigit. They charged him likewise with this most Atheistical and Treasonable conspiracy, to murder the Emperor in the midst of his devotions in St. Maries Church: * Imperator solitus erat frequenter ire ad orationem, ad Ecclesiam Sanctæ Mariæ, quæ est in Monte Aventino. Hildebrandus autem cum per exploratores suos omnia ejus opera sollicitè inquireret, locum in quo frequentius Imperator, vel stans, vel prostratus orabat, notari fecit; et quendam promissa pecunia ad hoc induxit, ut supra trabes Ecclesiæ occulte lapides magnos collocaret, et ita aptaret, ut de alto super caput orantis Imperatoris demitteret, et ipsum contereret. Quod minister tanti sceleris cum festinaret implere, & lapidem magni ponderis super trabes aptare vellet, lapis pondere suo eum traxit, & fracta sub trabibus tabula, & lapis & ille miser homo, Dei judicio in pavimentum Ecclesiæ cecidit, & eodem lapide contritus penitus est: (a just divine retaliation.) Hujus rei gesta ordinem postquam Romani cognoverunt, pedem illius miseri fœne ligaverunt, & triduo per plateas Urbis ad exemplum trahi fecerunt. Imperator autem solita clementia jussit eum sepeliri.

Johannes Portuensis Episcopus, qui intimus fuerat, & a secretis Hildebrandi, ascendit in ambonem beati Petri, & inter multa, audiente Clero & populo, ait: Tale quid fecit Hildebrandus et nos, unde deberemus hîc incendi: significans de Sacramento corporis Domini, quod Hildebrandus responsa divina quærens contra Imperatorem, (when he received no answer from this dumb Hostia, and brea den God) fertur injecisse igni, contradicentibus Cardinalibus, qui assistebant ei. (O horrid Impiery!)

In Pascha Domini feria secunda cum ad Ecclesiam Sancti Petri ad missam Clerus & populus convenisset, post Evangelium in ambonem ascendit, sicut erat indutus Pontificalibus indumentis. Et in præsentia Episcoporum & Cardinalium in frequentia Cleri, & Senatus populi Romani, publice clamavit inter multa sue divinationis verba, * Regem Henricum usque ad proximum Sancti Petri festum sine dubio moriturum; aut a Regno penitus desiciendum, in tantum, ut ulterius non posset congregare quam sex milites. Prædicavit etiam Episcopis & Cardinalibus, & omnibus qui aderant de Ambone clamans, nullo modo habete me pro Papa ulterius, sed ab Altari me abellite, si usque ad prædictum festum, Prophetia hæc effectum non habuerit. (To make good these his prophecies by his designed Treasons, of whose success he was thus confident,) Eisdem diebus paravit Imperatorem perdere per occultos proditores; Deus autem eum custodivit. Et eodem tempore fuerunt nonnulli qui existimaverunt, ipsum Hildebrandum conscium extitisse, et ordinatorem proditoris: quia eisdem diebus, paulo ante proditorem, de morte Regis falso prophetata præsumpsit. Quod verbum vehementer percussit corda multorum. Et palam factum est, Hildebrandum voce propria in Conventu Ecclesiæ esse damnatum, qui (ut dictum est) judicaverat, se nullo modo esse Papam, neque pro Papa ulterius habendum, sed proditorem et mendacem esse credendum; nisi usque ad proximum festum Sancti Petri, Imperator moreretur, aut omni honore spoliaretur, adeo ut ultra sex milites congregare non posset: et divino nutu actum est, ut a seipso quoque damnaretur hæreticus. Sic enim ait Apostolicus; Dominus ipse inquit, Prophetæ qui arrogantia depravatus, voluerit loqui in nomine meo quæ ego non præcepi, ut diceret, aut ex nomine aliorum

* The same is recorded by Abbas Viper-
gentis, l. 223.
Aventinus An-
nal Boiorum, l.
6. Barnes, Ba-
læus, Centuri
Magd. 11. c. 8.
Schafnaburg
ensis, and Lund-
ethers,

* See Mathæus
Parisienfis, An-
1080. Abbas
Viper-
gentis,
Johan. Aventi-
nus Annalium
Boiorum, l. 5.
Centur. Magd.
11 c. 8. Balæus,
Barnes, Tor-
ney, and others
forecited,

Deorum, interdicetur. Quod si tibi tacita cogitatione responderis: Quomodo possum intelligere verbum, quod Dominus non est eloquutus? Hoc habetis signum, quod in nomine Domini Propheta prædixerit, & non evenerit, hoc Dominus non est locutus, sed per tumorem animi sui Propheta confinxit, & idcirco non timebis eum.

Tempore autem transacto, quod Hiltebrandus in divinatione sua præfixit, Rege vero neque mortuo, neque militibus suis imminuto, timens se suis verbis deprehensum, & ore proprio condemnatum, ad callida argumenta se convertit, persuadens vulgo indocto, non de corpore, sed de anima Regis se prophetasse, quasi anima Regis milites omnes præter se perdidisset, vel idolo spatio mortua esset. Et hi: verbis vulgus indoctum delusit. Contra huiusmodi Prophetas beatus Gregorius super Ezechielem ait: Inter Prophetas veros & falsos ista est distantia, quia Propheta veri in quid aliquando per suum spiritum dicunt, citius corrigunt: Prophetæ autem falsi, & falsa denunciant, & alieni a sancto spiritu in sua fallitate perdurant. (Moreover to evidence his Papal Justice) Tres homines (suspected to favour the Emperors party) non convictos, non confessos, nosque secularibus iudicibus Hiltebrandus morti iudicavit, & eos in patibulis iuxta Ecclesiam Sancti Petri, in loco qui dicitur Palatiolum, interfici suspensos coegit, sine dilatione, sine discussione contra leges, quæ præcipiunt etiam manifestos reos infra statum & retractionem iugula dierum non interfici. Quæ etiam apud Paganos vigent & servantur, sicut docet auctoritas B. Ambrosii, & Passio Sanctorum Marcelliani & Marci.

* See Platina, Stella, Osiander, Marci, Polonus, Eams, Balanus, Sarius, in Greg. 7. Cent. Magd. 11. c. 8. Sabellius, Volaterranus, Aventinus Annalium Boiorum, l. 5. Schafnaburgensis, Magn. Chron. Belg. p. 124. Martinus and others.

* Cintium filium præfæcti Stephani, prius fidelem suum, in carcerem misit, & in vase undique aculeis vestito, mille & mille mortibus cruciavit. Qui postquam evasit, (out of loyalty to the Emperor) ipsum Hiltebrandum cepit. De cuius captione aniequam evaderet, omnibus, qui captivum illius cooperatores fuerant, hoc debitum publicè remisit, quod postea infideliter vindicavit, Cintium cui omnia remiserat, persequi cepit, & novem de hominibus Cintii in patibulis suspendio interfecit, ante portas Sancti Petri, &c.

Multa quidem alia fecit Hiltebrandus, in quem clamat sanguis Ecclesiæ gladio lingue eius miserabili prodicione effusus, propter quæ, a communione ejus justissime Ecclesia recessit, sicut fecerunt majores nostri temporibus Apostatarum Liberti & Anastasii.

Hiltebrandus autem non solum Ecclesiæ perturbavit pacem, sed etiam Ecclesiasticam scindit unitatem, & unica fidei vestem inconsutilem: dum Cæsarem et Episcopos communicantes Cæsari, absque judiciario ordine excommunicabat, et tertio gradu communicantes eis, ab excommunicatione nova pietate excipiebat, quos huiusmodi artibus, & Regi subducere, & sibi allicere festinabat.

Dicant nunc Hiltebrandi discipuli, quibus commentis, quibus coloribus, deaurare possint, quod ipse Hiltebrandus in Synodo generali hæretica prædicavit, prædicando excommunicatis communicare consensit, prædicata scripsit, prædicatione & scriptis alteram Catholicam, alteram excommunicatorum Ecclesiam faciens, unitatem scindit, et scripta per orbem terrarum disseminabit: prædicando, scribendo, scripta disseminando, seipsum hæreticum manifestabit, et ore proprio, et confessione hæreseos non extorta, divino urgente iudicio, condemnabit, dum vulgus erroneum Sanctum existimaret, & Apostolis exagaret spiritum tanti erroris, cum etiam prudentiores ejus laqueis caperentur, & inducerentur in tentationem, si fieri posset, etiam electi.

Mentimur, nisi tresdecim Cardinales sapientiores et religiosiores, ipse Archidiaconus, et ipse Primicerius, et multi alii Lateranensium Clericorum, quorum iudicio ex privilegio sanctæ sedis totus subjacet mundus, Apostasiam ejus intolerabilem perpendentes, ab ejus communione recesserunt.

Dicant oramus, Hiltebrandi discipuli, qua præsumptione Magister eorum unitatem Ecclesiæ in duas vel plures partes divisit? Si enim Cæsarem iniuste et absque judiciario ordine damnabit, seipsum potius ab Ecclesia separabit. Si vero iuste excommunicationis gladium in Cæsarem, vel Episcopos communicantes Cæsari exeruit, quare communicantes ipsis Episcopis tertio gradu per Scripturam excipiendo absolvit.

Gloriosus autem Hiltebrandus, & pedissequus ejus * Turbanus, nova potestate solventes decreta Chalcedonensis Concilii, non solum verbis, sed & scriptis publicis consenserunt extra Ecclesiam communicare, & baptizare: quam cæsi essent, quam hæretici scriptis propriis deprehensi. Proh nefas! si præsumpserunt de Ecclesia judicare,

* Cardinal Otho, afterwards Pope, Turbanus Hiltebrandi pedissequus.

re, qui * nusquam reperiantur non errasse; quibus etiam ipsa veritas reputatur in mendacium, quam solo fallendi studio verbis et scriptis suis, ne venena erroris eorum perciperentur, quasi mel beneficozum more admiscuerunt. *Mendacium enim est, ut beatus Augustinus ait, omnis enunciatio prolata intentione fallendi.* Sileant Hypocritæ, sicut ait beatus Petrus piratis similes, beati Petri nomen igne malitiæ sub nomine Catholico, sub obtentu iustitiæ artificiose supposito, destruentes, et fere demergentes. Obstupescant Pseudo-prophetæ ad vocem Petri, in facie humani, in cauda scorpiones, lupi sub ovina pelle latentes, corpora trucidantes in oris gladio, et animas pariter devorantes, * QUORUM RELIGIO NIHIL ALIUD REDOLET QUAM PRODITIONEM ET AVARITIAM, penetrantes domos viduarum captivas duxerunt mulierculas oneratas peccatis, sub occasione impacati temporis attententes spiritibus erroris & Doctrinis Dæmonum, quas accepit Hiltebrandus Magister eorum, à Magistris suis, à Theophylacto, qui cognominatus est Benedictus Papa IX. à Laurentio Malabaritano Archiepiscopo, à Johanne Archipresbytero S. Johannis, de porta Latina, qui postea cognominatus est Sextus Gregorius Papa. (Whose Magical Arts, Practices, Necromancies, familiarity with, and sacrifices to the Devil himself, he there at large relates) Adding, Hiltebrandus a suis Militibus sine assensu Cleri & populi est introitus; qualiter vixerit, qualiter a se Cardinales, qui testes vite & doctrine eius esse debuerunt, removerit, quam miserabiliter vexaverit, quantis hæresibus mundum corruerit, quanta peruria, quam immensas perditiones consecraverat, vix a multis describi potest: clamat tamen altius sanguis Christianorum eo auctore et incentivo miserabiliter effusus. So Benno Cardinalis. Upon all which accounts he and others then renounced all Communion with him.

An. 1079. Henry & Rudolphus fought another battel at Fladeheim, where Rudolphus with his Saxons and other forces were put to flight: notwithstanding the Popes benediction, and Henries with all his adherents excommunications; a Sed nulli mirum sit Virum in rebus bellicis exercitatum & strenuum tunc fugisse; quia sæpe iustior & victrix causa, fortes in metum mittit et in fugam. Henricus postea Saxoniam cum exercitu sæpius ingressus, aut victor, aut æqua manu recessit. Cæsar suis hostibus, (Anno 1080.) Os noburgensem, Viridunensemque Episcopos Romam cum mandatis proficisci jubet, postulatque a Pontif. Maximo ut siquidem secum sincere in gratiam redierit, tyrannum immaniissimum, perfidum, parricidam (qui affinitatis vinculo fidei, religionis violata, bellum plusquam civile exercitaret, pacem interturbavit) pro Republica, devoveat. Rudolphus quoque Romani Episcopi opem, cuius ausilio regnare iussus sit, supplex implorat, petitque, ut Pontifex Maximus communis generis humani parens, facidissimum sacrilegum, incestuosum, sacerdotum contemptorem, cuius Deus venter, atque ea quæ sub ventre sunt, sacro ense jugulet. Gregorius huius postulatis annuit, Hainricum quod contra atque pollicitus fuerat, insignia Imperii usurpari, rursus execratur: Proceres, populum, sacratos, prophanos Sacramento solvit, eos qui Cæsari fidem frangant, Principi suo rebellent, Rudolpho adhæreant, ab inferis emancipat, cœloque locat; hisce incendia, cædes et huiusmodi scelera, quæ bello designari solent, indulget: aliis omnibus, qui Cæsari fidem servant, ab eo deficere, armis se miscere reculant, diras inferiasque dicit. Regem malum ob crimina a se devotum, proinde jam non Regem, neque illi parendum esse docebat, quin obsequium præstare Deo, pietasque esse occidere eos qui Hainrico fidem servarent, asseverabat. Sacerdotibus quoque conubii interdictum, vetat populum sacrificiis eorum interesse, aut illos pro sacerdotibus ducere. Gratissima hæc fuere Scottatoribus, quibus pro una uxore sexcentas mulierculas inire licet. Sed istæ omnia, plerisque Episcopis, aliis eruditis, simplicibus apertis atque bonis, præter conjuratos, qui suæ causæ serviebant, novum dogma, pestifera hæresis, quæ unquam Christianum conturbasset regnum, visa est. b Anno 1080. inter Henricum Regem & Rudolphum rursus geritur bellum juxta fluvium Ellefram, in quo idem Rudolphus cecidit, & Henricus tam notanda quam felici victoria vicit, magnumque mundo documentum datum est, ut ne-

* Ergo Popes & Cardinals may erre.

* Benno his censure of Pope Hildebrands & his Successors Roman Pelig. on.

a Anonymus Hist. de vita Henrici 4. Cæsar. p. 13, 14. Jo. Aventinus Annal. Boi. rum. l. 5. p. 461. Centur. Magd. 11. cap. 8. Abbas Ulspetg. Chron. p. 223.

b Aventinus Annalium Boi. orum. l. 5. p. 460. Abbas Ulspetg. Chron. Anno 1080. p. 224. Centur. Magd. 11. c. 8. & cap. 9. col. 498. Platina, Stella, Onuphrius, Hermannus Schedl; Marianus Scotus, Benne, Sabellicus, Chronicon Magnum Belgicum, Fasciculus Temporum, in Greg. 7. et Henr. 4. Grimston's Imperial Hist. H. 4. Ottonis Frisingensis Episcopi Chron.

mo contra Dominum suum consurgat. Nam abscissa *Rudolphi* dextra, dignissimam perjurii vindictam demonstravi, qui fidem Domino suo Regi juratam violare non timuit; & tanquam alia vulnera non sufficerent, ad mortem accessit etiam hujus membri poena, ut per poenam agnosceretur & culpa: which *Rudolphus* himself thus publicly acknowledged with much horror and regret immediately before his death, in these memorable words, as [a] *Hermolani*, [b] *Conradus à Leichtenaw*, and * others record. Porro *Rudolphus* vulneratus in manu dextra, fugit *Marcipolim*, mortique jam proximus in extremis positus, & abscissam dextram intuitus, ad Episcopos, qui forte aderant, et famulantes graviter suspirans, dicit; Ecce hæc est manus, qua Domino meo *Henrico* fidem juramento firmavi, ut non hunc emet, nec insidiaretur gloriæ ejus; sed jussio Apostolica, Persecutus; petitio me ad id deduxit, ut juramenti transgressor, honorem vestrum inoblitum usui parem. Quis igitur finis nos exceperit videtis, quia in manu unde juramenta violavi, mortale hoc vulnus recepi. Ecce ego jam ejus regnum, et vitam derelinquo præsentem. Accurrit ergo illi, qui nos ad hoc instigaverunt, qui me solitum e us ascendere fecerunt, qui iter nos duxerint, ne forte deducti sumus in præcipitium æternæ damnationis. Et hoc dicens cum gravi mole in diem clauit extremum. Sed gens dura, nec damno monita est, nec signo, qui non potius in ebriatione vinceret, quod manu non poterat, *Hermannum* novum sibi Regem constituit, qui & ipse novo modo perit, tæmina, sexu non animo, molarem in caput regis demisit. Et sic ille manu feminea, ut mors ejus turpior esset, occubuit. Such fatal ends had these *Hildebrandian* usurping Kings, notwithstanding this Popes benedictions, and all their peridious Bishops, Prelates Masses, Counsels, assistances: with whom the Anonymous Historiographer of *Henry* the 4th. his life thus expostulated, [c] Quid vobis profuit *Henricum* fictis criminibus accusasse, cum accusationem vestram facili responso, ut ventus pulverem dissipaverit? Imo, quæ dementia vos contra Regem vestrum, & Orbis Regem armavit? Nihil conjurata vestra malignitas proficit, nihil peragit. Qui in Dei manus in Regno firmabit, vestra dejicere non poterit. Ubi fides quam illi jurastis? Quare beneficiorum quæ regia liberalitate contulit in vos oblii estis? Utimini vel adhuc sacro consilio, non furore; poeniteat vos incepti, ne fortior vobis superveniens, vincat vos, & ea vindicta feriat, quæ futuris seculis demonstret, quod regia manus valeat. Saltem vos, O Episcopi, videte ne pereatis de via iusta; videte ne transgressores fidei promissæ fiat; alioqui quid consequatur, vos ipsi nostis.

The rected Speech, and manner of *Rudolphus* his death, much disparaging Pope *Hildebrand's* Antichristian cause, proceedings, and blasting his & his Prelates reputations; they thereupon forged many fabulous Legends of Gods signal judgements upon some Bishops opposing *Hildebrand*, and adhering to the Emperor, to seduce the people, and vanquish those by Lyes and Counterfeit false miracles, whom they could not overcome by arguments or armes. [d] Cum nec armis, nec jure suam pro libitu stabilire possent auctoritatem summam Romani Pontificis, ad mendacia, quo exactius suum referrent patrem Diabolum, confugerunt. Cum itaque inter *Hildebrandum*, qui *Gregorius* Septimus dicebatur, & *Henricum* acerrimum esset de primaria potestate certamen, utraque pars miraculis se tutata est. Episcopum quendam (*Willielmum Trajensem*. Episcopum, as [e] *Bertoldus Constantiensis* informs us) pro concione *Hildebrandum* multis exagitantem diceris, fulmine tactum esse, mentiti sunt Pontificii, eumque dum jam ageret animum, dixisse, Ignea heu miser catena constrictus trahor ad inferos, Ite, nunciate Casari ut respiscat, & flagitium in Deum, & D. Petrum ejus Vicarium commissum, officiis compenset, nisi me præeuntem ad æterna supplicia subsequi malit. (*Bertoldus* only writes, *Subitanea morte absque Ecclesiastica communione post Pascha multatur*, omitting the rest of this Legend,) Eodem quoque die quo hæc facta, *Paulus* recitat, & illi asserebant, *Spirensis* Episcopus *Hildebrando* iniquior nempe *Pascalibus* quinto Kal. Martii Devotus, animam efflavit. *Aventinus* Lib. 5. *Annalium* adds. *Gregorio Salernum* profugo intrante, civis quidam dixerat; *Author dissensionis, qui totum orbem terrarum armis & bellis involvit, huius urbis quoque quietem conturbaturus advenit*. Mox ille, his dictis obmutescit, deductus

a Chronicon.
Sclavorum, l.
1 c. 19

b Chronicon
Anno 1080.
p. 124.

* Culpinian,
in *Henrico* 4.
vita, Grimstons
Imperial Hist.
in H. 4. Dr.
Beard's Theatre
of Gods Judgements, l. 1 c. 18
p. 174; Morrey
Hist. *Henrici*
p. 116, 117.
Valerius De
Christianorum
Ecclesiæ
successione et
ita 3, c. 5. p.
140

c Anonim: hist.
de vita *Henrici*
4. Cap. p. 14.
& 12, 13.

d *Aventinus*
Annal: Boiorum
l. 5. p. 469, 470
Cent. Magd:
11. c. 13. col.
686. *Paulus*
Bernreidensis in
vita *Gregorii* 7
e *Bertoldi* Con-
stantiensis ad
Hermannum
Appendix, Ann:
1076

Etus ad *Gregorium*, errorem confitetur, (*How could he do it if struck dumb?*) ab eodem sanitate restituitur: Et *Herluca* sacrata femina illa tempestate vivens, & nocturnis superum, inferum congressibus, secretisque colloquiis interesse consueta, narrare solita fuit, Execratos (ab *Hildebrando*) flamma omnium ardentissima excruciaci. To these [a] *Bertoldus Constantiensis* subjoyns; Anno 1077. *Imbrico Augustensis* Episcopus, qui in præterito Paschæ *Rudolpho* Regi fidelitatem juravit, nil de perjurio curans, *Henrico* advenienti adhæsit, & apud illum quodam die Missam faciens, hanc sibi conditionem miser imposuit, ut sacræ oblationis perceptio in judicio ei proveniet, si Dominus ejus *Henricus*, Regnum sibi injuste usurparet; Post hanc temerariam præsumptionem, parvo quod supervixit usque ad mortem, nunquam se sanum de lecto admovit. Nam circa Cal. *Julii* absque Ecclesiastica communione defunctus est. *Vercellensis* Episcopus depositi Regis Cancellarius cum omnibus suis sequacibus, Colloquium Generale circa Cal. *Maii* in *Roncalibus* condixit, ut si aliquo modo posset, *Gregorium Papam deponeret*; sed ipse ad eundem terminum absque Ecclesiastica communione vitam simul & Episcopatum heu miserabiliter deposuit, quo ille Papam nefaria præsumptione statuit deponere. Item *Sigehardus Aquileiensis* in auxilium *Henrico* contra bannum Apostolici, armata manu veniens, in amentiam vertitur, apud *Ratisbonam*, & ex ipso itinere repentina morte intercipitur; sicque domum, non sine aliquibus suorum funeribus, in corpore & anima mortuus, reportatur. Non multo post ejus interitum, Præfectus Romanæ urbis, indefessus miles S. *Petri* contra schismaticos, a fautore *Henrici* occiditur: ad cujus corpus in parvo tempore plus quam viginti miracula contigerunt, ut fidelium virorum relatione deducimus, of the *Hildebrandian* faction. And to make these Legends complete, [b] Cardinal *Baronius* himself out of the Fables of [c] *Anselmus Lucensis* hath the impudence to averr, Vestimenta scilicet *Gregorii* post ipsius mortem miracula edidisse, sicut *Pauli* semicincta ejusque sudaria, ad pellendos languores, Dæmonesque fugandos, usui esse fidelibus * Acta testari; eandem *Gregorii* indumentis a Deo inditam virtutem. At in hac luce, in hoc sole, ubi pudor? Et quandoquidem eum hac in parte, cum divo *Paulo* (*Baronius*) conferre non erubescit, quin *Paulum* audit? adventus, inquit, hominis peccati & filii perditionis, id est, Antichristi, ab ipso prænuntiati, * erit ex efficacia *Satanæ*, cum omni potentia, et signis atque prodigiis mendacibus. Quæ *Pauli* verba annon jam implenda veniebant? is the Noble [d] *Morneys* interrogation to *Baronius*: To which I shall subjoyn this memorable observation of [e] *Joannes Aventinus* on the forecited Figments, and the *Hildebrandian* Antimonarchical positions which they forged, to palliate their infamy. Falsi tum Prophetæ, falsi Apostoli, falsi Sacerdotes, emerere, qui dissimulata religione populum deceperunt, magna signa atque prodigia ediderant, [f] atque in templo Dei sedere atque extolli super omne id quod colitur, cœperunt. Dumque suam potentiam dominationemque stabilire conantur, charitatem, simplicitatem Christianam extinxerunt. [g] *Sigebertus* horum temporum Scriptor (vir alioquin etiam, ut quisquam illa tempestate esse poterat, omnis divini humanique juris consultissimus) Perniciosissima (inquit) seditio, et ut pace bonorum direxim, hæresis omnium pestilentissima, populum Christianum percellit. Sacrificuli illius, qui se dicit, pueros effeminatos, falsos prophetas, tyrannos (qualis Imperator noster, Princeps optimus, non est) populo ob scelera imponere, his a Deo datis, non solum non parendum esse, verum etiam fraude, vi, quovis modo tollendos, populum Christianum docere audent: perjuriam, homicidia, civilia bella, cædes, perfidiam pietatem vocant; hujusmodi Deo placere prædicant; Sacramento rogatos, religione iurjurandi Cæsari affectos, exauthorant: fidem frangentes, fœdera dissolventes, pactumque prævaricantes, juramentum violantes, perfidos atque perjuros non esse, sibi credi postulant. Quin eos qui fideles sunt, qui rebellionem, incendia facere, stupra, incestus committere, prædas agitare, proximos opprimere, occidere, compilare, sanguinem Christianum effundere summopere cavent, in numero sceleratorum atque impiorum computant; ceu vero non extat perpetuum immortalis prætoris edictum: [h] Qui pactum solvit, non effugiet, & [i] perituri Regnum Dei non possidebunt: Ple-

a Ad Hermann:
Contracti,
Chron: Ap-
pendix, p: 348

b Anno 1083;
artic. 14.
c Contra Gui-
bertum Papam.

* Acta 19: 11;
12.

* 2 Th. II. 9,
10
d Historia Pa-
patus, p. 260
e Annalium
Boiorum, l. 5.
p. 470.
f 2 Thess: 2. 4

g Chronicon,
An. 1077, &c.

h Ezech: 17. 1,
15, 16.
i Cor. 6. 1, 9.
10, i Tim: 5

^a Mal. 24. 657.
Lit. 21. 10, 11.

^a Aventinus An-
nal. Boiorum, l.
5 p. 470.

^b Apologet. de
Unitate Ecclef.
p. 286. Edit. M.
Freheri: See,
Aventinus
Annal. Boio-
rum, l. 5. p. 455.

^c Aventinus An-
nal. Boiorum, l.
5. Centur.
Magd: 11. c. 9.
col. 491

^d Lambertus
Schainaber-
genfis Hist.
Cent. Magd:
11. c. 9. col.
491, 492, &c.

^e Aventinus
Annal. Boiorum
l. 5. Cent. Mag.
11. c. 9. col. 499
500. Abbas
Ulfpergensis,
Ch: An. 1085
Crantzius Sa-
xoniz, l. 5. c. 11.

Plerique omnes boni, aperti, iusti, ingenui, simplices tum impe-
rium Antichristi cepisse, (a) quod ea qua Christus Servator noster tot annos ante vo-
bis cantavit, evenisse eo tempore cernebant. Orbis terrarum tum a cardine bel-
lorum procellis jactatus est, &c. Crebra prodigia, &c. Faces ardentes, jacula igni-
ta, ignea acies, nova Astra visa sunt, &c. Diluvie, sterilitate, avena caritate, fame,
pestilentia saepius laboratur; ignotis morbis, igne, flamma, ardore invisibili homi-
nes, nota adustionis extincti, sanguinis rivos extitisse, dicunt, &c. As for *Hilde-
brand* himself, thus branded then by all good, just, ingenuous, openhearted, honest
men, for the beginner, erecter of *Antichrist's Empire*, during his life; a Priest of
Saxony in that age by special revelation gave the world this account what became of
him, and the two usurping Kings set up by him against the Emperor *Henry*, after
their deaths: * *Sacerdos expiranti similis triduo in Saxonia decubuit; is uti ad se rediit,*
apud inferos Hildebrandum, Rudolphum, Hermannum tyrannos, a terminis mactari
supplicis, revelabit; (which *Rudolphus* dreaded at his death) where I shall leave
them at present.

What unchristian effects, bloody civil wars, insurrections were occasioned
throughout Christendom by this Emperors dethroning, and setting up *Rudolphus*
in his stead, are thus recorded by one living in, or near that age; (b) Hac divisione
facta, surrexit Rex adversus Regem, gens adversus gentem, Episcopus contra E-
piscopum, populus contra populum. Exinde vero quantæ cædes factæ sint hominum,
quantæ destructiones Ecclesiarum, quanta etiam rerum confusio exinde facta sit in
omni Ecclesia, indigere videtur Tragedia magis, quam historia. Magno se ju-
dice quis tueretur, dum iustitæ Rex iuste arma se induisse arbitratur. *Henricus* sci-
licet, quod natus & nutritus in regno successit progenitoribus suis in regnum ex Dei
ordinatione, ac proinde accepisse, juxta doctrinam Apostoli vindicem gladium in im-
pios atque iustos vel Ecclesiæ vel Reipublicæ. *Rudolphus* autem, quod obediens,
esse deberet Pontifici sedis Apostolicæ, qui per Episcopos partis suæ prædicasset,
eum non teneri obnoxium perjurii vel perfidiæ, si contra eum arma
tulisset, qui, utpote excommunicatus, Rex jam esse non posset:
quum hoc sit, inquirunt, fidei ac fidellium in Ecclesia, occidere, scilicet,
et persequi eos quicumque communicantes vel faventes excom-
municato Regi *Henrico*, noluerint declinare post partium suarum
studia. Nova et inaudita est prædicatio hujusmodi, quoniam Eccle-
sia non habet sibi concessum gladium, nisi spiritus, quod est ver-
bum Dei. Which warrants no such *Hildebrandian* Heresie as they preached.

The lawfulness and unlawfulness of the Popes excommunicating and deposing
the Emperor, was as hotly disputed in *Rome* by the Cardinals, and in Synods, Pulpits,
Schools by Bishops and Scholars, as it was by the Princes and Soldiers in the field.
For (c) the *German* Prelates and Princes of the Popes faction assembling at *Oppen-
heim*, after long consultation, ad *Saxones*, deserta *Cæsaris* *Optimatumque causa*, desi-
ciunt, & ad prætextum mutata voluntatis religionem obtendunt; quod nimirum his ad *Ro-
manam Curiam* pro dicenda causa sua vocatus, non comparuisset. Eoque iuste anathe-
matis vinculo percussus *Heinricum* communi consilio jurant, seque perpetuo ejus fore ho-
stes, quoad vita suppetat jurejurando sanciunt. Post arma cepissent, *Cæsari* insidiantur,
ejus rebus studentes oppugnant. Another (d) assembly of these *Hildebrandian* Princes
and Prelates adhering to the Pope and *Rudolphus*, meeting at *Triburia* (*Friburg* in
Germany) where the Popes Legates were present, justified *Henries* Excommunica-
tion, refused all subjection to him as their Lawfull Sovereign, or any communion
with him, being absolved by the Pope from their allegiance to him, & he then ab
Ecclesia corpore propter flagitia sua Apostolici Anathematis mucrone præcisus, unde ei
communicare sine communionis Ecclesiasticæ damno & fidei jactura non possumus. Where-
upon they obstinately rejected all his propositions and Ambassadors, refusing any
Treaty with him. In two other (e) Assemblies and Synods at *Mentz* and at *Berchach*,
Anno 1085. *Signinus Agripinensis*, & *Vezelo Moguntinus* Archymistes, publicly
asserted, Imperatorem iniquo tum *Romani Pontificis*, tum aliorum judicio, regno & com-
muniione privatum; *Gebhardus Salisburgensis*, affirming the contrary. The like dis-
putes were raised in subsequent Synods, of which in due place.

[a] John

(a) *Aventinus* relates, that *Gerochus* (quo nemo acius scriptis libris *Hildebrandum* a *Annal Boi-*
tutatus est) tandem suæ partis pertinaciam, ne dicam Tyrannidem, hæc verba, co-cta rum, l. 5. p.
veritate notat, **Romani** (inquit) **sibi divinum usurpant honorem, ratio-** 448. 449.

ne in actozum reddere nolunt, nec sibi dici æquo animo ferant, **Cuz ita agis?**

Illud *Satyricum* inculcant, *Sic volo, sic jubeo, stat pro ratione Voluntas.*

He then subjoyns, that as the Popes till then were confirmed by the Emperors : so
Hactenus, sanctissimi Patres, (quemadmodum *Christus Dominus & Deus noster, Co-*
mites, & Legati ejus fecerunt, & alios docuerunt) *Cæsares* in terris a Deo secundos,
ante omnes mortales primos, a supremo numine datos, divinitus constitutos, ab im-
mortali Deo electos, & (ut illi vocant) Coronatos, venerabantur, Dominosq; suos voca-
re solebant. Eisdem tributum, censum non denegabant, pro eorum salute quotidie
comprecabantur. Imperata detrectantes, tanquam cœlesti provinciæ resistentes, videri
contra pietatem Christianam fecisse decernebant. Grande nomen esse Imperato-
ris, a Deoque tradi prædicabant, Reipub. turbellis, nedum armis, ut Milites Christi
se non immiscebant, paupertate & modestia cum cæteris Christianis decertabant, quo
quisque submissius se gereret, hoc majorem esse sentiebant. Ensem ancipitem, gladi-
um duplicem, Christianæ Civitati datum, ad servandum vivificandumque, non occi-
dendum esse putabant, eundemque spirituale appellabant, qui est Sermo Dei, vita
& lux hominum, & mortuos ad vitam revocat, ex hominibus Deos, ex mortalibus
a ternos facit : tantum abfuit ut illi vel regum quempiam, vel impium, vel *Arrianum*
regno pellere, eidem sacrificiis interdicere, populum Sacramento solvere tentarent,
atque regna evertere, sanguine humano se polluerent, pro principatu cum Christianis
decertare, sibi permittant. *Hildebrand* being the first who asserted the contrary.

[e] *Trithemius* writes thus of this Emperor *Henries* deposition by this Pope, **Ipse**
primus est inter omnes Imperatores per Papam depositus. Scho-
lastici certant, & adhuc sub judice lis est, **Utrum Papa Imperatorem possit** e *Chronicon*
deponere? Quam quæstionem, cum ad nos non pertineat, indiscussam relinqua-
mus. [a] *Otto Frisingensis* Episcopus, writing of the change and diminution of the
Roman Empire, by this Emperors excommunication & deposition by *Hildebrand*, hath
this memorable observation. Lego & relego Romanorum Regum & Pontificum ge-
sta, & nusquam invenio aliquem eorum ante hunc **Venicum a Romano Pontif.**
excommunicatum, vel regno privatum, &c. Sic & regnorum mutationes & ad ulti-
mū imminutiones, quis fructus sequatur, quia non sine gravi scandalo dicere possumus,
Deo apud quem nihil inutiliter effluere potest, relinquamus. Non defunt tamen qui
dicant, Deum ad hoc Regnum imminui voluisse, ut Ecclesiam exal-
taret: Regni quippe viribus ac beneficentia Regum, exaltatam, et
ditatam, nemo ambigit Ecclesiam; constatque non prius eam in tan-
tum regnum humiliare potuisse, quam ipso ob amorem sacerdotii
cviscerato, ac viribus exhausto, non ejus tantum, id est spirituali,
sed suo proprio materiali scilicet gladio percussam, destruetur: quod
judicare, vel discutere, supra nostras vires est. Videntur tamen
culpandi Sacerdotes per omnia, qui Regnum suo gladio, quem ipsi
ex Regum habent gratia, ferire conantur, nisi forte *David* imitari cogi-
tent, qui *Philistheum* primo virtute Dei stravit, postmodum proprio gladio jugu-
lavit. Verum quia regno decrecente, Ecclesia (ut dixi) haurium a ternæ pa-
trix, ac post vitæ præsentis laborem, requiem adeptura, in præsentis quoque
in magnum montem crescens, in magna auctoritate stare cœpit,
ea quæ sequuntur, præsertim cum ad nostra tempora recentemque memoriam ven-
tum sit, tam defectu rerum temporalium, quam profectu spiritualium, mundi con-
temptum prodentia, in hoc opere dicenda restant. Nemo autem propter hæc
verba nos Christianum Imperium ab Ecclesia separare putet, cum duæ personæ in Ec-
clesia Dei, Sacerdotalis & Regales esse noscuntur : memineritque nos supra dixisse
a tempore *Theodosii* senioris, usque ad tempus nostrum, non jam de duabus civitati-
bus, imo de una pene, id est Ecclesia, sed permixta, historiam texuisse. Quod tem-
peramentum propter Hæreticos vel excommunicatos ex regibus, posuimus. Alios
enim Christiana fide, etsi opera quæ credant non sequuntur, in Ecclesia secundum
præsentem statum computandos esse, nemo qui sagem Domini malos & bonos
continere scit, dubitat. Non enim discerni possunt in præsentis, Ecclesia tantum quæ
manifesta sunt judicante. Deo solo qui novit, qui sint ejus, cujus ventilabrum in

manu ejus, merita singulorum pensante. Porro *Ecclisiam* ecclesiasticas personas, id est Sacerdotes Christi, eorumque sectatores, tam ex usu locutionis, quam consideratione potioris partis diximus, non ignorantes, quod & ipsi si reprobam vitam duxerint, ad Civitatem Dei in æternum non pertinebunt. In the cloze of his Sixt Book upon this unpresidented excommunication and deposition of this Emperor by *Hildebrand*, and its sad effects, he thus descants; *a* Hic quod supra distuli, solvendum puto, quod Romanum Imperium, ferro in *b Daniele* comparatum, pedes ex parte ferreos, ex parte fictiles habuit, donec a lapide præciso de monte sine manibus, excisum subrueretur, Quid enim aliud (*sine melioris sententia: a p. a judicio*) lapidem sine manibus excisum, quam ecclesiam capitis sui corpus, sine carnali commixtione ex Spiritu sancto conceptum, & Virgine natum, ipsam quoque sine humana operatione, & ex Spiritu & aqua regeneratam dixerim, &c. Hoc nimirum regnum circa finem suum, quem pedes significant, ferreum propter Martem, fictile propter conditionem, in ea parte quæ infirmior fuit, percussit: **dum Regem Orbis, non tanquam Orbis dominum vereri**, sed tanquam de limo per humanam conditionem factum fictilem, gladio anathematis ferire decuit. Ipsa vero quæ antea parva fuit & humilis, in quantum Montem excreverit (under *Hildebrand*) ab omnibus jam videri potest. Quanta autem mala, quæ bella, bellorumque discrimina inde subsequuta sunt, quoties misera Roma obsessa, capta, vastata, Quod Papa super Papam, sicut Rex super Regem positus fuerit, tædet memorare. Denique tot mala, tot scissmata, tot tam animarum quam corporum pericula, hujus tempestatis turbo involvit, ut solus ex persecutionis immanitate, ac temporis diuturnitate, ad humanæ miseriæ infelicitatem sufficeret comprobendam. Unde a quodam Ecclesiastico scriptore **densissimis Egypti tenebris** comparatur. Prædictus enim Pontifex *Gregorius a Rege* urbe pellitur, *Gibertus* & *Ruennatensis* Episcopus in locum ejus subtruditur. Porro *Gregorius Salerni* moriens, appropinquante vocationis suæ tempore, dixisse fertur: *Dilexi justitiam & odi iniquitatem, propterea rea morior in exilio*. Quia ergo in *Principe suo regnum ab Ecclesia periculum graviter percussum fuit*, ecclesia quoque tanto paltore, qui inter omnes sacerdotes & Romanos Pontifices præcipui Zeli, ac autoritatis erat, orbara, dolorem non modicum habuit. **Tanta mutatione, tanquam a perfectione ad defectum vergente tempore**, sexto Operi finem imponamus ut ad septenarium, requiemque animarum, quæ miseriæ præsentis vitæ subsequitur, Deo ductore properemus. *J. Aventinus* renders us this account of *Henries* proceedings after *Rudolphus* his death. His ita gestis, *Hainricus* perempto *Rudolpho*, pacataque *Germania*, secundo *Italiam*, ut aut in gratiam cum *Gregorio* redeat, aut eum si pacem accipere detrectet, **abdicet**, petit. Quicquid resistit, capit, perdomitat. *Gregorius*, Urbes, Castella, arces communit, ad rebellandum *Cæsari* hortatur. Verum is vi cuncta penetrat, hostium munimenta expugnat, Romanæque Victoribus signis pervenit. Quinquagenalibus Castra ante Mœnia urbes facit, fossa, vallo, carrucis munit, stativaque ibi biennio habuit, urbem obsedit, neminem exire, intrare permisit circumcirca. Universa incendis, cæde complet. *Hildebrandus* fretus opibus *Machtylda*, & *Ruperti Viscardi Nordmanni*, portas urbis clausit, fortiter urbem tutatus est, sæpius eruptionem fecit. *Hainricus* in contraria parte crebro urbem oppugnat, Romanos erumpentes in urbem repellit. Extra mœnia quicquid fuit, in ditionem redigit. Tandem post annos duos quarto Nonas *Junii* anno ab Orbe Vindicata Millesimo Octogesimo tertio, urbs capta est: Romani cum supplices adfunt, auro ægre pacem impetrant, perfidiam omnem in *Hildebrandum* transferunt, obsides viginti dant nobilissimos cujusque liberos, quos *Hainricus* postulavit. Romani deinde suafu *Gregorii*, *Hainricum* adeunt, orant ut diem Colloquio constituat, ubi ipse & Pontifex Senatoresque convenient, de rebusque Reipublicæ summis consilium habeant, bonorumque virorum arbitratu pax communiter confirmetur. Non abnuat postulata *Cæsar*, diem huic negotio destinatur, &c. In the mean time the Emperor returning from *Rome* by reason of the plague and new rebellions raised by *Hildebrand* in *Germany* Cal. Nov. ut conductum erat, *Romanam* revertitur, maximoque honore excipitur. Nuncii ultro citroque commeant, *Gregorium* & *Cæsarem* in gratiam redigere conantur. *Gregorius* & *Cæsar* absque ulla **pactione, se atque Imperium fide illius permitteret postulabat**. *Cæsari* non fuit consilium vitam, dignitatem, salutem suam atque amicorum, arbitrio inimicorum in potestate acerbissimorum hostium credere, se ense suo jugulare, manubrium & manu dimittere: *Gregorius* tamen simulata pace, fugæ ornatu

a Otto Frisingensis Chron. l. 6. c. 35, 36
b Dan. 2. 40, 41, 42.

Anno 1081, 1082, 1083.
Jo. Aventinus, Annal. lib. 5. p. 461.
Anonimus, & *Cuspinianus* in Henr. 4. *Radulphus de Diceto* Abbreviationes Chron. col. 487.
Sim. Duncelm. Hist. col. 212.
Herman. Schedel chron. *Ætas* 6. mundi, f. 214.
Marianus Scottus, l. 3. Anno 1081. col. 438.
Grimstons Imperial History in the life of H. 4. *Helmoldus* Chron. Sclavorum, l. 1. c. 29, 30.

ornatu dissimulato, *Salernum* ad *Nordmannos* aufugit, & qui omnes in periculum impulerat, omnes in periculo deserit. Cæsar coacto Procerum, Episcoporum Senatui, advocata concione populi, mox majorum, comitia Pontificalia habet; *Hildebrandus* necessitate in rationem versa, * tanquam lupus, fur ac latro, veluti perfidus transfuga, obium desertor, gregis proditor, Christianæ charitatis oso, vit sanguinum, omnium communiter consensu abdicatur. Ex Patribus *Guibertum* *Ravennæ* Archimystam, concordæ ac pacis studiosum, vir bonus atque eruditus, ordinari fecit in Papam, & *Clemens* 3. appellatur, a quo etiam benedictione percepta, a populo Romano salutat est Imperator & Augustus.

I shall render you a more particular account of *Hildebrands*, the Emperors, and this New Pope *Clements* proceedings against each other, out of *Bertoldus Constantiensis*, one of *Hildebrands* faction, living & writing in that age. [a] Anno 1080. *Gregorius* Papa Synodum Romæ, mense *Martio* collegit, ad quam de *Tentonicis* partibus prædictæ sedis Apostolicæ Legati, redierunt, & omnimodam *Rudolfi* obedientiam, & *Heinrici* inobedientiam, Domino Apostolico renunciaverunt; unde ipse in fine Synodi *Heinricum* deposuit, ipsumque cum omnibus suis fautoribus anathemizavit, et *Rudolphum* Apostolica auctoritate in Regia dignitate confirmavit. Unde, æmulus ejus congregata multitudine omnium Schismaticorum sive excommunicatorum apud *Hydruntinam* legitimum Papam abjuravit, & *Guibertum* *Ravennatem* quondam Episcopum, sed jam triennio a Papa *Gregorio*, irrecuperabiliter depositum, & anathemizatum, sibi non in Papam, sed in *Hæresiarcham*, elegit. Deinde apud *Moguntiam* conventu facto, eandem ipsam electionem, a quibuscunque potuit confirmari fecit: (by his Imperial Sovereign Ecclesiastical Authority;) He subjoyns, His temporibus *Heinricus* totam *Italiam* adeo conturbavit, ut nullus secure ad limina Apostolorum posset ire, qui non prius abjuraret, quod ad Papam *Gregorium* diversurus non esset.

Anno 1081. *Heinricus* post obitum Regis *Rudolfi Veronæ* in Pascha venit, & inde ad invadendam Romam, cum suo non Apostolico, sed Apostata *Guiberto*, ut puta Domini Apostolici non semel per juro & anathemizato, profectus, sed mactè reversus est. In the mean time (as he relates) the Archbishops, Bishops and German Princes of *Hildebrands* faction, made and crowned *Hermannus* for their King, by the Popes instigation. Soon after;

[c] *Heinricus* Anno 1082. In *Italiam* assumpto Apostata suo *Guiberto*, iterum Romam invadens proficiscitur, adunata multitudine Schismaticorum, ibique ea ætate moratus, pene incassum laboravit; nisi quod Milites suos quibusdam castellis, ut facerent guerram Romanis, imposuit, qui eum nec hac vice Romam intrare permiserunt. Ignem quoque in domum Sancti *Petri* per quendam traditorem immittere voluit, sed Dei misericordia protegente, non potuit. Cogitavit enim ut de improvviso, portus irrumperet, si Romani derelictis propugnaculis, ad incendium restinguendum concurrerent, unde ignem domibus quibusdam Sancto *Petro* contiguus immitti fecerunt. Sed Dominus Apostolicus huic versutiæ obviavit. Nam primum viso incendio, omnes milites Romanos ad propugnacula defendenda transmisit, ipseque solus fiducia Sancti *Petri* fretus, facto signo Crucis contra incendium, ignem progredi ulterius non permisit. Igitur *Heinricus* capto Venerabili Episcopo de *Sutrinæ*, aliisque nonnullis, suoque Apostata *Guiberto* in *Tiburtina* urbe ad infestandos Romanos derelicto, ipse *Longobardiam* revertitur. *Hermannus* autem Rex multum de adversitate sedis Apostolicæ dolens, eamque de manu *Heinrici* liberare volens, expeditionem in *Italiam* paravit unde & de *Saxonia* in *Sueviam* venit; but was diverted.

[f] An. 1083. Iterum *Heinricus* cum multitudine Schismaticorum sive Excommunicatorum ante Pentecosten Romam impugnaturus aggreditur: sicque *Guibertum* *Ravennatem*, per juro, depositum, & anathemizatum, apud *S. Petrum* inthronizavit. non per *Ostiensensem*, & *Albanensem* & *Portuensem* Episcopos, qui hoc privilegium habent, ut & Papam consecrent: sed per *Mutinensem* & *Ariminensem* Episcopos: utpote jam multis annis depositos & anathemizatos. Statim ergo juxta sanctum *Petrum* quendam monticulum, nomine *Palatium* in Castellum, eique milites multos, ut impugnarent Romanos, imposuit, qui eum *Transiberinis* urbis regiones, nullo pacto intrare permittebant. Multi tamen jam ex Romanis consenserant, partim

[M m 2]

* *Marianus*
Scriptor, Anno
1081.

a *Bertoldus*
Constantiensis,
Presbyter; ad
Hermannum
Appendix, p. 350

Anno 1081
b Ibid. p. 350.

c Ibid. p. 350
Anno 1082

d Ibid. p. 351,
352. Anno
1083.

pretio

pretio inducti, partim multis promissionibus seducti, omnes autem æqualiter jam triennii impugnatione nimium fatigati. Quid plura? **omnes pene Romani**, præter Principem *Salernitanum*, hoc laudaverunt, ut Papa *Gregorius* Synodum in medio *Novembris* colligeret *Roma*, cujus Synodi statuta de causa Regni, nec *Heinrico*, nec Romanis, **imo nulli penitus liceat præbaticari**. *Heinricus* quoque iturus ad illam Synodum, & rediturus, securitatem jurejurando fecit. Unde et Papa omnes religiosos Episcopos & Abbates ad Synodum literis suis vocavit. *Heinricus* (after some stay at *Ravenna*) ad prædictam Synodum profectus est, quo & Legati *Tentonicorum* principum ire debuerant, sed ab *Heinrico* in via apud forum *Cassii* capti, & sedati sunt, circa festum sancti *Martini*, licet omnibus Synodum illam petentibus securitatem juramento promiserit. Unde & Romani multa contra *Heinricum* murmurare ceperunt. Erant autem religiosissimi Monachi & Clerici, quos in captivitate fecit cruciari, (for stirring up rebellions against him in *Saxony* and elsewhere) cum quibus & *Ostouem* venerandum *Ofsiensem* Episcopum captivatum, videlicet, ad ipsum ab Apostolica sede transmissum. Multi tamen ex *Francigenis* ad illam Synodum, tam Episcopi vel Abbates pervenerunt. Meliores autem Episcopi & Domino Apostolico magis necessarij, id est, *Hugo Lugdunensis*, *Anselmus Lucensis*, *Reginaldus Cumanus*, specialiter a *Heinrico* ad Synodum pervenire, prohibiti sunt: Dominus tamen Papa Synodum tribus diebus solenniter celebravit, & ne *Heinricum* iterum spectaliter anathemizaret, vix a Synodo exortatus, omnes tamen excommunicavit, quicumque aliquem ad sanctum Petrum, et Papam venientem impedirent, quoquo modo. Sed jam advenit terminus, ad quem Romani, nesciente Papa, hoc *Heinrico* se effecturos juraverant, aut *Gregorius* Papa eum incoronaret, aut alius quem ipsi illo expulso eligerent. Quod juramentum licet in præterita ætate factum fuerit, omnes tamen intimos Papæ usque ad terminum pene latuit. Adveniente ergo termino, Romani Papæ de juramento manifestaverunt, dicentes, se hoc jurasse, non ut Papa solenniter regali unctione incoronaret, sed tantum simpliciter, ut ei coronam daret. Annuit ergo Papa eorum votis, ut eos a juramento absolveret, viz. *Heinrico*; si vellet cum justitia: sin autem, cum maledictione (*note it*) Coronam daret: Unde Romani mandaverunt, ut **veniret ad accipiendam Coronam cum justitia, si vellet**: Sin autem, de Castello *Sancti Angeli* per virgam sibi demissam a Papa reciperet. Sed *Heinrico* utrumque recusante, alium Legatum illi direxere, qui eos bello defenderet si necesse esset. Se bene attendisse quid juraverint, nec se amplius eo juramento detineri obnoxios. Igitur Domino Papæ multo firmius, quam pridem, consilio adhæresere. Sed jam septennio totum Romanum Imperium civili bello, nimio schismatis dissidio, laboravit: alius quidem Domino Apostolico, aliis autem *Heinrico* faventibus, & ob hoc utrinque totum Regnum præda, ferro et igne miserabiliter devastantibus, paucissimi Catholici Episcopi ex parte Apostolici remanserunt, qui et a proprijs sedibus expulsi, suis gregibus providere non permittebantur. Quapropter, omnes pene religiosi, sive Clerici, sive Laici, in aliqua Monasteriorum latibula hujusmodi mala declinaverunt: ne videlicet devastationem sanctæ Ecclesiæ cernerent, cui in nullo adminiculari possent. Satijs enim illis videbatur, ut saltem seipos, delitescendo salvarent, quam pro alijs incassum laborando cum eisdem perirent.

^a Ibidem, p. 357
354.

a Anno 1084. *Reginaldus Cumanus* Episcopus, *Gregorii* Papæ adjutor studiosissimus migravit ad Dominum, & *Sigefridus Moguntiensis* Archiepiscopus, *Gregorio* Papæ per multas tribulationes adjutor indefessus, requievit in pace. *Heinricus Aquileiensis* Patriarcha, non semel Domino Apostolico perjuris & excommunicatus, in corpore & anima moritur. In die Resurrectionis Dominicæ *Heinricus* a heresiarcha suo *Ravennate*, **coronam, non gloriæ, sed confusionis accepit**; Nam hujusmodi coronator, juxta attestationem sanctorum Patrum, non benedictionem quam perdidit, sed damnationem, quam habuit, suo coronato imposuit. Erat enim ipse *Ravennas* Archiepiscopus & omnimodam obedientiam Romano Pontifici juravit, quam & non nullo tempore fideliter exequutus est; sed non multo post spreto juramento, singulari contumacia **contra Apostolicam sedem erigitur**. Unde ab Apostolica sede & ab Episcopis totius Ecclesiæ in Romana Synodo post Canonicas inducias irrecuperabiliter deponitur, & anathemizatur; nec hoc semel, nec in una Synodo, sed in omnibus Synodis quotquot jam sexennio Romæ celebratæ sunt. Hic ergo in perjurio ita

ita inveteratus, & pro eadem sapius irrevocabiler depositus & anathemizatus (*so little did he esteem this Antichristian Popes frequent Anathemas, or his Synods*) sedem Romani Pontif: cui obedientiam juravit, *pro manus Anathematizatoz, utpote sui similium, p̄terito anno invasit, legitimo pastore adhuc eidem sede p̄sidente: nempe Mutinensis & Aretinus Exepiscopi cum reliquis excommunicatis eum ordinaverunt. Qui etiam si Catholici essent & Apostolica sedes Pastorem non haberet, nullum tamen eidem sedi Pontificem ordinare possent. Hujus etiam ordinationis privilegium solis Cardinalibus Episcopis, Ostiensis, Albanensis, & Portuensis, a sanctis Patribus est concessum, nec aliquibus aliis conceditur, ipsis hoc adimplere valentibus. Sed hi libentius omnia extrema paterentur, quam tam sacrilegæ ordinationi, tanquam superbissimæ p̄sumptioni miscerentur, quem et ipsi cum Domino Apostolico Synodali judicio canonice damnarunt. Ergo Mutinensis & Aretinus cum reliquis hæreticis, Ravennatem illum, non in Romanum Patriarcham, quod nullo modo potuerunt, sed in damnatissimum hæresiarchum promoverunt, ut quanto altius inter ipsos emineret, tanto majoris damnationis privilegium possideret (*writes this Hildebrandian fury*) Quapropter & Henricus ab eodem incoronatus, damnationem ejus hæreditasse non dubitatur. Similiter & omnes quicunque aliquid, quod a Domino Papa suscipiendum esset, a p̄dicto hæresiarcha quasi susceptum, usurpaverunt. * Abbas Vespergensis records, Imperator ipsis (Romanis) petentibus, ut quia Hildebrandus ab ipsis abdicatus, aufugerat, Wigbertum Ravennensem Episcopum, eis Apostolicum p̄ficeret. xi. Kal. Aprilis feria 6. ante diem Palmarum multis stipatus cum magna gloria intravit, ducens secum p̄dictum Episcopum, Qui sequente Dominica per multos Episcopos Apostolico nomine dicatus, nomenque Clementis accipiens, reberenter est intronizatus. A quo Rex cum Regina Bertha in sancta Dominica Paschæ imperiali dignitate sublimatus est. * Bertholdus thus proceeds, Morabatur autem Henricus in Lateranensi Palatio cum Ravennate suo, nec a fidelibus Papæ per Civitatem ad sanctum Petrum transire permittebatur, sed in ipsa Paschali hebdomada fideles aggreditur, in qua congressione 40. pene inter mortuos & vulneratos perdidit; nam reliqui fugerunt: ex parte autem domini Papæ nec unus cecidit. A Papal pious celebration of Easter by these Martial Popes, even in Rome it self. Pope Gregory being overpowred at Rome by the Emperors forces, therupon hired and sent for Robert Wiscard to assist him. Hereupon Robertus Wiscardus Dux Normannorum in servitium Sancti Petri post Calendas Maii Romam armata manu invasit, fugato Henrico, totam urbem Gregorio Papæ rebellem, penitus exspoliavit, & majorem ejus partem igni consumpsit, eo quod Romani quendam ejus Militem vulneraverant. Deinde acceptis obsidibus a Romanis, & in Castello Sancti Angeli, quod domum Theodorici dicunt, reservatis, ipse ad recuperandam terram Sancti Petri reversurus, in brevi plurima Castella, & Civitates Domino Papæ recuperavit. Henricus autem Roberto resistere non valens, ad partes Teutonicorum satis festinanter revertitur. * Interim Henricus, congregata multitudinem schismaticorum, VVecilonem Clericum, Halverstatenfis Episcopi fugitivum, Moguntinensis Episcopatu remuneravit, eo quod illi in omni pertinacia contra Dominum & sanctum Petrum indefessus cooperator adfuit. Qui ipse jamdudum anathemizatus, & ab anathemizationis electus, nihilominus etiam ab anathemizationis juxta Pelagium Papam non consecratus est: nam juxta beatissimos Patres, Innocentium, Leonem atque Gregorium, nihil nisi damnationem & maledictionem a damnatis accipere potuit; Dominus autem Papa collecta Synodo, iterum sententiam anathematis in Guibertum hæresiarchum, et Henricum, et omnes eorum fautores promulgavit; quod et in festo sancti Johannis Baptistæ p̄terito jamdudum Romæ fecit, cum Henricus adhuc ibi moraretur. Hanc sententiam Legati sedis Apostolicæ, videlicet, Petrus Albanensis Episcopus in Francia, Otto Ostiensis Episcopus in terra Teutonicorum usque quaque divulgavit. Qui cum in Alemannia moraretur Sanctæ Constantiensis Ecclesiæ jamdudum viduatæ, Catholicum Episcopum ordinavit, scilicet Gebhardum Bertholdi Ducis filium; hunc sane invitum, imo multum ejulantem ac reclamantem, Constantiensibus Clericis et Laicis petentibus & laudantibus, Episcopum consecravit.

* Hermannus Rex Nativitatem Domini Goslare celebravit, ad quem p̄fatus Ostiensis Episcopus post Epiphaniam pervenit in Saxoniam, & Colloquio interfuit, quod Saxones contra Henrici fautores condixerunt, ut hoc illis probarent, se jure Hen-

* per

* Chronicon.
Anno 1084.
p. 225.

* Ibidem

* Bertoldi Con-
stantiens. ad
Hermannum, Ap-
pendix, p. 355

Anno 1085
* Bertoldi Con-
stantiensis ad
Hermannum,
Appendix, p.
355. See Abbas
Vespergensis
Chronicon,
Aventinus An-
nal. Boiorum, l.
1. 5. Centur.
Magd. 11. 6. 10

visum

ricum vitare ut excommunicatum : Quod & facto colloquio decimo quinto die post Epiphaniam, firmissime probaverunt, ea videlicet ratione, quia Romanus Pontifex illum eis a se in Romano Synodo anathematizatum, literis denunciavit. Adversarii autem eis objecerunt, quod Papa cum nequiverit excommunicare, eo quod expoliatus non potuerit vocari, judicari sive damnari. Ad hoc Saxones responderunt, Se judicium sedis Apostolicæ nec debere retractare, nec posse, hoc cum illo potius tractandum, qui illum damnaverit, non cum Saxonibus, quod damnationi ejus non interfuerint, qui sedis Apostolicæ judicio nullam retractationem sed obedientiam debuerint. Ita ergo soluto colloquio discesserunt ab invicem.

Eo tempore *Hildefheimensis* Episcopus cum suis sequacibus manus Saxonum vix evalit, eo quod contra commune votum totius Saxonie *Henricianis* se admiscuerit. Pro eadem etiam culpa Comes *Theodoricus* eodem tempore occisus est a nostræ partis fautoribus. Præfatus quoque sedis Apostolicæ Legatus prædicto Episcopo, cum nollet respicere, officium penitus interdixit. *Hermannus* Rex in *Quintineburg* Pascha celebravit, ubi & Legatus Domini Apostolici in ipsa Paschali hebdomada *Generalem Synodum* cum Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, & Abbatibus sancti Petri fidelibus, solenniter celebravit. Interfuit autem huic Synodo *Gebehardus* Reverendissimus *Fruvianensis* Archiepiscopus, Item Venerabilis *Haringus* *Magideburgensis* Archiepiscopus, cum Suffraganeis. Item Suffraganei *Moguntia* sedis de Saxonie, nam *Wurceburgensis* et *Wormatiensis*, *Augustus* quoque, & *Constantiensis* de *Alemania*, quique ipsi Canonica necessitate impediti venire non potuerunt, per legationem suam se sancto Concilio repræsentaverunt, seque per omnia ejusdem Synodi statuta assensuros, mandaverunt. Rex etiam *Hermannus* cum suis Principibus eidem Synodo interfuit. Cum ergo omnes juxta ordinem suum confedissent, prolata sunt in medium Decreta Sanctorum Patrum de primatu sedis Apostolicæ; (to wit, of Pope *Hildebrand*, and some others of his Gang) quod nulli unquam liceat ejus judicium retractare, et de ejus judicio judicare. Quod de totius Synodi publica professione laudatum, & confirmatum est: et hoc utique contra *Heinricianos* qui fideles Sancti Petri constringere voluerunt, ut excommunicationem Domini Papæ *Gregorii* super *Heinricum*, cum illis retractare præsumerent. Quidam autem *Babenbergenfis* Clericus, nomine *Gunibertus*, Romani Pontificis primatu derogare volens, in mediam Synodum se contulit, asserens, Romanos Pontifices hunc sibi primatum ascriptisse, non aliunde concessum hæreditasse, videlicet, nullus de eorum judicio judicare debeat, nec illi alicuius judicio subiaceant. Qui cum aperte a tota Synodo confutaretur, præcipue tamen a quodam Laico convictus est per illud Evangelicum, * *Non est discipulus supra Magistrum*; Cum enim hoc generaliter in omnibus Ecclesiasticis ordinibus, observandum deputeretur, ne major a minore judicetur, quis hoc Vicario Sancti Petri denegare potuit, quem omnes Catholici pro Domino & Magistro venerantur? (though Christ never made nor owned the Pope for his Vicar, never excommunicated any Emperor, King, but submitted to their powers, and censures too, as this Pope ought to do, not being above his Lord, by this very objected Text) In eadem Synodo, ordinatio *Wecilonis*, *Moguntini* invasoris, & *Sigefridi Augustensis*, & *Notberti Curienfis* imo omnes ordinationes & consecrationes excommunicatorum, penitus irritæ judicatæ sunt, juxta decreta Sanctorum Patrum *Innocentii*, *Leonis* primi, *Pelagii*, atque ejus successoris *Gregorii* I. Item Secta prædicti *Wecilonis* ejusque sociorum, sub anathemate damnata est, * quæ asserit, seculares suis rebus expoliatos Ecclesiastico non subjacere judicio, nec excommunicari posse, pro suis excessibus; quæque excommunicatos absque reconciliatione recipi posse contendit. Statutum est autem ibi, ut quicumque ab Episcopo suo, nec officio nec communionem privato, excommunicatus esset, et si in iuste, nullatenus tamen recipere tur ad communionem, nisi absolutus Ecclesiastico more. Similiter & pro Sacrilegio excommunicatos, decrevit sancta Synodus non recipiendos, absque solita reconciliatione, & nisi dudum, quæ sacrilege sibi vendicaverant, reddidissent, &c. In fine autem Synodi sententia anathematis, cum ardentibus candelis promulgata est, in *Gunibertum* Hæresiarcham, sedis Apostolicæ perbasorem, et in Apostatas sancti

* See *Gratian*,
Distinct. 22, 23
40.

* *Joan.* 13. 16.
c. 15. 20.

* See *Avent. An-*
nal. Boiorum, l.
5 *Abbas Ulper-*
gensis, anno
1085. p. 225.
Centur. Magd.
11. cap. 10.

at Petri, Hugonem Albanensem, Joannem Portuensem Exepiscopos, Petrum Excellarium, Item in Leomarem Bremensem, Utonem Hildesheimensem, Ottonem Constantiensem, Burchardum Basiliensem, Huzmannum Spirensensem Exepiscopos, Item in Vvecilonem Moguntinum inuasorem, Sigefridum Augustensem, Nortbertum Curiensem, in hos inquam, & in omnes eorum Complices, inevitabilis sententia anathematis promulgata est; only for their loyalty and obedience to Henry their lawful King.

Anno 1085. Synodus Moguntia habetur, cui interfuit Imperator, ubi presentibus Legatis Romanis, (to wit, of Pope Clements party) omnes Episcopi rebelles Imperatori, deponendi judicantur; ceteri vero anathemate, ut videbatur, condemnantur. Ibi etiam communi consilio constituta est Pax Dei: Non multo post substitutis ab Imperatore per parochias abdicatozum Præsulibus. In locum Aldebronus, Mainbaraus, Wrciburgensis, Ecclesiæ Præsul ordinatur, the Emperor still retaining his antient right of Investitures.

[b] Bertoldus Constantiensis, of the Hildebrandian faction, thus relates and traduceth this Synods proceedings. Sed hi omnes adversarii Ecclesiæ Dei, in tertia hebdomada, post finitam Synodum, suam Moguntia collegenterunt, non Synodum, sed Conciliabulum, in quo umbratilem sententiam excommunicationis, contra fideles Sancti Petri depromplerunt, utpote nequaquam illos excommunicare valentes, sed apertissime seiplos a communione Catholicorum sequestrantes, ut non tantum iudicio sanctæ Ecclesiæ, sed et proprio eorum iudicio, sicut omnes hæretici, a Catholicis essent separati. Sedes quoque Catholicorum Episcopozum viventium, temeraria cupiditate cæcati, sibi vendicare non timuerunt.

Deus autem omnipotens suis fidelibus per seipsum auxiliari non cessavit, suumque iudicium super inimicos sanctæ Ecclesiæ mirabiliter exercuit. Nam totam pene Italiam, in qua potissimum furebant, tam magni fames obtinuit, ut homines non tantum immunda quæque, sed etiam humanam carnem manducarent. Quam famem inaudita mortalitas subsequuta est, ut nec tertia pars hominum remaneret, sed deficiente Colono, maxima pars terræ in solitudinem redacta est. Padus quoque fluvius Longobardie, ripas suas excedens, multa castella, villas, imo circajacentes regiones penitus submersit, & inhabitabiles reddidit; Ipsa etiam Capita schismaticorum eo tempore, heu misere abiire in locum suum, videlicet Parmensis, & Rhegiensis Episcopi, Theodatus Mediolanensis non Archiepiscopus, sed Antichristus, Adalbertus & Reinherus Marchiones, & Comes Bosio, & alii innumerabiles, quorum factione tota pene Italia contra Dominum Papam, & Sanctum Petrum se erexit. Hi quoque Mathildam (Hildebrands Mistress) prudentissimam ducem & fidelissimam Sancti Petri Militem multis injuriis affecerunt in Italia. Illis autem divina animadversio de medio sublatis, ipsa suam potestatem recuperavit, et Sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ in omnibus adminiculi non cessavit, sicque ejus prudentia Mutinensi Ecclesiæ & Regensi atque Pistorensi Catholici Pastores ordinati sunt, by meer force and usurpation.

I have presented you with this large relation, how these two Popes Hildebrand and Clement, the Hildebrandian & Imperial Councils, Bishops, parties, excommunicated, execrated, deposed, slaughtered one the other, condemning each others Doctrins, practices, Decrees as schismatical and heretical: whose judgements, because they may seem partial in their own cases, I shall acquaint you with the resolutions of two Greek Fathers, living if not during, yet very few years before Hildebrands antimonarchical Innovations and Positions. The 1. of them is e Oecumenius, or whoever else was the Collector of Enarrationes in omnes Pauli Epistolas, attributed to him: The 2d. f Theophylactus Bulgariorum Archiep. who in their Enarrationes in Epist. ad Roman. c. 13. v. 1, 2, 3, (written about the years 1050, & 1075. seem professedly to oppugn both his doctrine and practices, Both their Expositions of St Pauls Text are the same in sense, if not in syllables, with little or no variation: Omnis anima Potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit, &c.] Postquam abunde paravit mores auditorum, eosque docuit, ut hostibus essent benigni; hanc etiam subiungit admonitionem; erudiens & instruens omnem animam, sive Sacerdos sit quispiam, sive Monachus, sive Apostolus, (and Hildebrand was or would be reputed all three) ut Magistratibus (or Principatibus as Theophylactus translator renders it) subdantur. Nam

c Abbas Vspensis, Chronicon, p. 225. Cent. Magd. 11 c. 10. Aventinuz Annal. Boiorum, l. 5.

c Ad Hermannum, Appendix p. 357.

Anno 1077. e Oecumenius, Enarrat. in Epist. ad Rom. c. 13. Parisiis 1547. f. 369, 370. f Theophylacti Opera Basileæ, 1570, p. 374. 375.

hac subjeſſio non everit, (or invertit) pietatem. Admonet autem hoc Apoſtolus, oſtendens; Quod Evangelium non doceat defectionem, vel inobedientiam aut contumaciam, ſed benevolentiam magis, ac obedientiam. Magnam ubique capitis huius rationem habet, oſtendens, non ad ſubverſionem communis diſciplinæ Chriſti leges eſſe; quumque ſufficientes ſint, veritatis cauſa bellum in Nos gerant; quid, inquit, neceſſe eſt nobis ipſis ſuper ſuos procurare adverſarios? Non eſt poteſtas nili a Deo. Principatus enim eſſe, & hunc quidem gubernare, alium vero gubernari, nec omnia ſuſum ac deorſum ferri, divina ſapientie opus eſſe dico, &c. Omnes ergo poteſtates a Deo ordinata ſive facta ſunt, quomocunque conſideraveris; ſive patris erga filium, ſive viri erga uxorem, ſive alias omnes, etiam quæ in animalibus ſint, puta apibus, græbus ac piſcibus. Itaque quiſquis reſiſtit poteſtati, Dei ordinationi reſiſtit. Ne abjeſti viderentur Chriſti ſervi, ſi Principibus ſubjicientur, oſtendit, quod parere oporteat, et non inobedientes eſſe Principibus, nam qui hoc facit, Deo reſiſtit, qui Principatus conſtituit, &c. Enforcing all St. Paul's reaſons to this purpoſe, formerly preſſed by others in and from this Text; which no Hildebrandian ſhifts could ever yet elude, or enervate, eſpecially being written to all the * Saints, Church, Priests, Biſhops of Rome it ſelf, even whiles under Pagan Emperors, Princes, Senators, who ought to pay as ample ſubjection, obedience in all ſucceeding Generations to their Chriſtian Emperors, as Paul, Peter themſelves, and all Saints, Biſhops, Priests of Rome in their age, actually did, and are here preciſely enjoined to render to the very worſt of their Pagan Caſars.

* Rom. i. 6, 7,
c. 16 3, 4, 5, 7,
12, 15, 17, 18.

c Alexiados, lib.
i. Edit. Auguſt.
1610. p. 31, 32.

Befides [a] Annas Comnenas, an ancient Greek Hiſtorian, writes thus ironically of Hildebrands ſeditious practices; Iſte vero exerecrandus Papa, cum ſpiritali gratia, & Evangelica pace tota manu ac mente, princeps ac bellum civile progreditur, ille nimirum pacificus atque Pacifici diſcipulus; ad Saxonum enim mittens Duces, ac tum alias multas eis conditiones offerens, tum etiam ſe facturum eos Reges occidentis promittens, ita ad ſe viros allicit; uſque adeo facilem ac promptam habuit ille dextram ad ordinationem Regum: againſt St. Paul's and Peter's foretold precepts, and preſidents.

Neither did the Emperor Henry alone in that age exerciſe Dominion over his Biſhops, but the * French, Scotiſh, Engliſh Kings then did the like, (as I ſhall evidence in its proper place) but the Kings of Poland too, though one of them then exceeded the bounds of Juſtice and Chriſtianity. For [b] Stanilaus Sciepanovius, Biſhop of Cracovia in Poland, in the year 1079. during Hildebrands Papacy, cum pro officio Regem Boſilaum amicis primum, poſt vero acerbioribus monitis admoneret verbis, ut ſævitiæ, expilationes, adulteria, luxum, et in rebus adminiſtrandis ſocordiam et ignaviæ exueret, tandem cum fruſtra ſapius monuiſſet, anathematis vinculo eum aſtrinxit. Whereupon, tulit hac juſto ægrius Rex, & capta occasione, Episcopum in Templo magna immanitate obtruncavit, diſcerptasque corporis portiones foras canibus veſcendas objecit, Octavo nonas Maii, Anno Dom. 1079. on which [c] Gaguinus thus deſcants:

Pontificem ſecuit fruſtratim, reſta monentem,
Urbis Pontificem, maxime Croce, tua;
O ſcelus, O portentum, O noſtri infamia Regni!
Non tibi ſacrilega tunc cecidere manus?

Conſcius itaque Boſilaus perpetrati facinoris poenitentia adactus, regno relicto in ignotas regiones profeſtus eſt, ubi in habitu peregrino vitam clauſit. Some write, that Sacris a Romano Pontifice (Gregorio 7.) interdictum erat Polonia ob Stanilaus eadem, till Wladilaus, Boſellai frater, Lambertum Romam, veniam petendi cauſa, mittit; quem Episcopum deſignatum Cracoviæ, re feliciter ſimul conſecta, ad ſuos remiſit ſeptimus Gregorius: Though Platina and others make no mention of this Interdict or releaſe thereof in Hildebrands life; which I having ſo long inſiſted on; Take now this moſt favourable relation of his death, from Bertoldus Constantienſis his pen: [d] Sed jam Deus omnipotens famulum ſuum Gregorium Papam nolens diutius laborare, imo pro laboribus ſuis digne remunerare volens, de huius vitæ ergaſtulo eum vocavit. Nam aliquanto tempore graviter corpore infirmatus, ſed in defenſione

d Ad Herman-
num Appendix,
p. 337.

* See Pierre de
Pythou Pruvéz.
des Libertez
de Legliſe Gal-
licane.

c Cromerus de
Rebus Polo-
nia, l. 4. Crant-
zius, l. 3. c. 13,
14. Vandalia.
Centur. Magd.
11. c. 10. col.
606.

d Alex. Guag.
Rerum, Polen.
Tom. i. p. 76,
78.

fione iustitiæ usque ad mortem firmissimus, *Salerni* diem clausit extremum. De cuius obitu omnes religiosi utriusque sexus, & maxime pauperes doluerunt. Erat enim **Catholicæ religionis ferventissimus institutor, et ecclesiasticæ libertatis strenuissimus defensor.** Noluit sane ut Ecclesiasticus ordo manibus Laicorum subiaceret, sed eisdem et morum sanitate et ordinis dignitate præmineret, quod illum latere non poterit, quicumque ejusdem Apostolici Registrum diligenter perlegerit. Postquam autem in gubernatione sedis Apostolicæ, imo totius Ecclesiæ, duodecim annos & unum mensem legitime detertavit, tandem ex hac luce, Anno incarnationis Dominicæ 1085. Indict. Octavo 8 Cal. Junii, subtractus supernæ vocationis *Beatus* accepisse non dubitatur, sepultus *Salerni* in Ecclesia Sancti *Matthæi*, quam ipse eodem anno dedicavit. Sed *Ghibertus* hæresiarcha multum de obitu ejus latabatur, licet parum prosperitatis suæ parti in eo lucraretur. Nam omnes Catholici post mortem Domini Apostolici non minus quam ante, eidem Hæresiarchæ resisterunt, ipsumque de Roma *Ravennam* repedare compulerunt.

St. *Brigit* of Sweden (canonized for a Saint by the Bulls of Pope *Boniface* the 9. and *Martin* the 5th. prefixed to her Revelations, l. 1. c. 41. printed *Nurembergi* 1521. brings in Jesus Christ himself thus complaining of 5. sorts of men, *quia multipliciter offendent me*, the first whereof is the Pope, (what Pope it was she intended, I cannot certainly define, unlesse it was this *Hildebrand*) of whom Christ there thus complained; *Nunc igo conqueror super te, Caput Ecclesiæ meæ, qui sedes in se te meæ, quam Petro & successoribus eius tradidi ad sedendum in ea, triplici dignitate ac autoritate. Primo*, ut potestatem haberent ligandi animas, & solvendi a peccato. *Secundo*, ut aperirent cælum poenitentibus. *Tertio*, ut clauderent cælum maledictis & contemnentibus. *Sed tu qui deberes solvere animas, & ad me præsentare, tu vere es animarum interfector.* *Ego eum institui* (Petrum) *pastorem & servatorem ovium mearum.* Tu autem es disperfor et lacerator earum. Tu autem peior es Lucifer. Ipse enim habebat ad me invidiam, & nullum concupivit occidere nisi me, ut pro me dominaretur. Tu autem tanto deterior es, quod non solum occides me, removendo me a te per mala opera tua, sed et animas occides per malum exemplum tuum. *Ego redemi animas sanguine meo, & commisi eas tibi tanquam amico fideli.* Tu autem tradis eas iterato inimico, a quo redemi eas. Tu es injustior Pilato, qui nullum judicabat ad mortem nisi me: Tu autem non solum judicas me quasi nullius Dominatorem, et nullus boni dignum, imo et animas innocentes condemnas, et nocentes dimittis. Tu es immitior Juda, qui me solum vendidit, Tu autem non solum vendis me, sed et animas electorum meorum, pro turpi lucro tuo et vano nomine. Tu es abominabilior Judæis: Ipsi crucifixerunt corpus meum solum; Tu autem crucifigis et punis animas electorum meorum, quibus malicia tua et transgressio amarior est omni gladio. Et ideo, quia tu similis es Lucifero, injustior Pilato, immitior Juda, abominabilior Judæis, ideo merito conqueror super te. After which she there brings in Christ himself, by S. *Peters* advice, passing this sentence against the Pope; *Hæc autem est vera iustitia*, ut primus qui sedet in sede tua, et opera habet Luciferi, amittat cum contemptu sedem in qua præsumpsit sedere (as Luciferian Pope *Hildebrand* did) et particeps sit pena Luciferi: Then she introduceth Christ himself swearing thrice by God the Father, his own body, and the holy Ghost, *quid faciam iustitiam super hos*: and passing this memorable Judgement upon the Pope, his Ministers, Members, Vicars, adhering to him, *Gladius meæ severitatis in corpus tuum intrabit, qui a superiori capitis ingreditur, et sic profunde et valenter infigetur, ut nunquam extrahatur. Sedes tua mergetur quasi lapis ponderosus, qui non subsistat antequam venerit in nobissimum profundum*: *Digitus id est, assessores, ardebunt igni sulphureo et inextinguibili*: *Brachia tua, id est Vicarii, ad animarum profectum extendi deberent*; sed extenduntur ad utilitatem mundi et honorem; *judicabuntur penam quam*

quam dicit David; Fiant filii ejus orphani, & uxor ejus vidua, & alieni recipiant substantiam ejus: *Qua est uxor ejus nisi anima? quæ relinquetur a gloria coelesti, et erit vidua Deo.* Filii ejus, id est virtutes quas habere videbatur, & simplices mei qui sub ipsis erant, separabuntur ab eis, & dignitas eorum & bona ad alios devolvuntur; et ipsi pro dignitate æternam confusionem hæreditabunt. Deinde ornatus Capitis eorum demergetur in lutum inferni, a quo nunquam confurgent: Ut sicut hic per honorem et superbiam super alios ascenderunt, sic in inferno pro aliis demergentur ita proinde, ut impossibile sit eis resurgere. Let all proud Popes chew the cud upon it.

* The Popes
triple Crown
& Miter.

Having thus presented you with Hildebrands Antichristian practises in his life; hear Benno Cardinalis, & Siebertus Gemblacensis both living in that age, Anno 1085. Mat. Paris Historiæ Angl. Anno Domini 1084, 1086. Vincentius Speculum Hist. l. 36. c. 82. Florentius Wigorniensis Anno 1106. Antonini Chron. Tit. 16. cap. 1. sect. 21. Magnum Chronicon Bellicum, p. 124. Dr. Barnes, Balas, and others in Vita Greg. 7 Cent: Magd. 11. c. 8. 10. Chronicon Joannis Brompton, col. 978. Henricus de Knighton de Eventibus Angliæ, l. 2. c. 3. Lambertus Schaffnaburgensis Histor. Anno 1074. &c. Crispinian in Henrico 4. learned [c] Philip de Morney, [d] Dr. Crakenhorp, [e] Bishop Usher, [f] Dr. Beard, Bishop Downham, Dr. Squire, with sundry others out of them, who give us this account of Hildebrands last words, repentance, absolution of the Emperor and all others Excommunications at his death. Hildebrandus Papa, qui & Gregorius VII. apud Salernum exulans moritur. *Volumus vos scire, qui Ecclesiasticæ curæ solliciti estis; quia Dominus Apostolicus Hildebrandus, qui et Gregorius, nunc in extremis positus, ad se vocavit unum de vris. Cardinalibus quem præ cæteris diligebat, et confessus est, Deo et Sancto Petro, et toti Ecclesiæ, se valde peccasse in Pastoralis cura, quæ ei ad regendum erat commissa, seque suadente Diabolo, contra humanum genus iram Dei et odium concitasse. Postea vero sententiam quæ in orbe terrarum effusa est, pro augmento Christianitatis revocasse, dicebat. Tunc demum misit prædictum Confessorem suum ad Imperatorem, et ad totam Ecclesiam, ut optaret ei indulgentiam, quia finem vitæ suæ aspiciebat; et jam cito induturus erat angelicam vestem: et dimisit et dissolvit vincula omnium banorum suorum Imperatori et omni populo Christiano, vivis et defunctis, Laicis et Clericis, et jussit suos abire de domo Theodorici, et amicos Imperatoris ascendere.*

g Jac. Usserius De Christianarum Ecclesiæ successionibus & statu, c. 5. 6. Aventinus Annal. Boiorum l. 5. Onuphrius in vita Greg. 7

I have more largely related this History of Pope Hildebrands Antimonarchical, as well as Antichristian proceedings, upon these considerations: 1. Because he was the first visible founder, or rather of that Antichristian Papal Sovereignty & Tyranny, which his ambitious Successors have since presumed to claim, exercise over Christian Emperors, Kings, Kingdoms, Churches, Prelates: The first who attempted to excommunicate, depose, interdict the Roman Emperors, give their Crowns, Kingdoms to others; to absolve all their subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance to them, and excite Subjects to rebell and take up arms against their rightfull Kings, to dethrone them, for not obeying their Papal Decrees. 2ly. Because he was the chief contriver (before & after his intrusion into Peters pretended Chair) how to deprive the Roman Emperors of their antient hereditary Sovereign Ecclesiastical right of electing, ratifying, investing, confirming Popes, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops; and to defraud, robb all other Christian Kings, Princes, Nobles, Lay-Patrons of their Patronages, Presentations, Collations to Bishopricks, Benefices, or any other Ecclesiastical dignities, under the false pretext of Simony, Heresy, Sacrilege, Idolatry, wherewith he branded it, on purpose to monopolize the sale and disposal of them to himself and his Successors, to make all his Bishops, Clergymen, and Religious Orders sworn Vassals, Feudatories, Votaries, Servants to, and sole Dependants on the See of Rome, but perfidious Traytors, Rebels to their own natural Kings, Princes, as exempted from, and having no Dominion over them, nor engagements to them. 3ly. Because he was the first Pope who violently persecuted married Priests, prohibiting all Laymen to hear their Masses, &c. unlesse they were totally divorced from their wives in obedience to his Papal Decrees, Which

h Platina, Onuphrius, Martinus Polonus, Barnes, Balas, in Gregor. 7: Siebertus, & Schaffnaburgensis, Anno 1074. Cent. Magd. 11. c. 10. col. 485, 486. Mat. Paris, Hist. Angl. Ann. 1074, 1077, 1084.

Which Antichristian Usurpations, Innovations of his being the Original ground, president of all his Successors intollerable Encroachments on, proceedings of like nature against our English Kings, and their Sovereign Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; and the Emperor *Henries* oppositions against him and his encroachments, a grand encouragement to our Kings vigorous oppositions against his successors usurpations of like nature in *England*; (the chief Subject of my ensuing History;) I deemed it not only expedient, but absolutely necessary, to present the world with a full and faithful *Narrative* of his *Hildebrandian* Antimonarchical *Sentences, Decretals, Proceedings*; the oppositions made against them, which have ever since infected all Christian States, Churches, with high contests, schisms, wars between the *Crown* and *Miter*: And before I proceed to his Successors, I shall give you this further Account of these 3. particulars, beginning with the Original ground of the quarrel, *Investitures* and *Simony*.

I have * formerly discovered how some of *Hildebrands* immediate Predecessors (by his advice and instigation) made several *Decrees, Constitutions* against Clergy-mens receiving *Investitures*, or *Presentations* to Bishopricks & Ecclesiastical *Benefices* from Lay-mens hands, under the false odious crime of *Simony*, to render it detestable to the ignorant vulgar, which produced little or no effect, till *Hildebrand* himself, as Legat to Pope *Stephen* the 9th. and others, put them in vigorous execution, * depriving many *Bishops* and others in *France, Germany*, under the Notion of *Simonacks*, which he more violently prosecuted after he became Pope. Hence our famous Historian *William of Malmesbury*, living in that age, stores, *Quod alii Pontifices inuistauerant (missitauerant)* reads * *Morney*) *palam extulit, excommunicans electos, qui investituras Ecclesiarum de manu Laici per annulum et baculum acciperent. Unde Imperator Henricus Alemannorum, fremens quod sine sua conscientia talia præsumeret, et quod excommunicationem in eum propter Investituras Ecclesiarum promulgaverat, cum exercitu veniens Romam obsedit, Hildebrandum expulit, Guibernum Ravennatem introducit*; This being the original occasion of all the Differences, Contests, Wars between them. To passe by * *Waltramius Naumbergensis* Episc. his *Libellus de Investituris* in defence of the Emperors right therein, written in that age.

(c) *Joannes Aventinus* reciting Pope *Adrians* Decree, made and sworn to by him and the Council of *Rome*, * *Nullum postea fore, neque Romanum, neque aliorum temporum Antistitem, nisi quem Carolus, successoresque ejus sciverint & jusserint, &c. Subjunctus, Defuncto igitur Præsule quopiam, Sacerdotes lituum cum annulo ad aulam mittebant, cui ea Princeps solenni ritu tradebat, is ejusdem famini Rector designatus erat. Ita observatum esse sine controversia ad Henrici quarti Imperium, legimus. Christissimi quique & amplissimi viri, advenæ etiam, ultro aulam frequentabant, spe dignitatis augendæ, & adipiscendi Sacerdotii illecti, absque stipendio in omnibus Principi dicto obediens erant, quemadmodum nostro ævo *Roma* fieri solet. Sub *Henrico quarto*, & *Gregorio septimo* cum maximo Reipublicæ Christianæ detrimento, de hoc aucupio armis, non citra sanguinem decertari ceptum; *Imp. veterem morem* (as they had just cause) *a tot sanctissimis Pontificibus traditum, comprobatumque, mordicus retinere*; Maximi Pontifices jam pares opibus Cæsaris, in se trahere conabantur, nec amplius ferre parem, nedum superiorem, dilati ab Imperatoribus nostris, & ad id fastigii perducti, poterant. *Est omnino iniquum* (sicut ait *Plinius*) *sed nobis quoque n' n' j' receptum, quod honesta consilia vel turpia, prout male vel proflere cedunt, ita aut probantur, vel reprehenduntur*. Inde plerumq; eadem facta, modo superstitionis, modo pietatis, modo Christi, modo Antichristi, modo justiciæ, modo tyrannidis nomina accipiunt. *Diutius in se Christiani Principes*, summa pietatis ac religionis jactura debacchati sunt (concerning *Investitures*.) Vicit tandem Romanorum Flaminum fortuna.*

He elsewhere observes, That *hactenus* (till Pope *Hildebrands* Papacy) *Pontifices Romani Comitibus curiatis, calatis, a Sacerdotibus*, equitatu, plebe, Senatu, per omnium generum *Suffragia* electi fuerant, id tum ratum fuisse reperio, si Imperatores Romani, authores fierent, qui illos, sicuti alios *Episcopos* ad *Concilia* jure suo evocabant. Cæteros quoque universos Pontifices Monachorum, Mystrarum Magistratos, ex consilii decreto comitiis centuriatis, per *suffragia purpuratorum*, more majorem, Imperatores per *Germaniam, Galliam, Teutonium, Italiam, Romanum or-*

* Here, p. 216, 217, 219, 241, 243, 244, 245, 246.

* Chron. Antonini Tit. 16 c. 1. Sect. 21 b De Gestis Regum, l. 3. p. 107, 108. * Hist. Paparus p. 247.

* Printed in Mat. Flacii Historic Catalog. Tertium Veritatis, Appendix p. 54

c Annal. Boiorum, l. 4. p. 241

* Here, p. 171, 225, 226.

d Annal. Boiorum, l. 5. p. 416.

2. Aventinus
Annal. Bo. orum
l. 6. p. 448, 449

* See Ant. de
Rosellis Mo-
narchia, pars 2.
c. 15.

* Chron. An-
tonini Tit. 1.
c. 3. sect. 21.
f. 123. Tit. 17.
c. 1. f. 177
* See Bode-
chini Abbatis
appendix ad
Chronica Ma-
riani Scoti, an.
1112. p. 465
Waltherus
Naumburgens.
Episc. de Inve-
sticulis. lib.
Illyricus Catal.
Test. Veritatis
Appendix, p. 54
55.

a Chronicon
a Antonin. tit.
16. c. 1. sect. 21
tit. 17. c. 1.
Cent. Magd. 11
c. 7. col. 374,
485. Gratian
Caus. 16. qu. 7.
& Distinct. 33.
Fox Acts and
Monuments,
Vol. 1. with
undry others.

hem, sicuti in *Carolo Magno* commemoravi, capiebant. After this decree against Investitures, ^d Alii verbis quidem ambitus crimen abominabantur, sed **plus auri** iub magna pueratis superficie, dum se gratis dare cuncta jactant, **corrascere, plurisque Sacra venum debere.** Et tu vigilantissime *Gregori*, quidnam faceres, si nunc demum natus esses, quando divitias, opes ambire? Sacerdotia cauponari, sacra nundinari, & quasi defectos caballos, juxta commune dictum, commutare, **jus est, et longinqua consuetudo**, vulgo dici sapius audio! **Ceremonia cum Pontifice, ara cum sacrificulo, templum cum ædituo, omnia venalia sunt.** A Pontificibus minoribus, quos **Sacrificos** vocamus, sexcenti exiguntur aurei nummi, in tantum ut quosdam hoc munus obisse pœnituerit: et quosdam designatos, rursus quod non esset unde avaritiæ Romanensium corporum satiarent, abdicasse nozim, fenus quod ab aliis Pontif: redditur, quotannis a templis abraditur, majus est quam ut a me (licet numerorum abaci perito) numerari queat. Cum **Simonia** tibi *Gregori* erat; nunc **absentium confirmationem, annatas, ac nescio quibus aliis nominibus nuncupari audio.** This sin being disguised with other specious, yea lawfull Names in Popes, Bishops, Clergy-men and their Officers; which is damnable unsufferable Smony, Sacrilege and Idolatry too in Emperors, Kings, or Lay-Patrons by Pontifical Canonical Decrees: O *Hildebrandian* Papal Legerdemain!

* *Antoninus* (with others) makes this Popes Decree against Investitures *per annulum & baculum*, and proceedings thereupon against the Emperor, the ground of all their longlasting controversies; Quumque (*writes he*) jam pax inter Sacerdotium & regnum videretur intervenisse; rursus suadente Diabolo in Papam & Imperatorem schisma gravissimum ortum est. Cujus Schismatis causa hæc fuisse videtur. **Inolebat consuetudo, præcipue in Imperio (a* *Caroli Magni* Temporibus per 200. annos et amplius concessa et observata sub Summis Pontificibus illius temporis;) qua defunctis Ecclesiarum Prælatibus, annulus et baculus Pastoralis ad Dominum Imperatorem dirigebatur, unde postmodum unum, quemlibet de familiaribus et capellanis suis ad Ecclesiam vacantem dirigebat, ut ibi Pastoris fungeretur officio, non expectata Cleri electione. Quod Dominus Papa contra omnem honestatem fieri considerans, et jura Ecclesiastica in eo conculcari perpensens, semel, secundo, et tertio Imperatorem monuit, ut a tam detestabili præsumptione desisteret. Quumque præceptis salutaribus communitum, illum revocare non posset, et hoc suum esse jus allegat: ob hanc causam *Gregorius* *Roma* Concilium congregavit 110 Episcoporum; In quo primo ipsum Henricum excommunicavit Imperatorem, tanquam perjurum et Ecclesiæ Dei persecutorem et subversorem. Anathematizaverunt autem insuper, omnes Ecclesiasticas personas qui de manu alicujus secularis personæ acciperent Investituram, et omnes Simoniacos anathematizavit. Inde grave ortum est scandalum: ita ut nullius Hæresis tempore Ecclesia Occidentalis graviore schismate sit divisa. Hi pro justitia, alii pro injustitia agebant. Alia Simonia non declinabant. Aliis notam avaritiæ honesto nomine pratextentibus, dum hoc quod se gratis dare, jactant, sub charitatis nomine vendunt. Et (ut de *Montano* dicit *Eusebius*) sub nomine oblationis artificiosus munera accipiunt.**

Pope *Hildebrands* Decrees against Investitures and Simony, are thus recorded by [a] *Antoninus* and others; Si quis deinceps Episcopatum vel Abbatiam de manu alicujus Laicæ personæ susceperit, nullatenus inter Episcopos vel Abbates habeatur, nec ulla ei ut Episcopo vel Abbati audientia concedatur. Insuper, & gratiam beati *Petri* et Ecclesiæ introitum interdicimus, suspendimus, quousque locum quem sub crimine tam inobedientiæ quam ambitionis, ex quo idololatria cæpit, resipiscendo non deserit. Similiter, & de inferioribus dignitatibus constituimus. Item, si quis Imperatorum, Regum, Ducum, Marchionum, Comitum,

tum, vel qualibet secularium potestatum aut personarum, investituram Episcopatum, vel alicujus Ecclesiasticæ dignitatis dare præsumpserit, ejusdem Sententiæ vinculo se esse obstrictum sciat. Officium Simoniacorum, scienter nullo modo recipiatis, & quantum potestis tales sanctis Ministeriis ubi oportuerit, prohibete.

(a) *William of Malmesbury* records that *Hildebrands* Predecessor *Gregory* the 6. in an Oration to his Cardinals at *Rome*, (when being sick and likely to die, ausu temerario persuaderent, ne se in Ecclesia Sancti *Petri* cum cæteris Apostolicis tumulari præciperet, qui tot hominum mortibus officium fædasset,) used this expression to them concerning investitures. **Laudatus est olim prædicandæ memoriæ prædecessor noster *Adrianus* primus, quod Investituras Ecclesiarum *Carolo Magno* concesserit, ita ut nullus Electus consecraretur ab Episcopo, nisi prius a Rege insigniretur annulo et baculo.** Contra, laudatur in seculi nostri Pontificibus, quod has donationes tulerunt Principibus. Poterat tunc rationabiliter concedi, quod nunc laudabiliter debet auferri. Cur ita? Quod erat animus Magni adversus avaritiam invictus, nec facile invenisset aditum aliquis, nisi intrasset per ostium. Præterea, per * tot terrarum infertilitia nequibat requiri sedes Apostolica, ut unicuique electo accommodaret assensum suum, dum esset prope Rex, qui nihil per avaritiam disponderet, sed juxta sacra Canonum scita religiosas personas Ecclesiis introduceret. Nunc omnia Palatia Regum, luxus & ambitus occupavit. Quare merito libertatem suam sponsa Christi asseverat, ne illam Tyrannus ambizioso usurpatori prostituat. Upon which pretexts, Pope *Hildebrands* made these Decrees, to rob Emperors and all others of *Investitures*, that Popes alone might enjoy the sales of all preferments.

Hence (b) *Alvarus Pelagius* a Spanish Freer, flourishing about the year 1320. (though a grand Champion of the Popes Supremacy) thus complains, (b) Mundet igitur Dei Vicarius Curiam suam consuetudinibus Simoniacis, quia ad ipsum pauci intrant, qui non solvunt. Nullus quasi pauper hodie ad Papam intrare potest, & non auditur qui non habet quod solvat. Vix aliqua petitio exauditur per eum, nisi mediantibus interventoribus corruptis pecunia. Symoniacis contractibus Ecclesia populatur, pauperes exoriantur. Aurum sitiunt hodie Prælati, aurum bibunt. (c) In muneribus judicant, in mercede respondent, in pecunia damnant, pro pecunia celebrant: Corpus Christi pro pecunia vendunt. Pro pecunia consecrant & ordinant; & pro pecunia omnia conferunt Sacramenta. Sacramenta emunt, Sacramenta vendunt, sed gratiam non conferunt quam non habent. Nihil accipitur gratis, nihil datur gratis, &c. Vendunt vocem, sigillum & calamum. (d) Vix credo, maxime in *Hispania*, quod de Centum Episcopis sit unus, qui non sit Simoniacus in ordinibus & beneficiis conferendis: Nam nec propter aliud Ordines celebrant, dantes suas benedictiones, a Domino maledicti, nisi ut lucrentur pecunias: unde in una ordinatione lucrabitur ibi Episcopus, nunc per expressas, nunc per tacitas Simonias suarum literarum, sigillorum, portatorum, matricularum obtentu CCCC. & quingentos, et eo amplius frequenter Florenos. Nec de hoc videntur habere conscientiam, occæcati a Domino in cupiditate sua, non consuetudinem sed corruptelam veritus illius provincie allegantes. (e) Hi ergo Prælati venales, aurum pro Spiritu sancto accipientes, lepram dederunt, & lepram sibi retinuerunt, & male quæsitâ mercede, non tam patrimonii facultatem quam thesaurum criminum congregant, æterno supplicio, & brevi fructu. O lepra contagiosa, lepra foetida usque ad aures Domini Sabaoth! lepra labefaciens interiora vitalia, & sacra in Dei Ecclesia sacrificia, abominabilis Deo & divinis hominibus, apud homines incurabilis, soli Deo Christo Domino, qui apparere voluit tanquam leprosus, cura possibilis, sed rara & admirabilis. Quis hodie in Ecclesia Dei potest dicere verbum *Pauli*, Actis 20. *Argentum & aurum & vestem nullius concupivi, vos ipsi scitis?* Utinam non fuerit mortis occasio, a * *Constantino* data Corona ex auro purissimo Ecclesiæ sacrosanctæ, in abutentibus hac corona. f Omnes de *Saba* veniunt, id est de terra Orientali ubi nascitur aurum optimum, Gen. 2. aurum, sed non thus deferentes (E/a. 60.) ad Romanam Curiam, et plumbum reportantes. Plus ponderat aurum quod datur pro isto plumbo, quam ipsum plumbum. Nam et frequenter pro ipsa Bulla plumbea, 50. 70, &c. Floreni solvuntur. Sed pro plumbo

* De Gestis Regum, l. 2. c. 3. p. 94

* Doth not the same reason still remain?

b De Planctu Ecclesiæ lib. 2. artic. 15. f. 118. L. et artic. 2. f. 104.

c Ibid. l. 2. artic. 10.

d Ibid. l. 2. artic. 20.

e Ibid. l. 2. artic. 10. Gratian Caus. 1. qu. 1.

* Art. 7. f. 102. Gratian Dist. 96 Caus. 1. qu. 1.

¹ Isay 53. f. Ibidem l. 24

plumbo datur aurum, ut de plumbo fiat majus aurum, quia quod quis emit, paratus est aliis vendere, et Simoniam committere. Recordentur Domini Prælati & alii Clerici de *Crasso* Dictatore Romano, qui aurum sitivit, & aurum bibit, æque peritit vero auro, sicut vero veneno. *Petrus Cephas* Ecclesiæ, id est, Caput, ait, Acts 3. *Argentum & aurum non est mihi.* Prælati hodie quilibet dicit, *Aurum & argentum est mihi*; sed non est ei quod sequitur, *In nomine Jesu Christi Nazareni, surge & ambula*: quia auro abutitur & aurum avet.

* Opera Lugduni Bat. 1613

Not long after, the ancient *Rythmus* printed at the end of **Nicholaus de Clemangis* his Treatise de Corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu, p. 29, 30. thus complained of the Simony and Bribery of the Court of Rome;

*Ibi nemo gratus gratis,
Nulli datur absque datis,
Gratiani gratia.
Plumbum quod hic informatur
Super aurum dominatur,
Et Massam argenteam.
Sic instillant sel Draconis,
Et in sine Lætionis,
Cognunt Bursam vomere.*

*Tales Regunt Petri Navem,
Tales habent Petri Clavem,
Ligandi Potentiam.
Cardinales, ut prædixi,
Novo jure crucifixi,
Vendunt Patrimonium.
Foris Petrus, intus Nero;
Intus Lupi, foris vero
Sicut Agni ovium, &c.
Cuncta vorat sicut Leo, &c.*

Nicholaus de Clemangis himself, Archdeacon of *Baion*, about the year 1430. in his Book *De Corrupto Ecclesiæ statu*, c. 11. 15. & *De Præsulibus Simoniacis*, makes the like complaints as *Alvarus Pelagius* of the intollerable Simony of Popes, Cardinals, and Bishops, which you may there peruse at leisure.

a Printed Colonia 1531.
* Episcopus Chiennensis, as some conjecture

The Author of (a) *Ortus Ecclesiæ* (a Popish conscientious **German* Bishop, living above 150. years since) cap. 19. *De Indispositione Romana Curia*, thus complains, sect: 8, 11, 12. Heu, sicut olim in Romano Imperio, sic hodie in *Romana Curia*, est vorago divitiarum turpissima; crevit avaritia, perit Lex a Sacerdote, & visio a propheta, & consilium a senioribus: Claves Ecclesiæ sunt in abusu, et servitute Simonix et Ambitionis: Vitia enim ferme Curialium cæleri, negarique vix possunt. Roma quali gurgis flagitiorum: (Sequitur ex *Bri-githa*) Papa qui clamare deberet, (b) *Venite, & invenietis requiem animarum vestrarum*; clamat, *Venite ad Curiam meam, & videte me in purpura & ambitione plusquam Solonem*: *Venite ad Curiam meam, & exhaurite bursas vestras, & invenietis perditionem animarum vestrarum*: Sic enim clamat exemplo et facto. Ecce Roma nunc est Vorago et mammon inferni, ubi Diabolus totius avaritiæ Capitaneus residet. vendens Patrimonium Christi, quod sua passione nobis promeruit: qui nobis præcepit, ut gratis demus, quod gratis acceperimus. Idcirco versum est in Proverbium; Curia Romana non petit ovem sine lana: Dantes exaudit, non dantibus ossia claudit. In Curia Romana residet superbia maxima, cupiditas insatiabilis, luxuria mihi (Christo) execrabilis, ac etiam vorago pessima horribilis Simonix. He adds, (c) *Sylvester secundus, per Simoniam et Magicam artem Pontificatum est consecutus*. (Since which time) ultra quingentos annos usque modo ex divina permissione solutus est Satanas, qui suas malas immissiones non solum in adversarios Ecclesiæ, id est infideles, sed etiam in ipsius Ecclesiæ membra, id est, in Christianos reprobos effundit, operando in eis fallacias, & novas & inuitas machinationes & oppressiones. (d) *Plerique contra Ecclesiastica Statuta in Pontifices Simoniaci electi*, ambitiose intrusi, & aliquando in tantum vitiati fuerunt, quod rursus ab Ecclesia rejeeti, e sede expulsi, damnatique sunt, ac interdum propter suos defectus manifeste a Deo percussi. Cap. 20.

b Mit. 11.

c cap. 13. sect: 18.

d Cap. 15. sect: 32.

De Excessibus Prælatorum: & cap. 21. *De Prælatorum aliorumque Curatorum vita vitiosa*, he thus complains: O quanta nunc est obduratio ab Ecclesia Dei! Communiter ad Prælaturas intrant *Simoniaci*. Prælati sunt superbi, vani, pomposi, simoniaci, avari, luxuriosi, ambitiosi, aut aliter vitiosi, &c. taking their president from Popes themselves. And cap. 25. sect. 9. *Simoniam contra Canonum Decreta in Clero jam ubique regnat*. A minori usque ad majorem omnes Clerici avaritiæ student, Qui

Qui dicunt, aquam nostram, id est donum Spiritus sancti pecunia bibimus, hoc est **Simoniace administramus sacramenta Dei**: ideo subjungitur: Linguam nostram pretio comparavimus, &c. Et tamen ad majoris damnationis cumulum illam Simoniacam pravitatem ex inveterata consuetudinis jure, quidam malitiose defendere nituntur, qui cum *Giezi* & *Simone* condemnabuntur.

I shall cloze up this Discourse concerning *Hildebrands* and other Popes *Decrees* against Investitures and Simony, with these memorable passages of *(e) Claudius Efficacius*, (a learned Popish French Bishop) in his Commentarie upon *Pauls* Epistle to *Titus*; wherein he complains, that Popes and Popish Councils, instead of the long expected and promised reformation of the scandalous sinne of Simony, tot omnibus votis expectatum, atque a Paulo 3. viris doctissimis atque gravissimis delectis, delegata, who found and informed him, *Ejus Sanctitatem hodiernorum malorum inde principium esse*; quod *Prædecessores ejus nonnulli prurientes auribus coarctaverunt sibi Magistros ad desideria sua, non ut a quibus discerent, quid facere deberent, sed quorum calliditate inveniretur ratio, qua liceret, quod liberet.* Hinc effectum, ut prodirent adulatores potius quam Doctores, qui docerent, * **Papa beneficiorum omnium esse Dominum; ac ideo cum Dominus jure vendat id quod suum est, necessario sequi, in eum non cadere Simoniam**: Et hoc * fonte tot in Dei Ecclesiam abusus, et gravissimos morbos irrupisse, quibus ad salutis ea desperationem fere laboret, et quorum fama ad infideles usque damnet. Hanc præcipue ob causam Christianismum deridentes atque blasphemantes. Non licere ergo nec Christi Vicario in usu Clavium, sive potestatis, ab eo illi collatæ lucrum aliquod comparare, hoc est gratis datum, non gratis dare, &c. He then observes, that from the gross notorious Simony of Popes, and their open, shameless sales of all sacred things, yea sales of Dispensations, for all detestable sins, all other Bishops, Clergy-men, and their Officials, openly practised this gainfull Trade of Simony. (b) Et ut quod quidam ait,

Above majori discit arare minor.

Minores non tantum Episcopi, sed & Archidiaconi, eorumque male officiosi (absit verbo invidia, nam de malis loquor, qua plurima turba est, non de bonis quorum utinam major esset multitudo) eorum, inquam officiales & vicarii, (And may we not in England make the like just complaint?) plerumque, dum *Dioceses* & *Parochias* obsequunt, non tam facinorosos, & criminum reos poenis & correctionibus a vitiis deterrent, quo sine peregrinationes hujusmodi olim jam fuerunt jure canonico ordinata, quam pecunia præfenti et numerato titulo procuratoris, ne dicam fictitiæ jurisdictionis, emungunt et erugunt, tum Clericos, tum Laicos. Turpissimum, quod & hos cum concubinis, pellicibus, & meretriculis cohabitare, liberosque procreare simul, accepta ab eis, atque adeo alieni a continentibus, certo quotannis censu; habeat (aiunt) si velit; & quoties enim quisque talis, cum tales tamen tam multi sint, hodie aliter puniuntur? Quæ scandala ex gravaminibus Germanicis passim collecta 1, 2, 5, 8, 67, 74, 75, 84, 91, 15. Hac, inquam, lucra turpia, odio Pontificis Romani ficta sint, si non, quod ait & conqueritur ille, velut

* Prostat, et in quæstu pro meretrice sedet, &c.
Si quid Roma dabit; nugas dabit, accipit aurum,
Verba dat; heu Romæ nunc sola pecunia regnat.
Quisquis opes sacras nummo reperire prophano
Quærit, eat Romani; sacra sunt venalia Romæ,
Templa, Sacerdotes, &c. Templum est venale, Deusq.

Prostat liber palam ac publice hic impressus, & hodieq; ut olim venalis, *Taxa Cameræ*, seu *Cancellariæ Apostolicæ*, inscriptus, in quo plus scelerum discas licet, quam in omnibus omnium vitiorum *Summistis* et *Summaris*, et plurimis quidem licentia, omnibus autem absolutio emperurientibus proposita: parco nominibus, nam quod, ait nescio quis,

Nomina

a *Claudius Efficacius* in Epistolam Pauli ad Titum, Parisiis, 1568. p. 71, 72.

* See Antonii de Rosellis *Monarchia* pars 2. cap. 15.

* Simoniam in Pontif. Romanum non cadere, fons abusus.

b Ibid. pag. 66, 67, 68, 74, 75. Vide p. 132, 133.

* *Mantuanus* Eclog. 5. & 9.

Nomina sunt ipso pene timenda sono.

Mirum hoc tempore, hoc schismate, non suppressum, tot tamque fœdorum, tamque horrendorum scelerum velut indicem, adeo infamem, ut non putem in Germania, Helvetia, & ubique a Romana sede defectum est, opus proflare maiore huius scandalo, & adeo tamen non supprimatur ab Ecclesia Romana favissoribus, ut tantorum ac talium facinorum licentia ac impunitas, in facultatibus Legatorum illinc huc venientium, bona ex parte innoventur atque confirmentur, adversus (si Deo placet) quæcunque fatalia restituendi, ac etiam quoscunque, Spurijs, Manferes, Bastardos, ex quocunque illicito coitu, & cum his qui se per adulterium polluerint, ut connubere possint, perjuros, simoniacos, falsarios, item raptos, usurarios, schismaticos, hæreticos, sed ad cor reverfos, non absolvendi tantum, sed et ad ordines, honores, dignitates, et beneficia quæcunque, quocunque, qualiæcunque, dispensandi, homicidas quoque, sed casuales seu involuntarios, nam nec voluntarios quidem excepit Tara superior, Presbytericidas, parricidas, matricidas, fratricidas, sororicidas, uxoridas, infanticidas, veneficas, incantatrices, concubinaros, adulteros, incestos cum affinis aut consanguineis, denique contra naturam cum brutis, &c. Habeat jam Roma pudorem, et tam nullius frontis criminum omne genus Catalogum prostitueret designat. These were the fruits, designs of Pope *Hildebrands* decrees against Simony, that he and his Successors might be the sole Merchants of all Ecclesiastical Preferments, Indulgences, Pardons, Sins and universal Simoniacks in and over the Church of Christ.

All which (with other historical passages hereafter cited) duly considered, it will appear most just, rational, advantageous for the Church of Christ, that as the Investitures, Donations, Collations of the Papacy it self, all other Bishopricks and Ecclesiastical Benefices, did antiently of right belong to Christian Emperors, Kings, Princes, till forcibly wrested out of their hands by Popes and Popish Prelats: so they should in all *Realms* henceforth resume, perpetuate in their hands, not in Popes, Bishops or Clergymen, who have bin so universally, infamously overpread, defiled with the foulest Leprosy of real Simony, as this grand reformer of Simoniacks, *Hildebrand* was. Of whom yet his followers record this forged Miracle. (a) In Gallia vice Papæ præfederalat concilio, ibique plures Episcopi, olim per Simoniam in Ecclesias introducti, degradati potioribus locum dedere. Unus erat, quem suspitio istius Apostasie insimulabat, sed nullis testibus argui, nullis argumentis confutari poterat: quem cum putares constrictum maxime, more anguis lubrici elapsum mirareris, ita dicendi arte callebat, ut omnes eluderet. Tunc *Archidiaconus*, Cesset hominis eloquium, producat in medium divinum oraculum. Scimus profecto quod Episcopalis gratia Sancti Spiritus munus est, & quisquis Episcopatum mercatur, Sancti Spiritus donum posse comparari pecunia opinatur. Coram nobis ergo, qui Iudicio Spiritus sancti congregati sumus, dicat iste, Gloria Patri, & Filio, & Spiritui sancto: quod si expresse, & sine titubantia dixerit, constabit apud me, illum non venaliter, sed legitime præfatu functum: Libens hanc conditionem ille accepit, nihil minus quam horum verborum difficultatem ratus, & vere, Gloria Patri & Filio, integre protulit, sed in Spiritu sancto, hæsit. Suscitato cunctorum strepitu nullo conatu vel tunc, vel in reliquo vitæ spatio Spiritum sanctum nominare potuit. Huius miraculi testis fuit *Abbas* sæpe nominatus, qui dejectum Episcopum per loca secum ducens, illius rei experimentum sæpe rixit: de quorum verborum certitudine dubitantem, omnis *Europa* confutat, quæ *Cluniacensis* religionis numerum, per eum augmentatum non nescit. If this relation, upon the Abbot of *Clun-gy* his reputation, be true, I doubt this Pope with * all his Successors, most *Romish* Cardinals, Prelates, as deeply guilty of the sinne and heresie of Simony as this Bishop, would be as unable to pronounce the Name of the *Holy Ghost*, when ever they repeated *Gloria Patri* in any Council, Masse, or Church, as he.

a Willielmus Malmshurienfis Hist. Angl. l. 3. p. 108. Chronicon Antonini Tit. 16. cap. 1. Sect. 21. Paulus Bernreidenfis in Vita Gregorii 7. Cent. Magd. 11. cap. 9. col. 484, 485. Chronicon Joannis Bromton, col. 973. Henricus de Knyghton, de Event. Angl. l. 2. c. 3. col. 2350.

* Si omnes pro Simoniackis & hæreticis fuissent damnandi & ex Ecclesia excommunicandi, qui gradus, aut functiones ecclesiasticas pecunia emebant, vel vendebant, nulli pene huius ætatis Pontifices aut Episcopi Romani pro membris Ecclesie habuissent. Centur. Magd. 11. c. 5. col. 146. Pleiunque Pontifices Romani suam sellam confecerunt corruptelis Simoniackis, Ibid. c. 7 col. 382.

2ly. As Pope *Gregories* Decrees against Investitures, under pretext of preventing Simony, introduced all sorts of *Simony*, corruption, yea sales of all Sacraments and sins into the Church of *Rome*; and then this bold * assertion of Canonists to justify it, **Præsertim in Papa locum non videtur habere posse Simoniam, quia de omnibus Ecclesiis et bonis earum libere potest disponere: unde si Ecclesiis dandis alicui Papa pecuniam recipit, non videtur committere Simoniam,** quia possit bona ipsius Ecclesiæ tollere & Ecclesiam. Item nec pecunia quam reciperet pro præstando gratiam spiritus sancti, vel pro præstatione sacramentorum, quia cum possit ab Ecclesiasticis, suadente necessitate, pecunias exigere; non erit iudex qui possit vel debeat judicare, utrum pro alienatione gratiæ spiritus sancti acciperet, aut ex alia causa, quia Papa à nemine judicatur. Concluding positively: Quod quavis Simonia sit peccatum gravissimum, pro ipsa tamen, vel pro quocunque alio crimine quantumcunque gravissimo, Papa non potest ab alio judicari, vel propter delictum deponi, etiam si delictum foret notorium scandalizans Ecclesiam. (Though Doctor *Thierry*, *Bartholomæus Buxio*, & in their [b] Gloss on *Gratian* inform us: Legitur in *Chronicis*, quod *Benedictus* 10. qui successit *Steph. ejactus est de Pontificatu. et factus est Papa Johannis Sabienfis* Episcopus pro pecunia, cui impositum nomen *Sylvester*, et iste etiam dejectus est, et deinde iterum reparatus et restitutus est *Benedictus*, et iterum ejactus est *Benedictus*, et datus *Papatus* *Johanni* Archipresbytero ante portam Latinam, cui impositum est nomen *Gregorius*: et hic ab *Henrico* Imperatore est depositus, et ultra montes translatus, (and that for Simony) Hoc totum uno anno factum est, et propter hoc datum fuit privilegium *Henrico*: to elect, constitute the Pope, as [c] aforesaid.) So on the other hand Pope *Hildebrand's* violent Decrees and Edicts against married Priests Wives and Masses, introduced all manner of Uncleaness, Whoredome, Adultery and Sodomy it self amongst unmarried Popes, Prelates, Cardinals, Clergymen, Votaries of the Roman Church; yea an * avowed toleration, Patronage of Whoredome, publick Stews, Whores in *ROME* it self, together with an annual tribute to Popes and their Officers both from Whores and Priests. Hence [d] *Johannis Andreæ*, *Johannis de Aton*, and other Canonists in their Gloss on *Otho's Constitutions*, are not ashamed to publish. Videtur quod crimen *Meretrixii* sub dissimulatione transire debet Ecclesiæ; Nam et *Mareschallus* *Papæ* de facto exigit Tributum a Meretricibus, et hoc forte, ad maius malum evitandum non est culpandum. These publick Harlots, constituted Popes themselves before *Hildebrand's* time, and in most ages since Priests wives prohibited, they have been highly honored, courted like Princes and Ladies even in *Rome* it self at noon-day, as well as in the night, by disguised Cardinals and Clergy-men; as *Paul* the 3d. his own (e) Cardinals thus informed him: In hac etiam urbe Meretrices, ut Matrōnæ, incedunt per urbem, seu Mula vehuntur; quas affectantur de media die Nobiles, familiares Cardinalium, præsertim noctu: nulla in urbe videmus hanc corruptionem præterquam in hac omnium exemplari: Habitant etiam insignes ædes: Yea (f) *Peter Martyr* adds, Vehuntur per publicum habitu Principum; Sedent in equis gradatariis, &c. Habent secum Torquatos & Larvatos Comites, interdum etiam Cardinalium, præsertim nollu, & ancillarum sumptuosissimam gregem. Nunc, O Deus bone, quomodo *Roma* coercentur Meretrices? Yea, to prevent the Emperors & other Kings punishing, and reformation of these abuses, they exempted all Clergy-men from their Tribunals, and the accusations of Laymen, decreeing, that no Cardinal should be convicted, condemned of adultery, whoredome, &c. but by 72. witnesses, no Cardinal Priest but by 64. no Cardinal Deacon or Bishop but by 24. nor Sub-deacon or Cardinal of inferior degree, nor Bishop but by 7. witnesses at least. And those would be more than impudent, who durst commit whoredome, adultery, or sodomy in the open view of so many Priests or Clergy men; or yet of Laymen, though disabled to accuse them by their Canons.

It is very observable, 1. That (d) Pope *Hildebrand* himself, as *Lambertus Schafnaburgensis*, and sundry others record, was not only suspected, but openly accused, and branded for his incontinency, especially with the Countesse *Machtilla*, whom he divorced from her husband, that he might the more intirely and securely enjoy carnal copulation with her, *Machtilla* Pontificis lateri pene Comes individua adhaerebat, eumque imo colebat affectu. Ubique opera ejus Papa indignisset, oculus aderat, & tanquam Patri vel Domino sedulum exhibebat officium: unde nec evadere potuit incesti amoris suspicionem, passim jactantibus Regis fautoribus & præcipue Clericis, quibus illicita & contra scita Canonum contracta conjugia prohibe-

[O o]

a *Gratian* 22. Dist. c. Omni. Distinct. 79. & 40. *Antonii* de Rosellis Monarch. pars 2. cap. 15. Goldasti Monarchia Hano. viæ, 1612. p. 346, 347. *Alvarus Pelag.* Lib. 1. l. 2. Artic. 16. & l. 1. Art. 34.

b Distinct. 23. S. & in *Notione* *Antonii* de Rosellis Monarch. pars 2. cap. 61.

c See here, p. 239, 240.

* Bp. *Jewels* defence of the Church of England, pars 1. c. 1. d. r. 1. d. Constituciones Legit. Eccl. totiusque Regni, onis Angl. Paris. 1504. De Concub. remeendis, f. 36. b. *Gratian* caus. 32. qu. 4. e. Concil. Decret. Card. Concil. Tom. 3. p. 823. Bishop *Jewels* defence of the Apology, 4 part. ch. 1. div. 1. p. 426. f. In lib. Judicium, c. 16. g. *Gratian* caus. 2. qu. 7. 8. Summi Angl. Test. l. 18. 27.

d *Histor. Anne* 1077. *Aventinus* Annal. l. 4. p. 457. *Centur.* Magd. l. c. 7. col. 282. *Jacob* *Ulfertius* De Christi. Eccl. successione & statu, c. 6. p. 135: 136, 137.

bat.

bat, quod die et nocte impudenter Papa in ejus volutaretur amplexibus, et illa furtivis Papæ amplexibus præoccupata, post amissum conjugem, ultra secundas contrahere nuptias detrectaret. Hence Dominus a Priest thus writes of her :

*Postposuit Regem, per tres tenuit pia menses
Gregorium Papam, cui servit, ut altera Martha.
Auribus intentis capiebat sedula mentis*

Cuncta patris dicta, ceu Christi verba Maria.

Propterea clavigero sua subdidit omnia Petro;

Janitor est Cœli tuus haeres, ipsaque Petri.

2ly. That [k] *Petrus Dominicus* living in that age, retired from Rome, as from Sodomy and Gomorrah, leaving his Cardinalship and Bishoprick there, betaking himself to a Hermits life, writ a Book, entituled *De Correctione Episcopi & Papæ*: yea *Somozhæus*, describing Sodomy, filthiness wherewith the Popes, Cardinals, Prelates, & the Court of Rome were then denied (which last Book Pope *Alexander* the 2d. stole from the Author and suppressed, *occasionem capians, quod obscenius rem expressisset*;) whence [i] Cardinal *Bernardus* himself is enforced thus to display the Sodomitical filthiness of that age. *Vepres infans, spina & urtica agrum Patris-familias in immensum opplevit, qui et putore carnis, corruptionis fimo turpiter excreverant: Omnis quippe caro corrumperat viam suam, ut non tantum ad eas ablutas fœdes videretur satis esse diluvium; sed nefanda scelera ignem ex cælo Somozhæum, quo erusta est Pentapolis, postularent.* Yea *Joannes de Casa*, Bishop of Beneventum in Italy, was so impudent (as to write a Book in justification of Sodomy, styling it, a sweet and pleasant sin, confessing that he (and others of his Roman Brethren) used no other carnal copulation but this, preferred before the sacred Ordinance, and Romish Sacrament of Marriage it self, by the Pandors of the Whore of Babylon.

i Burt. Melan-
cholly, p. 408
and sundry o-
thers.

k See Sermon 66,
& 78. in Cant.
Sermon, ad Pa-
stores in Concil.
Rhemenfi,
f. 370.
Luc. 12.

3ly. That Saint [k] *Bernard* himself, living in and after that age, thus reprehends the pompous apparel, unchast Sodomitical lives of the *Hildebrandian* Virgin, unmarried Prelates, Priests, Clergy of those times, *Ministri Christi sunt, & serviant Anti Christo: honorati incedunt de bonis Domini, cui honorem non deferunt. Unde hinc est eis quem quotidie videmus meretricius nitor, histronicus habitus, satanicus apparatus, &c. Episcopi vero et Sacerdotes huius temporis castitatem et sanctimoniam (sine qua nemo videbit Deum) tam in corde quam in corpore, quomodo student observare? Certe Dominus dixit in Evangelio ad Episcopos, hand dubium in primitiva Ecclesia, sint lumbi vestri praecincti: castitatem approbans non tantum, sed etiam precipiens. Isti autem castitatis insigne qualiter custodiunt, qui traditi in reprobum sensum, faciunt quæ non conveniunt? (alluding to the sodomy and filthiness of the Gentiles, Rom. 1. 24, to 30. whereof they were guilty) quæ enim in occulto facta ab Episcopis, turpe est dicere. Melius itaque arbitror super hoc dissimulare & supersecrere, quam aliquid unde scandalizentur innocentes & inexperti, dicere. Sed ego cur verecundor dicere, quod ipsi non verecundantur facere? Imo quod Apostolus non verecundatur scribere & publicare: Dicit autem egyptius predicator, Sic, [l] masculi in masculos operantes turpitudinem & mercedem sui erroris reportantes. Fatres, factus sum insipiens, vos me coegistis. And in Cant. Sermon. 66. Tolle De Ecclesia honorabile connubium, &c. Nonne replet eam concubinaris, incestuosus, semini stultus, mollibus, masculorum concubitoribus, et omni denique genere immundorum?*

* Ephes. 5. 12.

l Rom 1. 27.

m Histo. Angl.
p. 819. Editione
Lond.

4ly. That [m] *Mathew Paris* a Monk, records how Pope *Innocent* the 4th. his Cardinals and Court departing from Lions in France, (where they had continued near seven years) unto Millain: upon this occasion, *Frater Hugo* Cardinalis, quasi ex parte Domini Papa valedicens civibus Lugdunensibus, sermonem populo fecit generalem. Et postquam omnes eleganter informasset, & informando ex parte Domini Papæ & totius Curie civiliter salutasset, unum sermonem addidit, quem duximus huic pagina, propter Satyricam reprehensionem inferere. Amici, magnam fecimus postquam in hanc urbem venimus, utilitatem et elemosinam: quando enim primum huc venimus tria vel quatuor Prostituta invenimus, sed nunc recedentes unum solum relinquimus: Verum ipsum durat continuatum ab Orientali porta Civitatis, usque ad Occidentalem. Et erat verbum offensionis in auribus omnium mulierum, quarum infinita multitudo sermoni assidebat. Omnes enim Civitatem inhabitantes, voce praconia convocabantur ex parte Domini Papæ recessuri. Hac autem ironia in ore multorum versabatur, quia Cynice remordet universos. This Cynical Irony thus

thus publickly uttered by the Cardinal in the Pulpit, before the Pope himself, his Cardinals, Court, Clergy, and all the Citizens summoned to hear his Farewel Sermon, preached by the Pope's appointment, and in his name, right, was certainly an unquestionable though satyricall truth, That the Pope, his Cardinals, Prelates, Court, had made that whole City (as they had done Rome whiles there) but one universal continued Stewes from East to West: such was the fruit of their vowed chastity.

gly. That * *Sigebertus Gemblacensis*, flourishing and writing in that age, [g] *Matthew Paris*, [h] *Florentius Wigorniensis*, two English Monks, [i] *Johannis Bromton*, [k] *Radulphus de Diceto*, (l) *Aventinus*, and [m] sundry others out of them, reciting this Popes Decrees against married Priests: *Si qui sunt Presbyteri aut Diaconi aut Subdiaconi, qui in crimine fornicationis jaceant* (to wit, by living chastly with their own Wives) *interdicimus eis ex parte omnipotentis Dei & sancti Petri autoritate, Ecclesie introitum, u' que dum paniteant, & emendent. Si qui vero in peccato suo perseverare maluerint, nullus vestrum eorum presumat audire officium, quia benedictio eorum vertitur in maledictionem, & oratio in peccatum, testante Domino, per Prophetam, Maledicam* (inquit) *benedictionibus vestris, Qui vero huic saluberrimo precepto obedire noluerint, idololatriæ peccatum incurrent; Samuele instante & beato Gregorio instructe, quoniam peccatum ariolandi est non obedire, & quasi scelus idololatriæ, non acquie cere.* Pafs this Censure on it: Ilte Papa in Synodo generali, uxoratos Sacerdotes, a divino removet officio & Laicis Missas eorum audire interdixit **novo exemplo, et (ut multis visum est) inconsiderato judicio,** contra Sanctorum Patrum sententiam, * qui scripserunt, quod Sacramenta, quæ in Ecclesia fiunt, Baptisma, Chrisma, Corpus Christi & Sanguis, Spiritu sancto inviolabiliter cooperante, eorundem Sacramentorum effectum habeant, seu per bonos, seu per malos intra Dei Ecclesiam dispensentur; tum quia Spiritus Sanctus mystice illa vivificat, nec bonorum meritis amplificatur, nec peccatis malorum attenuantur. Ex qua re, tam **grave oritur Scandalum, ut nullius hæresis tempore, sancta Ecclesia graviore sit Scismate discissa,** his pro iustitia, illis contra iustitiam agentibus. Porro, paucis continentiam observantibus, aliquibus eam causa Luteri ac jactantiæ simulantibus, multis incontinentiam perjurio multipliciori adulterio cumulantibus; ad hæc, hac oportunitate Laicis insurgentibus contra sacros ordines, & se ab omni Ecclesiastica subjectione excutientibus, Laici sacra mysteria temerant, & de his disputant, infantes baptizant, sordido aurium humore pro sacro Chrismate utentes & oleo, in extremo vitæ viaticum Dominicani, & usitatum Ecclesiæ obsequium sepulturæ a * Presbyteris uxoratis accipere parvi pendunt. Decimas etiam Presbyteris debitas, igne cremant, corpus Domini a Presbyteris uxoratis consecratum, pedibus sæpe conculcant, & sanguinem Domini voluntarie frequenter in terram effundunt.

To which *Aventinus* subjoyns: *Porro paucissimis Veneri bellum indicantibus, quibusdam castitatem jactantia questus ergo simulantibus, maxima pars sub honesto castimoniæ nomine, stupra, incestus, adulteria passim et impune committunt. Et tu vigilantissime Gregori, quid nam faceres, si te fortuna ad nostra tempora servasset, et nunc demum natus esses, quando amare, potare, stupra, incestus committere, vim puellis inferre, virgines viciare, alienas permolere uxores, (adeo ut caudæ salar sacrificulorum in pro-verbium, vel vulgo proteritum abieret,) munus sacerdotale censetur!*

gly. That *Alvarus Pelagius* a Spanish Freer writing about the year of Christ, 1330. in his Book *De Planctu Ecclesiæ*, thus complained of the execrable Unchastity, uncleanness, venery, sodomy of Bishops, Priests, all sorts of Clergy-men and Votaries, especially in Spain, Apulia and Italy, ever since this *Hildebrandian* Decree against theirs wives. Sequitur Apoc. 18.) [n] * *Et custodia omnis spiritus immundi, quia intra Ecclesiam omnia peccata inveniuntur hodie, quæ immunda dicuntur, quia immundam faciunt animam, maxime spiritus immunditiæ fornicationis. Quis enim Clericorum intra sanctam Ecclesiam castitatem servat? rarus est. Perpauci enim hodie sunt Presbyteri, maxime in Hispania & regno Apulia, quin sunt publici Concubinarij. Episcopi & Presbyteri nimis incontinententer vivunt, & utinam nunquam continentiam promississent, maxime Hispani & Regricola, in quibus Provinciis in paucis majori numero sunt filii Laicorum quam Clericorum. Et (quod sceleratius est) per plurimos annos de latere concubinæ qualibet die surgunt, non præmissa confessione vel hypocritali, cum proposito redeundi, & procedunt ad altare ad terrificam hostiam consecrandam, panem pollutum quantum in eis est, Domi-*

* Chronicon
An. 1074, 1377
g Histor. Angl.
An. 1074:
h Chronicon,
An. 1106.
i Chron. col.
973.
k Abbreviationes Chroniconum, Anno
1074, col. 486.
l Annalium Boiorum, l. 5.
P. 448.
m Centur.
Magd 11. c. 7.
col. 382. & c. 8.
10. Gratian
Distinct. 32.
* Gratian
Caus. 1. qu. 1.

* Contrary to
Concil. Gangr.
c. 4. & Con-
stant. Grat.
dist. 31. Quo-
niam.

n De Planctu
Ecclesiæ, l. 2.
Artic. 73. 27. 28.

no, cordibus & labiis scelestis offerentes; Contra sanctam castitatem quam Domino promiserant, Sic offendunt continuo etiam publice, præter ea nefandissima quæ in occultis perpetrant, quod nec chartæ recipere; nec posset calamus exarare, de quorum immundicia sæpe disperim in hoc opere pertractavi. Non est ergo mirum si mulieres suspectas tenent in domo contra Canones. Nay these unchast Popish Cardinals, Prelates, Priests, Votaries proceeded from Fornication and Adultery, to secret and open Sodomy, of which * *Alvarus* thus complains: Plangit Ecclesia peccata populi, maxime Clericorum, quasi majora peccato Sodomorum, &c. Adolescentibus impudice abusi sunt, heu, heu intra sanctam Ecclesiam multi Religiosi et Clerici in suis latibulis et conventiculis, et jam in plerisque Civitatibus maxime in Italia (within the Pope's own Jurisdiction) publice quodammodo nefandum gymnasium constituunt et palestram, in illius flagitii abominatione se exercentes, et optimi quique epheborum in lupanari ponuntur, ut factum fuit Hierusolomis tempore Machabeorum, 2 Mach. 4. Soli verbo tali sædatur os, polluitur aer, &c. Hoc flagitium utinam secundum leges ultore gladio puniretur, cum timor Dei eos à tanto malo non revocat. Ferro enim necesse est ut abscondantur vulnera, quæ fomentum non senserunt Disciplinam. Tales ergo infames insurgentibus legibus, armatis viribus sunt ultore gladio ferendi, to wit of Christian Kings, Emperors, Magistrates; seeing Sodomitical Popes, Prelates then, and since, either would not or could not reform them; much less this lecherous *Hildebrand*.

I might at large inform you, what *Nicholaus de Clemangiis*, Archdeacon of Bayon, in his Book *De corrupto Ecclesia statu*, c. 13. 14, 15. 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26. records of the Incontinency, lechery, Sodomy of Romish Cardinals, Bishops, Priests, Monks, Nuns in his age, what *Theodoricus de Niem. Nem. Vnionis*, p. 5. & 137. *Cladius Essencus*, *De Continentia*, lib. 4. & *Comment in Titum*, c. 1. *Cornelius Agrippa*, *De Vanitate Scientiarum*, cap. 62, 63. *Guicciardin Histor.* l. 1. *Polydorus Virgilius De Inventoribus Rerum*, l. 5. c. 4. *Mantuanus*, l. 3. & 6. *Cuyckius. Speculum Concubinar. Udelricus. Epistola ad Nicolaum De Calib. Clericorum*, *Alanus Charter*, cited by *Johannes Marius De Scismate & Concil.* p. 264, 467. *Gravamina Germania*, drawn up at the Diet of *Norimberg*. nu. 31, & 91. with others of the Roman Religion have largely written of this Subject. But I shall conclude with the noble (a) *Picus Mirandula* his brief, though sad complaint, That in *Elyes* time the Priests slept with the Women at the door of the Tabernacle, but in our time they break into the sacred Houses, (& proh pudor) Women are brought in to satisfy their Lusts, and Boyes that are sodomitically abused against Nature, are lent and given them by their Parents, and these Boyes afterwards are made Priests. With our own * *Robert Holcot* his Confession of the Priests in his age: Proh dolor, Sacerdotes moderni sunt Angeli Sathanæ, per discordiam; Angeli Apostatici, per superbiam; Angeli Incubi, per luxuriam; Sacerdotes Priapi, vel Beelphegor. Hunc vilissimum Deum (*Priapum* whom he there describes) excolunt non pauci Sacerdotes moderni, Discipuli illius maligni Angeli de quo loquitur *Paulus*, 2 *Corinth.* 12. Datus est mihi stimulus carnis, Angelus Sathanæ qui me colophasset, And with the complaints in *Onus Ecclesia*, (written by a German Bishop of the Romish persuasion) which are very observable, cap. 8. sect. 4. Oblationes fidelium hodie rarefcunt, non offerunt Decem, quoniam Ecclesiastici plures expendunt in usus meretricantium, quam indigentium pauperum, &c. cap. 21. sect. 10. 15. Ecce modo Prælati & Sacerdotes, natant in comestationibus, cubilibus, & impudiciis; solvunt frænum carnis concupiscentiæ, tam in se, quam in suis subditis, &c. cap. 23. sect. 8. * Caterum Sacerdotes frequenter fornicationibus coinquantur, maxime Curati sordescunt in concubinato adeo manifesto, quod nulla tergiversatione celari possint. Et quamvis Concubinari sunt ab ipso officio suspensi, tamen a celebratione missarum aliisque actibus ecclesiasticis nequaquam abstinere, quin divinis se continuo immisceant, ob hoc irregularitatem incurrentes. As for the chastity of Monks and Nunnes, he renders us this account out of *St. Catherine of Sienna*, and others, cap. 22. sect. 6. 12. Religiosi collocati sunt in religione velut Angeli, sed quamplurimi sunt dæmonibus deteriores, incontinentes, dissoluti, &c. Religiosi facti sunt arma Diaboli. In Ecclesiis enim Cathedralibus quam Conventualibus hodie plerumque faces mundi Ecclesiasticis gubernaculis præficiuntur, utpote quibus

o De Planctu Ecclesiarum, l. 2. Artic. 2. f. 83. Artic. 7. f. 104. p Onuphrius Pavanius in vita Greg. 7. col. 234. Gobeinus in Cosmod. xas. 6. cap. 54.

* *Aeneas Sylvius* (afterwards Pope) *H. Ror. De Actis & Gestis in Concilio Basilien.* l. 2. a Oratio De Moribus Reformationis ad Leonem, p. 204. Dr. John White his Defence of the way to the true Church, chap. 5. sect. 3.

* In lib. sapientiarum, Lect. 182. fol. 167. Basil. 1506.

* See Gratian Distinct. 34. & Celsa.

quibus mundus uti vel frui nequit. Tandem de moribus Monialium perversis, non audeo, in eo pudeo dicere, quia suspicor, ne meis verbis quempiam virginum Deo dicatarum cœtum reddam suspectum; attamen istum quoque gradum paucis attingere conor. Sunt namque nonnulla Monialium monasteria, e quibus professas juxta regulæ tenorem nunquam exire vel quempiam introire decet, adeo propatula, ut ipsa loca Veneris prostibulo sint similia, quam Dei sacrario. Hinc procacitas, stuprum, incestus mulierum sacratarum; hinc quoque verenda scandala & offendicula oriuntur quamplurima, quæ singula recensere jam nolo.

What sinks of uncleanness, whoredom, adultery, sodomy, our English Monasteries were found to be before their dissolutions, you may read at large in *John Bales Acts of English Votaries*, the Records in the Augmentation-office. *Henry Stephen* his Apology for *Herodorus*, cap. 21. f. 183. *Speeds History of Great Britain*, lib. 9. cap. 21. sect. 161. p. 143, 144. *John Weaver* his Funeral Monuments, &c. c. 12. & 15. whose Sensualities, Adulteries, Whoredomes, Sodomies, Murders of Bastard-infants, as they defiled their Cells to their final overthrow, so let their remembrance for ever stain the memory of this lecherous *Hildebrand*, and Religion of the * *Great whore of Babilon*, which defiles the bed of Priests lawfull marriage, and yet dispenseth for mony, with such prodigious crying sins, sinners: There being at the dissolution no less than 15. Sodomitical Monks in *Battle Abby*, 8. in *Canterbury*, besides Adulterers, Whoremasters; *John White* Prior of *Bermonsey Abby* keeping no lesse than 20. VVhores, to satistie his unsatiabie lustfull cloystred Virginity; which enforced Godly Christian Princes, by their Supreme Ecclesiastical Authority, to suppress when they could not reform these Nurseries of Uncleanness. These prodigious, unchast, sodomical consequences of prohibiting Priests marriages are a sufficient evidence not only of the lawfulness, but expedience, yea necessity of their marrying, when or where they cannot live chaste without it; * *Gratian* himself confessing, *Copula Sacerdotalis, nec Legali, nec Evangelica, nec Apostolica autoritate prohibetur*; the legality whereof in point of conscience, I shall briefly evidence against all *Hildebrandians* by these following Scripture Arguments, wherewith I long since so silenced a vaunting Romish Priest, (who held our Ministers no Priests because married) that he had not one word to reply.

1. That God himself instituted Marriage in the state of Innocency (a) before *Adam's* fall, when he had nearest communion with God; therefore it cannot defile or incapacitate any of his posterity, to be a Bishop, Priest or Minister of God.

2ly. That Gods primitive command to *Adam* and *Eve* in the state of Innocency at the first institution of Matrimony; and to *Noah* and his Sons after the flood; (b) *Increase and multiply*, and *replenish the earth*, by the use of lawfull Matrimony; extended to *Adam*, *Noah*, and all their Posterity in succession to the end of the world; (and that as a special privilege and benediction, not a curse; it being a (c) *curse to be childless*, but a (d) *blessing to have children*, posterity, as the Scripture oft resolves.) Therefore to Priests, Clergy-men, they all being *Adam's* and *Noah's* posterity, as well, as much as others, and so not to be debarred from this special blessing.

3ly. That (e) *Adam* himself, and the first born, *Patriarch* of every Family, during the law of Nature, even from *Adam's* creation till the institution of the Levitical Priesthood, were the only Priests and Ministers of God to offer Sacrifices, instruct their Children, Families in the fear and worship of God, to bless them, and pray for them: Now these were (f) married to propagate Mankind, perpetuate Posterity, and the Church, by God's own precept, without the least restraint or any impediment at all to their primitive Priesthood; Therefore Priests may be so too under the Gospel.

4ly. That (g) *Aaron* the first High-priest under the Law, all the (h) High-priests succeeding him, who were types of Christ himself, and (i) entered once a year at least into the Holy of Holies, were all married, having Wives and Children: That the other (k) Levitical Priests, Levites and Church-Officers under the Law, were all married, or permitted freely to marry without restraint, being High-priests, Priests, Levites only by descent and succession in the self-same Tribe, not by election and mere ordination; God himself prescribing what (l) Persons they should marry, and what not; their Wives, Marriages, Children, no wayes disabling or hindering them from the exe-

a Gen. 1. 27, 28. c. 2. 19, 20. 29. b Gen. 1. 27. c. 9. 1. c Gen. 1. 30. &c. c. 15. 2. c. 25. 21. c. 29. 3. c. 30. 3. 1 Sam. 6. 23. Jer. 22. 30. d Gen. 17. 5, 6. c. 23. 5. Ps. 113. 9. Psal. 127. 3. Psal. 128. 3, 4, 6. e See here, p. 23. 3, 4. Gen. c. 5, & 10. throughout. 1 Chron. c. 1, & 1, & 2, &c. Mat. 1. g Exod. 6. 23, 25. c. 27. 2. c. 28. c. 29. 4, 9, &c. c. 30. 30. Levit. c. 1, & 2, & 3, &c. Num. c. 3, & 4. 1 Chron. c. 6, & 23. h 2 Chron. 6. c. 2. 2, 4. Luc. 1. 5, 24. i Heb. 9. 6, 7, &c. k Levit. c. 1, & 2, & 3. 1 Chron. c. 6, & 23, & 24, throughout. l Levit. 21. 1, 7, 9, 10, 16, 24.

cutation of their Priestly Offices, as the *Scriptures* abundantly evidence. Yea the Prophets likewise had both (m) *Wives* and *children* under the Law; therefore all Bishops, Priests, Prophets, Ministers under the Gospel, by parity of reason may, or ought to be married, and to enjoy their Wives, Children without any impediment to their Ministry: There being no divine inhibition to the contrary, as *Clement Alexandrinus Stromatum*, l. 3. & 7. long since resolved.

5ly. That (n) *Christ himself*, under the Gospel, with his Mother and Disciples honored Marriage not only with their presence at it, but by *Christ's working his very first Miracle, in turning water into Wine, to adorn this Solemnity, and manifest his glory thereat.*

6ly. That *Christ in the (o) Gospel*, not only, not repealed, but approved, ratified the use of Marriage according to its primitive institution at the creation, which he rehearsed, reducing the *Jews unto it*, who had swarved therefrom: adding this farther divine seal and codicil thereunto; *What God hath therefore joyned together, let no man put asunder.* By which he justified its use, lawfulness under the Gospel, to be as universal, extensive, free from the least restriction in relation to Priests, as it was at the Creation, and before his incarnation; and prohibits *Priests divorces from their Wives, by any human or Papal Roman Canons whatsoever.

7ly. That it is evident both (p) by *Scriptures*, and (q) *Fathers*, that the *Apostle Peter himself, James, Philip* the Evangelist, all *Christ's Apostles* except Saint *John*, yea *St. Paul himself* were married, and had Wives, without any reprehension, restraint from *Christ*, or disability to exercise their Apostolical, Episcopal or Ministerial functions. Therefore all other Evangelists, Bishops, Elders, Priests, Deacons, may lawfully and laudably marry, without prejudice to their Spiritual functions, as well as they: as sundry godly (r) Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and several Popes too married and had Wives in the primitive Ages of the Church, for many hundred years after *Christ*, (as they ever had and still have in the Greek Churches) till, yea after *Hildebrands* time, when they were by force and absolute tyranny divorced from them.

8ly. Eusebius *Ecclesiastical History*, l. 3. c. 30. Omnes Apostoli excepto Johanne, uxores habuerunt, Ambrose in 2 Cor. 11. 1. See Bishop *Jewels* Defence of the Apology, 2 part, cap: 6. p. 207, 208, &c. Bishop *Halls* honour of the married Clergy.

* Hebr. 13. 4. 8ly. The Spirit of God resolves by *Paul* himself, That * *Marriage is honourable to ALL* (whether Male or Female; Popes, Bishops, Monks, Priests, Clergy-men of all sorts, as well as others) and the *Bed undefiled*. Therefore to all Popes, Bishops, unmarried Priests, Votaries, unless they will deny themselves to be comprised under the universal word *All*, and make themselves Beasts or Angels. *But Whoremongers and Adulterers* (as * most unmarried Prelates, Priests and Romish Votaries have been, and still are) *God will judge.*

9ly. God himself by the Truth inspired hand, pen of Saint *Paul*, gives this universal advice, if not precept to every man and woman, (f) *Let EVERY MAN* (therefore every Pope, Bishop, Priest, Deacon, as well as Layman) *have his own Wife, and every Woman her own Husband*, rendering this unanswerable reason for it, *for it is better to marry then to burn*; better for every man, for any man; Therefore for Popes, Bishops, Priests, Monks, who burn as much, if not more than any others.

10ly. That (t) *marriage*, (especially of *Christ's Ministers* under the Gospel) most lively represents, typifies to Christians, the conjugal union, love, affection that is between our Lord *Iesus Christ*, his Church, and every true Believer; the Church in Scripture being titled (u) *Christ's Spouse*, the (x) *Lamb's wife*, to whom he is said to (y) *be married*, yea to be her Husband, and to whose marriage all Christians are invited. Therefore it can no ways unfit, or disable Popes, Bishops, Priests, Ministers (who pretend they have nearest approaches to, and union, communion with *Iesus Christ*, engrossing to themselves the Title of his Church, Spouse) to enjoy or execute their holy Functions in his Church, as Popes decree and dictate.

11ly. That God himself by *St. Paul* (the only pretended Patron, Patern of Priests single, unmarried lives) hath in precise terms, in two several Epistles to (z) *Timothy* and (a) *Titus*, (Diocesan Bishops of *Ephesus* and *Cree*, as most (b) Pontificians and Prelates assert) prescribed Marriage as a necessary qualification, amongst others, for all Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, allowing them, (without the least inhibition or restraint) to be the Husband of one Wife, yea to have Wives and Children lawfully begotten on them, in these positive words: *A Bishop then must be blameless, the husband of one Wife, vigilant, &c. one that ruleth well his own House, having his Children in subjection, with all gravity. Likewise*

m 2 Kings 9. 1.
Amos 7. 14.
Ezech. 24. 8.

n John 2. 1, to 12.

o Mat. 19. 1, to 10. Mar. 10. 2, to 13.

* See Gratian Distinct. 37.

p 1 Cor. 9. 5.
Mat. 8. 14. Mar. 1. 30. Lu. 38.
Mar. 10. 18, 19.
Lu. 18. 28, 29.
Psal. 3. 4. Ach. 21. 8, 9.

q Ignatius Epist. ad Philadelph. Clem. Alexand. Stromel. 4. Origin in Epist. ad Romanos, c. 1. l. 1.

11. 1. See Bishop Jewels Defence of the Apology, 2 part, cap: 6. p. 207, 208, &c. Bishop Halls honour of the married Clergy.

* Hebr. 13. 4.

* See John Bales Acts of English Votaries. The Anatomy of the English Nun-nery at Lisbon.

f 1 Cor. 7. 2, 9.

t Ephes. 5. 22, to 33.

u Cant. 1. 8, to 13. c. 5. 1.

x Rev. 21. 9.

y Mat. 22. 2, 4.

c 25. 10. Jer. 3.

14. Rev. 19. 7.

9. Jer. 31. 32. c.

54. 5.

z 1 Tim. 3. 2, 4.

10, 11, 12.

a Titus 1. 6.

c. 2. 4. 5.

b See my Un-bishoping of Timothy and Titus.

wife must the Deacons be grave, &c. Let the Deacons be the husbands of one Wife, ruling their Children and their own Houses well: Even so must their Wives (to wit, of Presbyters, Bishops, Deacons,) be grave, no Slanderers, sober, faithfull in all things, chaste, Keepers at home, &c. Which qualifications were purposely inserted into these Texts by Gods special providence, to justify the lawfulness of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons marriages, wives, and conjugal estate, against all Papal subsequent Decrees, Canons prohibiting them; Which qualifications both (c) Gratian, and other Popish Canonists, Writers concerning the Ordination, qualification of Bishops, Priests, Deacons, recite, retain: yet impudently endeavour to elude by these two irrational shifts, diametrically repugnant to the words and sense of these unanswerable Texts.

4. Boechellus Decret. Eccles. Gal. l. 2. Tit. l. 3. tit. 5, to 11. Surius Concil. Tom 4. p. 494. 919. Hostiensis, Summa Angelica, Summa Rosella, Tit. Ordo, Clerici, Uxor, &c.

The 1. evasion is, That the *Husband of one Wife*, is intended only of the time past, of Bishops, Priests, Deacons, before they are admitted into these Orders, not present or future time; of such who are to be actually ordained Bishops, Priests, Deacons, at the time of their Ordination, or after admittance to these Orders. To wit, (d) that no Person who hath had two Wives, either together or successively, or married a Widow, though both Wives be actually dead or divorced from him, ought to be ordained a Bishop, Priest or Deacon, or admittet to claim or enjoy the benefit of Clergy in criminal cases: but only single Persons, or such who have formerly had but one Wife, from which they must be separated either by death or divorce, before they must be ordained; their actual marriage and cleaving to one Wife, disabling them by their Papal Constitutions either to receive Orders, or to retain or exercise these their Functions after their Ordinations.

Answer, 1. That this Papal restriction of Paul's qualifications only to such as are to be ordained Bishops, Priests, Deacons, before their Ordination, without relating to those who are such, is 1. Directly contrary to the letter of the Text, which describes the qualifications of such who are * actual Bishops, Priests, Deacons, as well at and after the time of their ordinations, as before, as the words in the present and future (not preterperfect) tense, *A Bishop then must be blameless, the Husband of one Wife*, &c. positively resolve. Now no Person by the (e) Popes, Canonists, Schoolmens resolutions, is or can be a Bishop, Priest, Deacon, or exercise these Functions in the Church before he be actually ordained: Therefore this qualification applyed to them as and whiles they are Bishops, Priests, Deacons, must be intended after their admission to these Orders, rather than before. 2ly. This restriction of it only to the time past, preceding their Ordinations, turns, A Bishop then must be the Husband of one wife; Let the Deacons be the Husband of one wife, into, Let him not be the Husband of one, or any wife at all, whiles either a Bishop, Priest or Deacon. A diametrical contradiction to the Texts. 3ly. The subsequent clauses relating to their wives, children, *Even so must their Wives be grave, &c. having faithfull children in subjection, ruling their children and their own houses well*, refer not only to the time preceding their Ordinations, but subsequent thereunto, since they cannot be actually divorced from their Children, Households, at or after their Ordinations, against the * laws of God, Nature, though they may be from their Wives: Therefore the Husband of one Wife, must have the same construction in point of Time. 4ly. All the other qualifications there actually coupled with and surrounding this (the Husband of one Wife) are principally intended of those who are actually Bishops, Priests, Deacons, both when and after they are ordained such, rather than before, viz. *A Bishop then must be blameless, vigilant, sober, modest, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, not given to wine, no Striker, not greedy of filthy lucre, but patient, not a brawler, not covetous. One that ruleth his own house with all gravity (for if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the Church of God?) Not a Novice, &c. Moreover, he must have a good report of those that are without, &c. Likewise must the Deacons be grave, not double tongued, not given to much wine, not greedy of filthy lucre, holding the mystery of Faith in a pure conscience, &c.* If all these qualifications be intended of such who are actual Bishops, Priests, Deacons, as well when and after they receive orders, as before their ordination, then the *husband of one wife*, &c. * must have the self-same construction being conjoynd with them. 5ly. It would be a monstrous, ridiculous, untheological interpretation to restrain all these qualifications to Bishops, Priests, Deacons, only

c Gratian Distinct. 25, to 33. Decret. Eugenii Papæ, l. 3. c. 2.

Evasion 1. d See Gratian Distinct. 26, 27 &c. the Statute of Bigamy, 4 E. 1. c. 5. Cook. 2. Inst. p. 273. Papæ Greg. 9 Decr. l. 5. Decr. 2. 19

Answer.

* Leo 1. Epist. 87. Ambrose, Primasius, Chrysost. Sedul. Theod. Theoph. Occum. on 1 Tim. 3. & Tit. 1. e Gratian Distinct. 91, 92. Summa Rosella, Angelica, Hostiensis, and others, Tit. Clericus, Ordo Sacerdos, Episcopus, Prædicatio, Sacramentum. * Tim. 2. 9

* See Concl. Crangr. c. 4. & Constantinop. Gratian Dist. 31, 37. Jerom. in Jovinianum, l. 1.

a Quis etenim
ex vobis post-
quam Episco-
pus hoc an-
quanto melle
matrem op-
tavit? O terribilis
immutatio!
O horrenda
præcepti cor-
ruptione con-
cilio Gildas. A-
cris conceptio
hectatica.
ordnam.
b Sacer Cant.
Sera. 77. Ad
Clerum in
Conc. Rhe-
mensi & ad
Pastores Scitu.

Tractatus de
milita. Episcopi.

Evangel. 2.
d Ecclesia est
Hos Clerici,
Gratian caus.
33. qu. 1. gloss.

Answer.

c 1 Tim. 3. 9,
21. Tit. 1. 6, 7.

to the time before their Ordinations, not after them : For example, every Person to be made a Bishop, Priest, Deacon must, and ought to be blameless, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, apt to teach, not given to wine, no striker, not given to filthy lucre; &c. before he be ordained, but when and after he is made a Bishop, Priest, Deacon, then he must be no longer thus qualified; but as he was and must be the *husband of one wife*, only before his Ordination, not after, so for congruity-sake (if this be the true meaning of this Text) by the same Papal interpretation, he may and must be (like too many degenerating Popes, Bishops, Priests, Deacons) blameworthy, unvigilant, unsober, of ill behaviour, un-hospital, unapt to teach, or an un-preaching Priest, *given to wine, a warrior, striker, greedy of filthy lucre*, impatient, a brawler, covetous, not ruling his own House, Children well, *lifted up with pride*, not having a good report, not holding the mystrie of Faith in a pure Conscience. And is not this an interpretation well befitting a Popes unerring Chair, very suitable to St. Pauls and Gods own meaning? This interpretation suits well with our (a) *Gildas*, and St. (b) *Bernards* observations, complaints of the Bishops in their ages: *Fratres, sic facit Jesus hodie, multosque beatus Diabolus Episcopos. Ubi enim, pro Dolor, Repetimus Episcopos, qui post adeptam dignitatem in humilitate se continent, &c. Male vivunt, et subjectos male vivere volunt.* Porro, Episcopi hujus temporis avaritiam quomodo declinent? Quod enim sine miserabili gentu dicendum non est, Christi opprobria, sputa, flagella, clavos, lanceam, crucem & mortem, hac omnia in fornaci avaritiæ conflant, & profligant in acquisitione turpis quæritus, &c. Vendunt homicidia, adulteria, incestus, fornicationes, sacrilegia, perjury, & usque ad summum implent manicas suas, &c. Animarum nec cæus reputatur nec falsus, &c. And with (c) *Petrus Blesensis* Archdeacon of *Bath* his observation: Frequens est inter Episcopos aliquem invenire, qui primum suæ promotionis annum dedicat sanctitati, cumque in sua novitate factus est agnus, *inveteratus aliquot dierum sit rapacissimus lupus*, &c. What chaste Bishops, Priests, Deacons, Vegetaries, they prove after their entering into religious Orders, abjuration of Marriage and lawful wives, you have heard before: Perchance to make these Qualifications only antecedent, not concurrent with, not subsequent to their Ordinations, nor concomitant or dependent on them, as they do the *husband of one wife*.

The 2d. Evation is this, That the Husband of one Wife is to be interpreted only Metaphoricallie, not properlie, That is, a Bishop, Priest, Deacon, ought to *have only one Wife*; that is, *one Bishoprick, one Benefice, [d] Church*, or Ecclesiastical Living with Cure of Souls, *and no more*, not of a *proper wedded Wife*, This is a strained, pittifull eluding of these Texts, pointblank against the words, meaning, yea fatal to the former Popish evation.

For 1. The *husband of one wife*, is never taken in this sense in the Old or New Testament, for the Bishop, Priest, Parson, Rector of one Bishoprick, Parochial Church, Synagogue, or Congregation, but in a literal genuine sense: Therefore it must be so intended here. 2ly. All the other recited qualifications of *Bishops, Priests, Deacons*, here conjoynd with it, are taken, interpreted only in their proper, not in any allegorical, analogical, tropological or metaphorical sense: Therefore this ought to be so too. 3ly. The qualifications here required in their Wives, in direct terms: *Likewise must their Wives [e] be grave, not Slanderers, sober, faithfull in all things, chaste, keepers at home, &c.* are all improper, unapplicable to a Bishoprick, Benefice, or Parochial Church in any sense; being peculiar only to real Wives and Women; Therefore it can only be meant, interpreted of such. 4ly. These Clauses, *A Bishop, Priest, Deacon, must be one that ruleth well his own House, having faithfull children in subjection, ruling their own children and their houses well*, are put in direct opposition to *publick Churches, Benefices*; the children here onely intended, are children begotten of their proper Wives bodies, (as the children of *High-priests, Priests, Levites* were under the Law) not children spiritually engendred by the ministry of the Word: as will be yet more evident by comparing these Texts with 1 Tim. 2. 15. *Notwithstanding she shall be saved by Child-bearing, & ch. 5. 10, 14. If she have brought up children: I will therefore that the young women marry, bear children, guide the house,* (all used in a proper literal sense, in the same Epistle,) Therefore children must be thus interpreted in these Texts too, not in a strained Metaphorical sense or construction. 5ly. If by this *one Wife*, be only meant *one Bishoprick or Benefice*, then why

why do Popes or Popish Prelates dispense with their having *Pluralities*, against sun-

dry [a] *Councils*, and their own *Canons, Decrees*, [b] *Constitutions* prohibiting *Pluralities* of benefices, as contrary to the Apostles institution in the *Primitive Church*, instituting many *Bishops, Elders, Deacons*, in and over one particular *Church, Diocese*, not one over many, as is evident by Acts 11. 30. c. 13. 1. 2. c. 14. 23. c. 15. 2. 4, 6, 22, 23. c. 16. 4. c. 20. 17, 28. c. 21. 18. c. 22. 5. Rom. 16. 3, 9, 12. Phil. 1. 1. Col. 1. 7. c. 4, 9, 12, 27. 1 Cor. 14. 29, 30, 31. 1 Theff. 5. 12. 15. 1 Tim. 5. 17. Tit. 1. 5. 7. 1 Pet. 5. 1, 2, 3. James 5. 14. Hebr. 13. 17. (See my *Unbishopsing of Timothy and Titus* p. 35, 36, 37. &c.) Which *Pluralities* have been frequently complained, written against, as not only scandalous, but pernicious to the Church of God, the peoples souls, and occasions of manifold inconveniences, grievances, as well by conscientious [c] *Popish*, as *Protestant Writers* in moit ages; by sundry [d] *Notable Petitions* even in *Popish Parliaments*: yea, why do they authorize *Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Deacons*, to hold *Pluralities* of *Bishopricks, Benefices, Abbeyes, Priories*, and *Ecclesiastical Dignities*, by way of *Commendams*, notwithstanding these expresse prohibitions to *Timothy* and *Titus*? yet will not dispense with them to hold one lawfull wife, upon any termes, which God himself expressly allows them; though they dispense with them for money to keep as many *Concubines* as they have *Livinges*, enforcing *Priests* to pay annual *Pensions* to their uses for every *Living* they enjoy, which they must duly pay, though they keep no *Concubine* at all, because they have license to do it, if they please; as the *German Princes* in their Diet at [e] *Norimberg*, Anno 1522. in *Gravamina Germaniae*, [f] *Cornelius Agrippa*, and others complain and publish to the world. Gly. A Layman is utterly (g) *Uncapable* of any *Bishoprick, Benefice*, or *Ecclesiastical preferment*, before he be in *Orders*. And if the husband of one wife, that is, of one *Bishoprick*, or *Benefice*, be a previous qualification to his ordination; a Lay-man shall then be capable of a *Bishoprick* or *Benefice* before he is in *Orders*: so as this Text remains unanswerable, to justify the Lawfulness of *Bishops, Priests, Deacons Marriages*, notwithstanding Pope *Hildebrands* or others *Decrees*, as *Claudius Espenceus* (a learned *Popish Bishop*) acknowledgeth, in his *Commentaries* on 1 Tim. 3. 2. & Tit. 1. 5, 6.

12ly. God himself, by a propheticall Spirit, not only predicted, but in precise terms pre-condemned in this very Epistle of Paul (where he permits, prescribes *Bishops, Priests, Deacons*, to be the Husband of one wife) the forbidding of *Priests wives marriage*, as unlawfull, as the very doctrine of [h] *Devils, and seducing spirits*, speaking lies in hypocrisie, having their consciences scared with an hot iron; commanding *Timothy* to put the brethren in minde of these things, as a good Minister of *Jesus Christ*. Which, compared with *Hildebrands* fore-alleged confession at his death; that, *suadente Diabolo*, he had raised up Gods wrath and hatred amongst Christians, (by his prohibiting of *Priests Marriages*, as well as receiving investitures from Laymens hands,) is a sufficient motive eternally to explode it.

[a] Concil. Agathense, Can. 57. Calcedonense Can. 10. Epaurense Can. 19. apud Palatium Vernis, Can. 6. Nicenum 2. Can. 15. Aquisgranense 1. Can. 50. 2. Can. 16. Wormatense Can. 51. Metense Can. 2. Nannetense Can. 8. Parisiense, l. 1. cap. 4. Romanum sub Nicholao 1. apud Claremont, Anno 1045. Lateranense sub Alexandro 3. Anno 1180. pars 1. c. 13, 14 pars 30, c. 1, to 10. Basiliense Sess. 31. Reformatio Cleri Leodiensis, Concil. Lateran. sub Leone 10. Sess. 9. Colonienfe pars 1. c. 30, 33. Augustense, c. 21. Colonienfe & Mogunr. 1549. c. 64. Tridentinum Sess. 7. de Reformatione, Can. 2, 3, 4, 5. Sess. 21. c. 17. Concil. Tholouanum, Anno 1520. Sarius Concil. Tom. 1. p. 714. Tom. 2. p. 205, 321. Tom. 3. p. 142, 194, 315, 384, 415, 517, 552, 570, 630, 680, 693, 694. Tom. 4. p. 94, 95, 501, 632, 635, 756, 803, 814, 820, 843, 854, 920, 985. Laurentius Bocheilus Decret. Ecclef. Gal. lib. 7. Tit. 8. Gratian Distinct. 21. quæst. 1, 2. Summa Angelica, Beneficium, sect. 34, to 38. Summa Rosella, Beneficium 17. 20.

[b] Othonis Constitutiones, fol. 20, 21, 22, 27, 28, 29, 74, 88, 89, 99, to 105. Johan. Pecham. Constitut. l. 130. Constitut. Concilii de Redyng, f. 130 131. Reformatio Legum Ecclesiast. cap. 6. f. 29, 13, 14. Mat. Paris Hist. Angl. p. 12, 122, 357, 431, to 435, 698. Mat. Parker Antiqu. Ecclef. Brit. p. 202, 203, 204, 205.

[c] Alvarus Pelagius de Planctu Ecclef. lib. 2. artic. 8. 15, 19, 20. Petrus Blesensis Compendium in Job. c. 1. Bibliothec. Patrum Tom. 12. pars 2. f. 919. Petrus Bensfeldius De Justitia & Injustitia. Clericorum in Ordine ad Beneficia, c. 3. p. 489, to 406. Mr. Tyndals Works, p. 20, 102, 135, 267, 287, 360, 373. The Ship of Fools, p. 58, 59, 60. Haddon, contra Osorium, l. 3. f. 297. Gulielmus Perardus, Summa virtutum ac vitiatorum, c. 2. Tit. Avaritia, f. 58, to 63. Bishop Hooper on the 8th. Commandement, f. 67. Dr. Taylor on Titus, p. 723. Roderick Morfe his Complaint to the Parliament, cap. 9. Bishop Pilkington on Nehemiah, Onus Ecclesiæ, c. 19, 20, 21, 23. Nicholas de Clemangis, de Corrupto Ecclef. statu, c. 11.

[d] Rot. Parl. Anno 25 E. 3. pars 1. nu. 46, to 56 Rot. Parl. 47 E. 3. n. 97, 94, 95, to 102. Rot. Parl. 51 E. 3. n. 36, 62, 78, 79.

[e] Flacius Illyricus Catal. Testium Veritatis, p. 533

[f] De Vanitate Scientiarum, cap. 63, 64. See Claudius Espenceus de Continentia, & in Titum Comment. Bishop Mortons Protestants Appeal, lib. 1. cap. 2. sect. 36. Burtens Melancholy, p. 408, 409. Bishop Jewels Defence of the Apol. part 4. ca p. 1. divis. 1.

[g] Gratian Caus. 10. quæst. 7. Summa Angelica & Rosella: Rebuffus, & Duarenus, De Beneficiis.

a Gratian caus.
27, to 33. &
Glossa ibid.
Bochellus De-
creta Ecclef.
Gall. 2. Tit. 1.
lib. 3. Tit. 5.
to 11. Concil:
Trident Sess 7.
de Sacramentis
Ecclefie. Su-
rius Concil.
Tom. 4. p. 494.
414. Hostien-
sis Summa An-
gelica, Summa
Refella, Lynd-
wode &c. Tit.
Matrimonium
Sacramentum,
Ordo.
b Fornicatio
simplex non est
digna depositio-
ne, quia pauci
sine illo vitio
inveniuntur.
Gratian Caus.
2. qu. 7. Dist.
81. in Glossa.
By. Jewels De-
fence, part 4.
Artic. 1.
c) Matrimonium
tempore anti-

quius est, et communius Sacramentum. Antiquius, qui ante peccatum institutum est; communius, quia cum Sacramenta om-
nia sint in Ecclesia Dei, hæc tamen apud Gentes omnes est; sanctitas autem ejus, non est nisi in sancto monte ejus, id est,
ubi Ecclesia edificata est. Bart: Buxiensis & Thieny Glossa in Gratianum, Caus. 27. qu. 1. Caus. 28. qu. 1. c 1 Cor. 7.
12, to 17. d Gen. 6. 20. c. 7, 8, 9. e Gen. 1. 22, 28.

a Mat. Flacius
Illyricus Cata-
logus Testium
Veritatis, Ar-
gentorati, 1562
p. 212, &c.
Mat. Freherus,
Germania Scri-
ptores Franco-
furti, 1600. p.
228, &c.

z Jac. 3. 1.
a Mat. 23. 8.
b Mat. 23. 11.
Luke 22. 26.
c Luke 14. 11.
c. 18. 54.
d Dan. 2. 21.
e Prov. 21. 1

f Psal. 75. 7.
g Mat. 22. 21.
h Mat. 17. 24,
25, 26, 27.

13ly. [a] The Glosses on Gratian resolve, *Matrimonium est res sacratissima*; yea the Church, Popes, Bishops, Priests of Rome have enrolled Marriage in the very list of of their 7. Sacraments, as a Sacrament and most sacred Ordinance of divine instituti- on; by this device, they have made Popes, Bishops, Priests in their Ecclesiastical Consisto- ries, the sole and only competent Judges of all causes, questions concerning matrimony; which no Kings, nor other Laymen may any wayes examine or determine. Moreover they have canonized Orders for another of their Sacraments, and joyned it and Marriage to each other in the Catalogue of their Sacraments: It seems therefore very strange, irrational, contradictory, that this their Sacrament of Marriage should so defile their Popes, Bishops, Priests, and all other persons admitted to their Sacrament of Orders, as to render them utterly incapable of executing or enjoying their Orders; That these 2. Sacraments should be so incompatible, inconsistent, adverse to each other, as to null, destroy one another; that the sole Judges, solemnizers of all Marriages between other men and women, should be only incapable of this Sacrament of Mar- riage, yea that it should more pollute, disable them to receive, retain, execute their Sacrament of Orders, then professed single [b] fornication, whore dom, or adultery, which they generally connive at, tolerate, dispence with in their Prelats, Priests, and other Votaries of single life: They must therefore either henceforth disclaim both Marriage and Orders from being Sacraments of their Church, which thus destroy, pollute each other: (the rather because Marriage was instituted at the creation, not under the Gos- pel, is common to all [c] Pagin Nations out of the Church, as well as to Christians in it, yea to many Birds and Beasts, (as Doves, Swallows, &c.) which couple and live toge- ther by (d) Pairs, as well as man and wife, by a divine, natural instinct, precept, given equally to both at the very creation, [e] Be fruitful, and multiply and replenish the earth.) Or else admit marriage to be not only lawfull, but most proper for Bishops, and persons in holy Orders, because it is a Sacrament, of which they are as capable, as any Laymen, or of any other of their seven Sacraments, to which they freely admit them without restraint.

3ly. I shall cloze up the History of Hildebrands Papacy, with these memorable Censures of his Antichristian proceedings against the Emperor Henry the 4th, writ- ten by learned Bishops of that age in justification and defence of the Emperors Sove- rainty, against his New Usurpations. Valtramus Naumbergenfis Episcopus shall lead the Van, who in his Notable Treatise [a] De Unitate Ecclesie, (written about the year 1077.) asserts from Scripture and other Evidences, *Papam non habere politi- cum gladium, nullo minus aliquod Dominium super Imperatorem; Nullo jure posse eum subditos Imperatoris, aut aliorum Dominorum, a juramento fidelitatis absolvere. Quod om- nis anima sit subjecta superioribus potestatibus: atque ideo etiam Spirituales summos & infimos, politicis Magistratibus obedire debere. Papas & Episcopos non tantum nul- las justas causas habere, quod Casarem (Henricum 4.) persequantur, sed etiam in ipsa persecutione adeo modum excellere, ut plane scelerate et impie contra omnia divina et humana jura fecerant.* His arguments against the Popes Supremacy from Scri- pture, are principally these: *Nolite plures Magistri fieri, fratres mei, scientes, quomi- am magis judicium sumitis; Sicut dixit (z) Jacobus Apostolus. Ex doctrina Domini ac Salvatoris nostri; (a) Vos, inquit, nolite vocari Rabbi: unus est enim Magister vester; (b) Qui enim, inquit Christus, major est vestrum, erit minister vester; (c) Qui enim se exaltaverit, humiliabitur; & qui se humiliaverit exaltabitur; Sed cum ipse unus Magister Christus, idemq, Deus, (d) mutet tempora, & transferat reg- na, (e) tenens corda Regum in dextra sua; Legimus docuisse Hildebrandum Pa- pam, quod potestatem ipse habuerit super Reges, et super regna; et posse id facere, quod per Deum tantum fieri dicit Psalmista; (f) Hunc humiliet, & hunc exaltet: Nam (g) reddite, inquit, quæ sunt Cæsaris, Cæsari; & quæ sunt Dei, Deo. Quam certe regulam proprio confirmavit exemplo, di- cens Petro Apostolo, (h) Ut non scandalizemus eos, id est, ne nos Cæsari contradi- centes, tumultuandi eis occasionem præbeamus, vade ad mare, & mitte hamum, & eum piscem qui primus ascenderit, tolle, & aperto ore ejus invenes staterem; il- lam*

lam fumens da eam pro me & te. (i) Et discite a me quia mitis sum, & humilis corde. *Mat. 11. 29.*
Qui neque doctus Apostolus, Ecclesiam non Regnum disponere, vel ordinare,
quod nec ipse legitur affectasse, (k) Qui fugit in montem solus orare, cum turbæ
venissent rapere eum & Regem constituere. (l) Quoniam cum in forma Dei esset,
formam servi accipiens, (m) Venit ministrare, non ministrari, juxta quod etiam Pau-
lus Apostolus, (n) Cum liber esset ex omnibus, omnium se servum fecit, ut plures
lucraretur. Unde & Gregorius Papa, cum esset Summus Pontifex, & virtutum ar-
tifex, in tantum se infra omnium humiliavit, ut prius ipse in Epistolis suis, Servus ser-
vorum Dei, se appellaverit, & hoc humilitatis nomen ad posteros quoque transmissit, &c.
(After which he subjoyns) Ecce quomodo ille Minister Diaboli (Hildebran-
dus) Ecce quomodo infans, quomodo nos secum in foveam perditio-
nismittere querit? Sic divisit Sacerdotia, quemadmodum Ecclesiam Dei, atque
Reipublicam Imperii, quoniam partes inde segregavit sibi. Inter ipsum namque & inter
Regem Henricum graves exorta sunt atque execrabiles dissidia; Papa plurimum a-
nitente, ut Rex deponeretur a Regia potestate pariter et dignitate;
Rege vero contra nitente, ut defenderet se ab hostium suorum circumvntione, qui pro
parte ejusdem Papæ certant, quærebant eum opprimere; Erinde
omnia scandalorum exorta sunt genera: * Exinde crevit grave & diuturnum
bellum, & non solum civile, sed plus quam civile bellum, & facta sunt absque divino pa-
riser atque humano respectu, vastationes Ecclesiarum, & cades hominum. Erinde eti-
am corruptæ sunt divinæ pariter et humanæ Leges, sine quibus non
sustinetur vel Dei Ecclesia, vel Imperii Respublica: Erinde violata
est fides, et publica et catholica: Erinde etiam crevit illa injustitia,
ut pro veritate falsa testimonia, et pro fide catholica abundant perju-
ria, ut postquam leges bello siluere coactæ, impleatur jam ista Do-
mini sententia per (o) Oseam Prophetam; Non est, inquit, veritas, &
non est misericordia, et non est scientia Dei in terra; maledictum & mendacium, &
homicidium & furtum inundaverunt, & sanguis sanguinem tetigit; Hæc nunc a-
bundant et superabundant propter Doctrinam Hildebrandi Papæ,
qua divisit corpus vel Ecclesiæ, vel Respublicæ. Nunquid hoc est
Apostolicum esse? Et in doctrina et conversatione Catholicum esse?
et Gregorium, id est, vigilantem esse? et in doctrina et conversa-
tione Catholicum esse, secundum sententiam superius propositæ E-
pistolæ? Atque cum tali Hildebrando partes habere, et ejusmodi
qualia supradicta sunt, flagitia nutrire, fovere, vel defendere, nun-
quid hoc est, (p) Filios Dei esse, & (q) spirituales, & (r) cœlestes esse, juxta sen-
tentiam Scriptoris ejusdem Epistola? Absit hoc, &c. He there proves all the Apostles
equal to Peter, and all Bishops to the Pope, out of Cyprian and others.

Moreover (f) Circa idem tempus (or some time before) scripsit & Venericus Ver-

cellensis Episcopus, librum ad Papam, in qua eum reverenter monet, de iis omnibus, quæ

contra fas et ius, præsertim contra Henricum 4. fecit. Libri est Titulus, De discordia Regni et Sacerdotii; To which he subjoyned his Book, De Unitate Ecclesiæ ser-

vanda, to the same effect with Waltham's his Book De Unitate Ecclesiæ which some

attribute to Venericus. The most conscientious Bishops of that age publicly dete-

sting, and protesting against Hildebrands Antimonarchical proceedings and sentences.

The Bishop of (r) Trier at the same time also writ this memorable Epistle a-

gainst Pope Hildebrand and his faction, in justification of the Emperor Henry the 4.

Patribus, non fratribus, Dominis, non amicis, N. designatus Treverensis Episcopus,

Ecclesiæ devotissimas orationes in Christo. Ferre sententiam contra Apostolicum,

non est tutum, imo infamum, et omnino nefarium, aliquid audere in illum, qui in

vice S. Petri fungitur legatione ipsius Christi. Iste autem qui invasit sedem Aposto-

licam, qui inaudita elatione effertur, qui prophanis novitatibus studet,

amplo nomine delectatur, quem neque Christianum appellem, quia

non habet characterem, id est, pacem et charitatem, quam Chri-

stus suis militibus impressit, qua Christus suos notavit; non occur-

* See here, p. 272.

o Oic 4. 1. 2.

p Phil 2. 14;
q 1 Cor 3. 2;
r Phil 3. 20.

(Mat: Flacii Il-
lyrici Catalog.
Testium Veri-
tatis, p. 225.
Cent. Magd.
11. c. 10. col.
548. Trithemi-
us, de Scrip-
toribus Ecclesi-
asticis. Melchior
Goldast Col-
lect. Script.
Apol. pro H. 4.

r Matthei Fla-
cii Illyrici, Ca-
talog. Testium
Veritatis, Ar-
gentinæ, 1622.
p. 224. Mel-
chior Goldastus

Collectio Scriptorum Apologet. pro Henrico quarto, Franco, adversus Criminationes Gregorii 7. Papæ, Hænoviæ 1611. p. 46, 47. Dr. Crakenthorp of the Popes Temporal Monarchy, ch. 8. p. 100.

retere contra hunc, non insurgere, magnum sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ est periculum, et plane est contra Deum. Quis enim nescit, ex hoc quasi fonte omnis dissensionis, et capitis omnis schismatis, exclusa pace Ecclesiæ, discordiam totius mundi emerisse? Quis inquam, non videt, per hunc quasi signiferum, tantum sanguinem mundi effusum esse? De multis rationibus, qui non sequitur Christum, nequeo vere appellare Christianum; ita certe nec Papam, quem video toties et tam manifestum homicidam. En bonus et sanctus Papa, cujus consiliis, cujus instinctu et ductu, membra Christi tot et tam perditis modis sunt dilacerata. En bonus pastor, qui in illos tanta crudelitate grassatur, pro quibus Christus in cruce pependit, quas ipso proprio sanguine redemit. En verus Pontifex et iustus Sacerdos, qui sicut dubitat, si illud quod sumitur in Dominica mensa, sit verum corpus et sanguis Christi, item non penitentibus etiam ea quæ iuste fracta sunt condonat sacramenta. Nihil certe ita impium est, et nefarium, nihil ita est detestabile et execrabile, quod ipse curet, dum alios contra Regem armet: dum alios ad bellum quod ipse omnibus intendit, excitet. Inter has multiplices calamitates & miseras, quas patitur et conqueritur sancta Ecclesia, mihi quoque illata est ab eo, tam superba quam violenta injuria, &c. Ut taceam mea, ut prætermittam privata; Quia malus, & non purus ejus introitus, quæ minatus est, pervenit ad perditissima exempla, ne plus per hunc sancta, quæ modo extremum trahit spiritum, periclitetur Ecclesia; ex me dico, quod nullam ei obedientiam posthac serbabo, nec meo iudicio amplius sedebit in loco et vice Sancti Petri, quem ipse non sequitur, obstupenda abusione nobilitatis suæ, et inauditi Decreti, against the Emperor.

u Mar. Flaccius
Illyricus, Cata-
logus Testium:
Veritatis, p.
234. Melchior
Goldastus, Col-
lectio Scriptor.
Apolog. pro
Henrico 4. ad-
versus crimini:
Gregorii 7.
Papæ p. 46, 47.

This Letter was seconded by a notable Epistle of the Bishop of Verdunum in Germany, to all the Archbishops, Bishops, Princes, Dukes, Marqueses, Earls, Nobles greater and lesse, of the Roman Empire, and all the Clergy and people of the holy Church in justification of the Emperors cause against Hildebrand, thus recorded.

Dilectis in Christo Fratribus et Dominis, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Principibus, Romani Imperii Ducibus, Marchionibus, Comitibus, majoribus & minoribus, Clero et Populo, Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Cultoribus *N. Verdunensis Episcopus Dei Gratia*, id quod est, fraternam dilectionem, debitam servitutem, perpetuam in Domino salutem.

Regni nostri perturbatio, & ut verius dicam, nisi Dominus avertat, proxima nimis annullatio, in maximum dolorem nos excitat, in lachrymas vocat, in miserabilem querimoniam coram Deo et hominibus nos animat. Hildebrandus qui dicitur Caput, jam est Cauda Ecclesiæ; qui fundamentum, jam detrimentum est Ecclesiæ. Hic dispergit, qui dicebatur congregare: hic Ecclesiam odit, qui dicebatur diligere; jam usque ad omnimodam hæresim infirmat, quod dicebatur Ecclesiam sanctam confirmare. O inaudita arrogantia hominis, super omni Ecclesiam in se gloriantis, supra omnem malitiam male agentis, unitatem Ecclesiæ scindentis: quod inauditum est, Regnum et Regem Catholicum destruere præsumentis: impios iustificantis, pios injustissime damnantis, decreta Patrum pervertentis, Regem adulterinum extollentis, Regem liberum et legitimum etiam cum memoria nominis Regis extinguere meditantis! Perjuriam fidelitatem dicit; fidem, sacrilegium facit; imoque ab initio fuit mendax * pater ejus, per omnia mentitur, et in omnibus veritati contradicit. * Videat Deus & judicet, videre vos & judicate: Dominum impium, hominem abominatum, membra Ecclesiæ subvertentem, caput nostrum faceremus? Nos omni Ecclesiastico honore verissime destituentem, patrem nobis constitueremus? Vita sua illum accusat, perveritas damnat, obstinatio malitiæ illum anathematizat. In

* Diabolus.
Joan. 8. 44.

* 2 Chr. 24. 22.

qua re nobiscum esse, nobiscum facere, nobiscum laborem subire, assensus consilium, auxilium vestrum non recusat. * De eligendo autem Pontifice, qui errata corrigat, qui destructa restituat, qui huiusmodi fortia confudat, Deo cooperante, vobiscum operabimur, Deo consentiente vobiscum sentiemus, et pro honore Ecclesiæ, et pro recuperatione Regis et regni in nullo vobis deerimus: Valete.

(a) *Gotfridus Viterbiensis* writing of *Hildebrands* excommunication and deposition of *Hen.* the 4th. observes, (as *Otto Frisingensis* living in that age had done before him) Ante hunc Imperatorem, non legimus aliquem a Romano Pontifice excommunicatum, aut Imperio privatum, nisi forte illud pro excommunicatione reputetur, quod *Philippus primus Christianus Imperator* ad breve tempus a Romano Pontifice, inter penitentes legitur collocatus; aut illud quod *Theodosius*, ob cruentam hominum cadem a liminibus Ecclesiæ legitur sequestratus (to wit by *St. Ambrose* his admonition, to which he submitted, not by any Papal excommunication, as some Pontificians mistake.)

The History of *Philip*, the 1. Christian Emperor, being much insisted on by Pope *Hildebrand* and other *Romanists*, to justify the Popes usurpations in excommunicating and deposing Kings and Emperors, is thus related by *Eusebius*, only as a bare report or fame, not an undoubted truth, without any mention of, or relation to the Pope. (b) *Fama est istum* (Christianus namq. erat) cum precationum in die postrema vigilia Paschalis, una cum multitudine in Ecclesia particeps fieri vellet, non prius ab Episcopo, qui tum Ecclesiæ præerat (without naming the Church where, or Bishops name by whom this was reported to be done) permissum est intrare, quam se confessus fuisset, & inter eos qui peccatorum vinculis adhuc tenebantur affecti, locumque penitentiam agentibus præstitutum occupabant, se sua sponte (not by force of any formal Anathema, Excommunication or Interdict denounced against him) collocavisset. Episcopumq. dixisse, cum non alia conditione, nisi istud faceret, propter multa delicta quæ ab eo ferebantur admissa, (whereof the (c) ingratefull treacherous murder of his Lord and Master *Gordianus* the Emperor, to invade his Throne was not the least) aliquando ab ipso in Ecclesiam receptum fore. Imperatorem autem alacri animo & libenti, Episcopo morem gessisse, & ingenuam modestiam ac religiosam piamq. affectionem, Dei timore incitatum, reipsa declarasse memorant. Moreover, (d) *Niceph. Calistus* relates the story only as a report (aiunt, or ferunt) without informing us in what Church it was, or by what Bishop, but only indefinitely, non prius tamen in conventum fidelium accedere, intercessione & impedimento ejus qui tum Ecclesiæ præerat Episcopi, permissum esse, quam confiteretur, et penitentium numero, qui ordine & loco suo segregati, disciplina certa explorabantur, aggregaretur; quod non aliter liceret, ille diceret, nisi hoc fecisset, propter multas ejus noxas, cum Ecclesiæ multitudine conventus ejus festi participem fieri. Eum vero rebus ipsis timorem divini nominis, religionemque debitam rite atque sincere declarantem, obsequentem illi esse ferunt. In the margin I find these notes annexed: Episcopalis libertatis exemplum, exemplum Principis ecclesiasticæ discipline sese submittentis. Without one word of the Pope in the whole story. Now because *Fabianus* was reputed Bishop of Rome at that time, (e) *Eutropius* (a great advancer of the Popes authority) makes bold to assert, that he was the Bishop. Isti primi omnium Imperatorum (Christiani Romæ facti sunt, (though converted to the faith by *Origens* Letters, (not the Popes) as most record) & in die Pasche, id est, in ipsis vigiliis, cum interesse voluisset, & communicare mysteriis, a *Fabiano Episcopo Romano* (though neither *Eusebius*, *Nicephorus*, nor others before him, averre it) non prius est permissum, nisi confiteretur peccata sua, & inter penitentes staret; nec ullo modo copiam sibi mysteriorum futuram, nisi prius per penitentiam culpas, quæ de eo ferebantur plurima, diluisset. Then he concludes only with a, Fertur igitur libenter, quod a Sacerdote sibi imperatum fuerat, suscepisse, divinum sibi inesse metum, & fidem religionis plenissimam rebus atque operibus comprobans. Which incertain Report, how little it makes for *Hildebrands* excommunication or deposition of *Henry* the 4th. absolving his subjects from their allegiance, setting up *Rudolphus* in his royal throne, making him dance attendance barefooted three dayes together in frost and snow at his pallace gate, without admitting him entrance to his presence, upon his humiliation and repentance, when as the Emperor *Philip* was presently admitted upon his confession and repentance to the Church and Sacraments the very next morning, and neither excommunicated nor deposed for murdering

* See here, p. 252, 253, 254, 255, 265, 266,

a Chronicon, l. 17.
* Chron. l. c. 35.

b Ecclesiast. Hist. lib. 6. c. 27. Centur. Magd. II. col. 8. 144, 151. Ruffinus c. 25.

c See Grimston Imperial History in the Life of Philip.

d Ecclesiast. Hist. l. 5. c. 35

e Rerum Romanorum, l. 10 p. 126. Julius Philippus.

* See Grimston in the Life of Philip.

murdering his predecessor and usurping his throne; (as *Henry* was only for defending his right of Investitures against this usurping Pope) let all indifferent Readers resolve.

If any desire further satisfaction concerning the oppositions then made against *Hildebrands* Antimonarchical seditious, pernicious, heretical doctrines, and Apologetical pleas for the Emperors right, let them peruse *Matthior Golastus* his *Collectio Scriptorum Apologeticorum pro Henrico Quarto, adversus Criminationes Gregorii 7. Papæ*. Hanovæ, 1611. *Matthius Flaccius Illyricus* his *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, p. 202. to 240. *Laur. tins Schafnaburgensis* *Historia, Centuriæ Magdeburgensis* Cent: 11. c. 7, 8, 9, 10. *Sigeberti Gemblacensis* *Chronicon*; & *Aventinus* *Annal. Boiorum*, l. 5. to which I shall referre them.

Having represented you with this large account of Pope *Hildebrands* Antimonarchical, heretical, diabolical positions and practises during his life, give me leave to mind you of one memorable fabulous prediction (which [a] *Cardinal Baronius* very seriously insits on, though [b] *Onuphrius* with others, stile it, *inconcinna fabella*, invented by *nescio quis fabulator*) portending them, yea his antichristian usurpation of the very Title, Sovereignty, Throne of Christ himself. *Cum filius esset fabri lignarii, ex sarmentis ordine compositis, inscium ipsum has literas ordin. conscripsit, quibus adstans, homo literatus legerit, ex ea compositione scandalorum, Dominabitur a mari usque ad mare*: This (writes *Baronius*) was, *præst. n. m. divinitus signans, manu pri. ductante nomine* quid *fabri filii*, (*Gregori*) *futura esset amplissima in mundo auctoritas*: yea as the learned [c] *Lord Morney*, and [d] *Bishop Usher* thence inferre; *Quod solus n. ipius Dei invasurus, Thronumque Christi Regis nostri involaturus esset, d. quo illud a Psalmographo editum est oraculum, [e] Dominabitur a mari usque ad mare*. Which text [f] *Alvarus Pel. g. n. ueris* with an *Ergo*, to belong to every Pope; *Ergo Vicarius ejus in terris, omnis Papa, habet omnem potestatem in terra quam Christus habet: p. o. hoc facit quod Zacharias ait de Christo, c. 9. 10. Potestas ejus a mari usque ad mare, & Psal. 71. 8. Et, dominabitur a mari usque ad mare*;] Strange Antichristian shamelesse blasphemy.

It is now more then high time to take my farewell of Pope *Hildebrands* Papacy, whose Antichristian Heresies, Treasons, Schisms, Usurpations, Corruptions, transmigrated after his death into sundry of his immediate Successors, trained up under him, as his devoted creatures. It is [g] *Hermoldus* his observation, that after *Henry* the 4. had deposed this Pope *Hildebrand* the second time, and installed *Clement* in his Chair: *ex illa die orta schismata in Ecclesia, qual. a son fuerunt in seculis antiquis: & ii quidem qui videbantur perfectiores & columna in Ecclesia Dei* (in his repute, being an *Hildebrandian*) *adhaerunt Gregorio; ceteri, quos aut tior. aut latior. Cæ. rens agebat, secuti sunt Wibertum, qui & Clemens. Duravitque Schisma hoc 25. annos. Defuncto enim Gregorio, succ. ssi. Desiderius. post quem Urbanus, ac. inue. Patthalis, qui omnes Imperatorem cum Papa suo excommunica. tionis sententia damnaverunt: Continentes se* (not daring or being able to to reside in *Rome*, or *Italy*) *apud Reges Franciæ, Siciliæ, & Hispaniæ, qui Catholi. cam partem tueri videbantur.*

After *Hildebrands* death, (b) *Desiderius Abbas Cassinensis*, styled *Vicior 3. Papa* tum inuit, non *Cardinalium* aut *Romani populi suffragus electus*, sed a *Machtilda* meretrice, ac suæ factionis *Nordmannis* intrusus: qui *Gregorii* successor constitutus, *Gregorii* ipsius partes, a dicta *Machtilda* ejus amatrice edoctus, fortiter tueri cepit, adversus *Imperatorem*, & *Clementem* ejus Papam, indignum ratus, ab ejusdem sui prædecessoribus diabolicis moribus degenerare. But before he could vomit forth against the Emperor, illud animi venenum, quod odio plus quam *Neroniano*, in illum conceperat, veneno per suum Ministrum Subdiaconum, dum missaret in calicem injecto (as *Herman. Contraſt. Carſulanus, Petrus Præmonſtratenſis, Knyghton & alii plu. res* relate) or, as *Vicelinus, Volaterranus*, and other *Hildebrandians*, qui ab *Henrico Cæ. fare*, vel a *Clemente Pontifice* id procuratum esse malitiose coniungunt:) which proves, the consecrated wine, not to be really transubstantiated into Christs own natural glorified blood or body, incapable of any poison, or at least able to allay its mortiferous quality. *Platina, Martinus Polonus, Vincentius*, and others write,

a Anno 1073.

scd. 16

b In vita Greg.

7. fol. 234. Go.

belinus in Col.

medron, 213. 6.

c. 54.

c Hist. Papatus

p. 259.

d De Christian.

narum Ecclesi.

arum successio.

ne & statu, c. 5.

p. 120.

e Psal. 71. 8.

f De Planctu

Ecclesiæ, l. 1.

Artic. 13. G.

g Chronicon

Slavorum, l. 1.

c. 30. Joan.

Marii de Schif.

& Concil. c. 7,

8, 9:

Anno 1056.

h Balzæ, Mar.

tinus Po.

lonus, Platina,

Volaterranus,

Stella, Onu.

phrius, Petrus

Præmonstra.

tenſis, Herman.

nus Schedel,

Fascicul. Tem.

porum, Vinc.

centius, Vicel.

Barnes, Centr.

Magd. 11. c. 10

in Victor. 3.

Ch. on. Anton.

Titulus 17.

cap. 1. & 1.

Henry de Knyghton de

Eventibus Angliæ, l. 2, c. 3. col. 2352.

Chronicon Joannis Brom.

ton, col. 928. *Aventinus* *Annal. Boiorum* l. 5. p. 461.

Eum dysenteria periisse, quod neque a suspitione data veneni alienum est: Nam & in dysenteriam, veneno petiti, interdum incidunt, corruptis ac labefactatis intestinis, as *Balaus* observet.

Before his death, as [a] some relate; in *Synodo Beneventana*, cui *Apulia & Calabria* intererant Episcopi, *Clementem* (qui auctoritate Imperatoris sedem tenebat, tantique Petri Ecclesiam armis tuebatur) inde (armis *Machtylda*) expulit a Sacerdotali honore & officio, privavit & anathematis vinculo constrinxit; styling *Clement*, Hæresiarcha, qui vivente sanctæ memoriæ prædecessore meo *Gregorio* Papa, Romanam invasit Ecclesiam, Antichristi præcursoz, et *Sathanæ* significer, qui obes Christi dispergere, mactare, tantareque non desinit: Charging him as the author of all the persecutions raised against *Hildebrand*. In this Synod in pursuit of *Hildebrands* Decree against Simoniacs, he published these new Constitutions against *Investitures*, if *Chronicon Cassinense* may be credited.

Constituimus, ut si quis deinceps Episcopatum vel Abbatiam de manu alicujus Laicæ personæ susceperit, nullatenus Episcopus, vel Abbas habeatur; neque ulla ei, ut Episcopo vel Abbati adhibeatur reverentia. Insuper, ei beati Petri gremium & introitum Ecclesiæ interdiciamus, quousque locum, quem sub tanto crimine ambitionis, & inobedienciæ (quod est scelus idololatriæ) cepit, resipiendo non deserit. Similiter etiam de inferioribus Ecclesiasticis gradibus dignitatibusque constituimus. Si quis item Imperatorum, Regum, Ducum, Principum, Comitum, vel cujusvis potestatis secularis, Episcopatum, vel quamvis aliam Ecclesiasticam dignitatem dare præsumperit, (though they constantly did it before as their Founders or Patrons, by a Legal and natural Right) ejusdem Sententiæ vinculo se afflictum noverit; cum Trecenti & octo Patres in *Niceno Concilio*, omnes hujusmodi vendentes, & ementes, excommunicaverint, censentes, ut qui dat, & qui recipit, anathema sit; Cum hujusmodi igitur Episcopis, Abbatibus, aut Clericis reliquis qui communicat, aut orat, aut ipsorum audit Missas, una excommunicationis sententia plectitur, qui ne Sacerdotes quidem rite putari possunt. Pœnitentia vero & communio a nemine nisi a Catholico suscipiatur. Quod si nullus adsit Catholicus Presbyter, rectius est sine visibili communione persistere (excellent *Antichristian Divinity*!) & invisibiliter Domino communicare, quam eam ab hæretico sumendo, a Deo seperari. Nulla enim (ut ait *Apostolus) conventio Christi ad Belial, neque pars aliqua fidei cum infidei, omnis autem hæreticus infidelis est. Simoniacus vero quia hæreticus, idcirco infidelis; nam sacram Christi communionem quamvis visibiliter & corporaliter Catholici propter imminentes hæreticos habere non possunt: dum tamen mente Christo conjuncti sunt, ejus communionem invisibiliter sumunt. His sudden death prevented the expected successe of these Decrees.

After this *Victors* decease, sublati *Gregorio & Victore* capitibus perniciosæ dissensionis, (d) *Aventinus* records, fesso tot cladibus orbe Romano, placuit utriusque partis Episcopis jure atque literis, non armis atque ferro, more barbarorum, disceptandum esse. Fit igitur *Conventus Garstungi*, tertio decimo Calendas *Februarii*, conveniunt Episcopi *Germaniæ, Galliæ*, utriusque partis. Ubi confedere, *Conradus* Episcopus *Trajectensis* ita verba fecit: Ad pacem, quam nobis, Patres consulti, Servator noster abiturus reliquit, stabiliendam convenimus, vim, temeritatem, violentiam, errores pestiferos eorum qui cœleste donum contaminare non erubescunt, gladio duplici, ense ancipiti ad vivum refecare utriusque instrumenti testimoniis, juxta præceptum Christi refellere, operæ precium duximus. [d] *Josues* hostibus altutis, fallacibus juramentum, quod mendaciter extorserunt, servavit. *Nabocodrosoro* impio regni *Judaos*, regesque eorum fidem frangentes immortalis cæli majestas per [e] *Hieremiam* atque [f] *Ezechielem* vates suos coarguit, seque spretum testatur. Qui juramentum contemnit, fœdus spernit, pactum solvit, fidem frangit, illum despiciat, per quem juravit, illi faciat injuriam, cujus nomini adversarius credidit. Vivo ergo, dicit Dominus, juramentum quod sprevit, fœdus quod prævaricatus est, ponam in casus ejus; Nunquid qui solvit pactum, effugiet? Non considerandum cui, sed per quem juraveris. Multo enim fidelior est ille, qui propter nomen Dei tibi credidit, quam tu qui occasione divinæ Majestatis hosti tuo, imo jam amico moliris infidias. De *Tiberio* et *Nerone* non solum sævissimis tyrannis, sed impurissimis quoque monstris, præceptum legimus, [g] Reddere *Cæsari* quæ *Cæsaris* sunt;

a *Chronicon Cassinense*, l. 3. c. 67, & 71. Cent. Magd. 11 c. 10, col. 547, cap. 9. de Synodis, col. 506, 507, 502. Gratian, caus. 16. qu. 7.

Anno 1088 e *Aventinus* Annal. Boiorum, l. 5. p. 463, 464. Cent. Magd. 11. c. 10. col. 503, 504. Flacius Illyricus Catalogus Testium Veritatis, p. 232. d *Josh. 9.*

e Jer. 27. f *Ezech. 16. 59* c. 17, 9. to 22.

g *Mat. 23. 31.*

h 1 Pet. 2
i Rom. 13. 1,
to 8.
k 1 Tim 2. 1, 1.
l Rom. 13. 1, 2.
m Mat. 16. 19.

sunt: & [h] Deum time, Regem honore, [i] Principibus qui non sine causa gladium portant, etiam si mali fuerint, non modo dicto audientes estote; Verum [k] pro his supremum Deum deprecamini, quo tranquillam quietamque vitam agamus: [l] Omnis enim potestas a Deo est: qui potestati resistit, divinae providentiae repugnat. Idcirco ambitiosi & superbi sunt, qui illud Domini Deiue nostri elogium, [m] Quodcumque solveris super terram, erit & solutum in caelis: & quodcumque ligaveris super terram, erit & ligatum in caelis; perfricata fronte interpretando adulterant, suae libidini servire cogunt, et nobis, seu pueris, atque omnium rerum imperitis altu illudere student. Quali vero nesciamus, peculiare esse sacris vobis divinae sapientiae consultis pro capacitate auditorum, diversis nominibus idem appellare, eandem rem pro diversitate effectuum, modo propriis, modo translatiis verbis, quod idem valet, nunc figurare, nunc simpliciter dicere, crebris similitudinibus, frequentibus proverbis atque exemplis, aptis comparationibus, et huiusmodi tanquam luminibus rem illustrare, animi atque aures, tanquam stimulis ferire, & ut sunt varia ingenia, varia orationis sententiarumque suppellectile homines instruere, docere, recreare, rapere, trahere, movere, oblectare. Et ut D. Aurelius Augustinus docet, Veritas divina ita tradita, ita ornata, tecta, plus movet, plus delectat, plus honoratur, quam si nuda absque veste prostitueretur. Nempe animus noster, quamdiu mortali carcere clausus detinetur, nolit velit, rebus fluxis, fragilibus, quae videri tangi solent, nimium addictus est. Ad aeterna & clara quae cerni, tactu sentiri nequeunt, caecutit atque hebeatur, nisi igniculus ingenii huius fomentum motus excitetur. Proinde, prout aeternus id quod subobscurum de vinculo dixit, apud Joannem aperte, apud Mattheum, Marcum, Lucam apertissime explicat. [n] Pax vobis, inquit, sicut misit me pater, & ego vos mitto. Accipite Spiritum sanctum, quibus remiseritis peccata, remittuntur: & quorum retinueritis, retenta sunt. Et ut concordiam asfereret, & unum se verum Pastorem esse indicaret, ubi dixit siquidem, [o] Amas me? pasce oves meas; id est, [p] Ite in mundum universum, predicate Evangelium omni creaturae, atque Data est mihi omnis potestas in caelo & in terra; Ite ergo, docete omnes gentes. Hanc ob causam, [q] aperuit discipulis mentem caelestis Doctor, ut intelligerent Scripturas, Moysen, Prophetas & Psalmos; fuisseque eos in nomine suo penitentiam, & remissionem peccatorum predicare, apud omnes gentes, testesque horum esse. Has ergo ob causas Hildebrandus ambitione in praecipuum abiit, cum potestatem immortalis Dei, cujus nuntius duntaxat est, sibi usurpavit: Ita mores, ita tempora, ita homines sunt. Male consulisset rebus humanis suprema illa Majestas, si ita gladium in manum mortalis cujusquam traderet. Quis concupiscentiae humani finem statuerit? aut quis moderaretur? Ne sapientissimus quidem aequo animo tantum onus tulerit. Non necesse habemus, ut quispiam nos doceat, quoniam pacto spirituali potestate, vel ut verius dicam, dispensatione atque procuracione divini peni (Oraculorum enim caelestium promi atque condi duntaxat sumus) Petrus ejusque Collegae usi fuerint. Clarius luce in Lib: quem de gestis Legatorum Christi Lucas Medicus scripsit, liquet, arma nostrae militiae Spiritus, non ferrum, neque rapinae, caedes, homicidia, perjuria sunt. Nimirum lorica, thorax, galea, baltheus, ensis, Scutum, sunt Pax, Amor, Justitia, Spes salutis, Veritas, Sermo Dei, Fides. Quae munera divina saepius Imperator noster Christianissimus ultro Hildebrando obtulit, sed ipse accipere recusavit. Then relating the Emperors manifold virtues, he adds, Rei militaris, juris, civilium morum, divinarum, humanarumque rerum peritia, fortitudo propemodum nimia, non modo inter reges excellens, sed inter illos quoque, quorum hac sola virtus fuit: Jam perpetuum pacis, pietatis, atque religionis studium, in pauperes liberalitas, majora tribuentis quam a Deo petuntur. Clementia in devotos, benignitas in amicos, erga milites benevolentia, in nullo unquam Germano Romano tanta fuere Principe. Quod si flagitiosissimus is foret tyrannus, tamen ei obtemperandum, nequaquam resistendum esset. Prohibent humanae leges, decretaque Patrum adversarios, hostes, inimicos, accusatores, testes, atque iudices esse. Augustus cum in Italia cum Hildebrando pacem facit, paucorum scelere atque perfidia Saxonia excidit, perfidus tyrannus qui perfidiae graves poenas reddidit, sprete religione jurejurandi, violata affinitate, necessitudine eam invasit. Nemini privato nisi ante in integrum restitutus fuerit, dicta scribi potest, &c. Postquam haec ita dicta factaque sunt, Gebhardus Salisburgensis:

Nota.

o John 21. 15,
16.
p Mat. 28. 19,
20. Mar. 16. 15.
q Lu. 24. 27,
42, 43.

Salisburgensis, Boiorum primarius Episcopus, ætate, eloquentia, scientia, egregie præter cæteros *Hildebrandinos Venerabilis*, cui socii respondendi provinciam demandarunt, **omnino obmutuit, ne hñcere quidem potuit.** Not long after this* as *Aventinus* and *Albert Stadius* Anno 1085. record: Alius Conventus in *Mainum Moguntianum* cumque edicitur, ubi lis ea componatur, paxque confirmetur utriusque factionis consensu, Cæsariani peracto conventu discedunt, *Gregoriani* manent inter seque dissentire ceperunt. Tetrarchæ *Saxonie, Theodoricus* maritus sororis *Eckberti* hujus gentilis, *Theodoricus* *Uio Hyldezhaimensis* Episcopus, frater ejus *Conradus*, **sectam Hildebrandi velut impiam sceleratamque, abjurant; quo magis pœnitentiam prioris Sectæ approbant, ad Rom. Pont. (Clementem 3.) Imperatoresque se transferunt, &c.**

In the mean time * *Otho*, a person of a turbulent spirit, (*Hildebrands* favourite, and Legate in Germany to depose *Henry*, and set up *Rodolphus* in his throne, Cardinal of *Hosia*) for his Turbulency, per *Machtyldam meretricem, & Nordmannos Apulie Dominos*, invito Imperatore ad Papatum evehitur; in opposition to the Emperor and Pope *Clement*: *Benno Cardinalis* gives him the name not only of *Turbanus* for his turbulent Spirit, but styles him also, SCISMATICUM, HÆRETICUM, & *Liberii Arriani* Socium, Qui, ne Venenum erroris eorum perciperetur, quasi mel veneficorum more admisit. Scripturas enim intentione fallendi mendacis astute addidit: & in errore cum suo *Hildebrando* perseverans, cum Angelis Apostatis in abyssum relegatus est. This Pope took upon him the name of *Urbanus* 2. instead of *Turbanus*, being in truth *Turbator Orbis*, vel porius turbo et procella. [b] *Sigebertus Gemblacensis, Magnum Chronicle Belgicum*, and others, render us this account of his Papal advancement and proceedings: *Machtylda* auxiliis *Urbanus* Apostolicum obtinuit thronum, frequentibus Conciliis excommunicans cum Imperatore *Guibertum*; Hinc in Ecclesia scandala, & in regno auferuntur dissidia, dum alter ab altero dissidet: Dum regnum & sacerdotium dissentit; dum alter alterum excommunicat, dum alter alterius excommunicationem, aut ex causæ, aut ex personæ præjudicio despicit, et dum alter in alterum excommunicandi auctoritate magis ex suo libitu, quam ex justitiæ respectu abutitur. Et Auctoritas illius, qui debet potestatem ligandi et solvendi omnino dissipatur. Nimirum, ut cum pace omnium bonorum dixerim, hæc sola nobitas (ne dicam hæreses) nedum in mundo emerferat, ut sacerdotes illius, qui dicit Regi Apostata, & qui regnare facit Hypocritam, propter peccata populi, docerent populum, malis Regibus nullam subjectionem, et licet eis Sacramentum fidelitatis fecerit, nullam tamen deberi fidelitatem: nec perjuros nominari qui contra Regem senserint; imo qui Regi paruerit, pro excommunicato habendum; et qui contra Regem fecerit, a nova injustitiæ et perjurio absolvendum. These were the new antichristian, antimonarchical Paradoxes by which this new Pope and *Hildebrandian* faction supported their party, and deluded their profelites.

The *Hildebrandian* German Princes and Prelates hearing of *Urbanus* advancement to the Papal chair by their confederates in Italy, *Quintilburgii* cum *Hermanno* Rege *Saxonum*, mense *Aprilis* conveniunt, ad prætextum mutata voluntatis, dictum *Wezilone Mogunt.* Archimystæ calumniantur, hæreseos condemnant, qui spoliatum rebus suis, legibus divinis non oportere parere jactasset; denique se Ecclesiam sacram esse causati: *Ostionem* quem supra devotum diximus a *Signevino, Weziloneque Moguntino & Colonienfi* archimystis, sibi imponunt *Urbanum*, qui quasi ab urbe *Roma*, devotusque & profugus, sine lare, sine grege diutius erraverit. Extat de hac re hoc Distichon.

Dicere *Urbanus*, cum sis projectus ab Urbe;
Vel muta nomen, vel regrediaris in urbem.

This [c] *Urbanus* rigavit, fovit et produxit perniciofa illa femina quæ ipse *Hildebrandus* jamdudum sparserat. *Guilbertum Ravennatem*, qui & *Clemens* 3. *Balzus* in *Vrbano* 2. lib. 5. p. 226, 227. *Vicelius*, *Stella*, *Easculus* Temporum, *Vincentius*, *Barnes*, *Magnum Chron. Belgium*, p. 229, 230. *Aventinus Annal. Boiorum*, l. 5. p. 464, 465, 466. *Centur. Magd.* 11. c. 9. *De Synodus*, quod

* *Annal. Boiorum*, l. 5. p. 464, Cent. Magd. 11. c. 9. col. 505.

* *Benno* Cardinalis in *Greg.* 7. *Platina*, *Stella*, *Onuphrius*, *Hermannus Schedel*, *Volaterranus*, *Barnes*, *Balzus*, *Centur. Magd.* 10. c. 10. *Abbas* *Uspersensis*, *Antoninus*, *Sabellicus*, *Mart. Polonus*, *Mariani Scoti* *Contln.* in *Vrbano* 2. *b* *Chronicon*, Anno 1083. *Magnum Chronicon Belgicum* p. 126. *Morney Histor.* *Papatus*, p. 266. *Aventinus Annal. Boiorum*, l. 5. *Schafnab. Hist. Chronicon* *Antonin. Tit.* 17. c. 1. *Cent. Magd.* 10. c. 10. *Balzus*, *Barnes*, *Catalogus Testamenti Veritatis*.

c *Vincentius Specul. hist.* *Balzus* in *Vrbano* 2. lib. 5. p. 226, 227.

quod esset ab Imperatore electus, Imperatozemque ipsum excommu-
nicabit: atque ab eodem *Clemente*, ipse quoque excommunicatus fuit, as *Vincen-*
tius and others relate. *Mense itaque Maii, Imperator, Proceres, Duces, frequenter*
conveniunt. Item Petrus Portuens Episcopus duo Flamines Romani, Legati Clementis
tertii Pontificis maximi archimysia, hi atque minores Pontifices Gallia, Germaniæ,
Wezilo Moguntinus, Angelbertus Treverensis, Segivinus Agrippinensis, Luitma-
rus Bremenfis, Theodoricus Verdunensis, Hainricus Leodientis, Conradus Traje-
ctensis, Udalricus Aicstatis, Meginardus Fruxinensis, Otto Reginoburgensis,
Rupertus Bambergensis, Hermannus Spirensis, Otto Constantiensis, Burckhardus
Lofanienfis, Sigetrudus Augustanus, Gebhardus Pragenfis, Uto Hildeshaumenfis,
Hainricus Badebornensis, Erpho Monasterii, Volckmarus Mindenfis, Bibo Tullen-
fis, Burckhardus Basiliensis, Otto Argentoratensis, conveniunt: adfunt Legati alio-
rum Pontificum Gallia, Italia, Germaniæ, communi omnium consensu Hilde-
brandi secta pietate Christianæ repugnans, explosa, exhibita est. Ot-
tonem, qui et Urbanus, superiores Patres numero quatuordecim,
videlicet, Gebhardus Salisburgensis, Harduicus Maydenburgensis, Adalbero Wirtz-
burgensis, Altmannus Bathavenfis, Bernardus Mersburgensis, Guntherus Citiensis,
Benno Moesianus, Albertus Vangionus, Burckhardus Halberstatis, Hermannus
Mediomatricus: & hi quatuor devoti supposititiique pontifices per studia partium facti,
Reginardus Mindenfis, Wigoldus Augustanus, Gebhardus Constantiensis, Hainri-
cus Bambergensis, (qui deserti Reipublicæ causa ad priorem factionem redeunt) sacrile-
gii, irreligiositatis accusant, convincunt; in numeroque impiorum
computant. Superiores quos nominavi, quatuordecim Epis-
copos, albo Pontificum eradunt, Senatu sacerdotum movent,
crimine perduellionis, perjurii, perfidiæ, homicidii, parricidii eos-
dem condemnant. Hermannum Regem, Eckbertum Saxonem,
Welphonem Boium proscribunt, eadem censura debobent; Sena-
tusconsultum proscribitur tale; Devota capita quæ numeravimus,
velut contagio ab omnibus vitentur Christianis: quandoquidem a
nobis secessionem fecerunt, non nos ab illis; ad concionem sacram,
quemadmodum promissere, venire detrectant, pietatem Christianam
polluunt, concordiam contaminant, Ombus desertis, ad hostes Rei-
publicæ profugiunt, ad bella, incendia, homicidia, parricidia, latro-
cinia, rapinas non solum cohortantur, verum etiam Duces sunt.
Crebro benigne vocati reverti noluerunt; versutos, obscuros, veteratores, vafros, se esse fa-
ctis produnt, & nos experimentis sentimus. Egregii sane Pastores quibus gregem tuum
crederes. Nemo oves persequitur, nullo viso Lupo tamen fugiunt. Quidam designa-
sent, si eos fortuna ad tempora Domitiani, Decique servasset?

Inter hac Imperator (to vindicate his antient Legal Right of Investitures, and con-
ferring Bishopricks, notwithstanding Hildebrands, Urbans, and other Popes Decrees
to wrest it from him) *desertis gregibus pastores dat, Bathavia Hermannum filium Lui-*
tholfi Ducis Charionum, Juvavenfis Berchtoldum Mosburgensem Principem, Me-
ginardum Literis & facundia insignem, Wurtzburgio prefecit, Mediomatricibus
Brunoni filium Alberti Suevi imponit, sed mox eundem ob savitiam abdicat. [Post hac
cum exercitu atque Archiepiscopis & Minoribus Pontificibus, in Saxoniam transiitum fa-
cit. Hermannus Rex cum conjuratis sacratis prophanis Transalbam fugam cepit. Ce-
teri Saxones deditionem faciunt, iurejurando fidem Imperatori donat Augustus Hardo-
vicum Herveldensem Praefulem, sacrarum Literarum per quam peritum, sapientem bo-
numque Archimysiam Maydeburgensem designat. Is tertio Idus Julii a Wezilo-
ne Moguntino, Segivino Agrippinensi Pontifice, & aliis plerisque, Episcopis consecratur,
Imperatorq; exercitu Saxoniam perlustrat. After the Emperor had disbanded his forces,
Saxones ab Episcopis devotis concitati, (such was their restless treacherous
Episcopal genius) absque cunctatione deficiunt, arma resumunt, Augustum cedere finibus
suis compellunt. The Emperor thereupon collecting his forces, notwithstanding the
perjured Bishops and rebellious Saxons former treachery, endeavored out of his tran-
scendent clemency, to reclaim them by his graciousness, instead of cutting them off as
incorrigible Traytors. Rursus inducia sunt, pacis conditiones ab utrinque partis amicis
discuntur. Hainricus pacata Saxonia in Franciam ob Quadragesimæ solennem abstinenti-
am

am redit. During his absence there, *Episcopi odio excitati pacem rursus interturbant, copias cogunt, extra fines Turogorum, Saxonum perducunt, cum laceessere armis Imperatorem statuant, Wurtzburgium obsident.* (O the obstinacy, treachery of Hildebrandian Prelates!) *Augustus obsessis auxilio venit:* Several battels are fought with various success between both parties, related by *Aventinus, Anonymi Historia, De Vita Henrici 4. Caesaris, Dodechini Appendix ad Marianum Scutum, Otto Frisingensis, Abbas Urspergensis, Bertoldus Constantiensis, Grimston, Cuspinian, Sabellicus* and others in the Life of *Henry* the 4th; over tedious to rehearse.

To pacifie these unchristian wars and differences Anno 1090. (†) *Valtramus Meg-burgensis* Ecclesiæ Antistes, quum esset favens præcipue *Henrico Regi*, missis literis ad *Ludovicum* Comitem suggerens ei, ut se subderet dicto Regi; tueretur partes ejus; In quibus literis tanquam pro *defensione ordinationis Dei*, re autem vera favendo Regi, laborans, *beata memoria Gregorio Papæ*, & pæ recordationis *Rodolpho* Regi, & Principibus, qui jam in somno pacis requieverant, obloquendo detrectarant, dicens eos, quasi non fuerint sic periisse, affirmans eis malum principium fuisse quos finem pessimum contigisset habuisse, quarum literarum modus iste est.

Valtramus Dei gratia id quod est, *Ludovico* Serenissimo Principi circumstantia orationum, semetipsum ad omnia devotissimum. Omni Regno utilis est concordia, desiderabilis est Justitia: Hæc enim virtus, mater est probitatis, & conservatio totius honestatis: Qui autem intestina grassando dissentione, ad humani sanguinis alios irritat effusionem, profecto vir sanguinum est, atque illius particeps, qui nostrum sanguinem sitiens semper circum, quærens quem devoret. Tu igitur gloriosissime Princeps, attendens, quomodo *Deus* pacis est, & non dissensionis: quod ex te est, pacem cum omnibus habeas; *Deus* charitas est, *Diabolus* odium. Tota Lex & Prophetæ, in dilectione pendent. Qui odit autem fratrem suum, homicida est, nec habet partem in Christi Regno & Dei. Hoc ipsa veritas; hoc discipulus ille veritatis protestatur, qui de pectore Dominico Evangelii profundius potatus veritatem, fluminis impetu lætificat abundantius Civitatem Dei. Sed ille vas Electionis qui usque ad tertium Cælum, non secundum hominem sed per revelationem Jesu Christi Evangelium suum didicit, Omnis inquit, anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit. Non est enim potestas nisi a Deo. Qui autem resistit potestati, Dei ordinationi resistit. Sicut amici nostri in mulierculas, & simplex vulgus somniant *Regis potestati subditi non oportere; falsum est*: Ergo quod omnem animam potestati subditi oporteat. Sed nunquid veritas mendacii arguenda est? An experimentum quærant ejus qui in Apostolo loquebatur Christus? An æmulemur Dominum? Nunquam fortiores illo sumus? fortio-rem se confidit, qui Dei Ordinationi resistit, quoniam non est potestas nisi a Deo: sed quod ait Propheta: Confundantur omnes qui pugnant adversum te Domine, & peribunt viri qui resistunt tibi. *Radulphus, Hildebrandus, Eggebertus* & innumeri Principes, Dei Ordinationi in *Henrico* Imperatore resisterunt, et ecce quasi non fuerint perierunt: quia profecto necesse est malum fuisse principium, quorum finis pessimus subsequutus est. Nunc ergo, quoniam qui ex adversa sunt suis, adversum nos eminus digladiantur rationationibus, vestro judicio, ubi iur, vel etiã in vestro judicio conferamus, domicilio tantum non suo usurario, sed Christi & antiq. Patrum utamur testimonio. Ac ne forte recusetur, lex hujus esto certamini, vel me in populorum transire sententiam, vel ex nostro triumpho vos Dom. nostro Imperatori luctri faciamus. Attendatur & illud. Si quis aliter evangelizat, præter quod evangelizatum est vobis, Anathema sit; hoc Anathema non de prophanæ novitatis usurario, sed de tertio intonuit cælo, De istis autem qui ignorantes Dei justitiam, & quærentes suam statuere, justitiæ Dei non sunt subjecti; fiducialiter dixerim, maledicetur illi, & tu benedices, qui insurgunt in me confundantur, servus autem tuus lætabitur, quoniam (ut ait Dominus) sine me nihil potestis facere: nec damnas justum quum judicabitur illi; Tu quis es qui judicas alienum servum? suo Domino stat aut cadit.

To this challenging Letter *Ludovicus* returned a satyrical answer (written by *Her-randus Halverstadensis Episc.* to whom *Ludovic* delivered *Valtramus* Letter to be perused and answered) which those who please may peruse in *Dodechimus* his Appendix, at or near which time *Valtramus, Niemburgensis* Episcopus, scripsit pro *Henrico 4.* contra *Papam* librum.

Pope *Urban* being driven out of *Rome* by *Clement* in partibus Campaniæ morabatur, & ab omnibus Catholicis debita reverentia colebatur, viz. a Constantinopolitano Im-

Anno 1090.
† Appendix
Dodechini Ab-
bates sancti
Dysibodi ad
Mariani Scoti;
Chronica,
P. 443, 444.

Anno 1095.
a Bertoldi Con-
stant. ad Heron.
Chron. Append.
P. 364, 365.

peratore, & a Philippo Francorum Rege, aliisque diverforum regnorum Principibus tam Ecclesiasticis, quam Secularibus, excepto Teutonicorum regno, ubi multi ex Catholicis in partem excommunicatorum, avaritia decepto, sponte sua se transtulerunt. Romani quoque turrim Crescentii, quæ eatenus Domino Papæ obediebat, dolo captam, ducere tentaverant: Guibertum quoque hæresiarcham, quem jamdudum expulerunt, iterum Roman intrare, & sanctam Ecclesiam, suis non benedictionibus sed maledictionibus infestare, permiserunt. Whereupon, Dominus Papa *Urbanus* generalem Synodum *Beneventi* collegit, & sententiam anathematis super *Guibertum* hæresiarcham & omnes ejus complices, Synodali judicio confirmavit. Soon after *WVelfo Boiaria* Dux, multos contra *Henricum* Imperatorem excitavit, ut ipsum novum Regem eligere decernerent, si quorundam pigritia sive malevolentia eos non impediret, because the Emperor refused to restore his Lands and Goods forecited by his Treason, in adhering to *Hildebrand* and *Urban*, nec vellet permittere ut Apostolica sedes a *Guiberto* hæresiarcha invasa, *Urban*o canonice disponeretur; notwithstanding this excommunication, Multi ex *Alemannia* *Henrico* Regi reconciliati sunt, & excommunicationem sedis Apostolicæ communem sibi cum *Henrico* facere, which they valued not at all; Anno 1093. Some Monks of *Hildebrands* faction deserted their Monasteries in *Germany*. [6] Nam alia veteriosa excommunicatio, quam piæ memoriæ *Gregorius* Papa, super *Guibertum* & ejus complices fecit, jam adeo majores in *Alemannia* contaminavit, ut quique religiosi se inter eos (Salva Catholica communione) perduratos desperaverint. (Anno 1092, & 1093.) [c] Dominus Papa *Urbanus* Natalem Domini in terra Sancti *Petri* extra *Roman* celebravit. Nam *Guibertus* hæresiarcha, ita se prope domum Sancti *Petri* in castellavit, ut non facile absque humani sanguinis effusione expelli inde potuit, & *Urbanus* nondum *Roman* absque armata manu intrare potuit, *Guibertus* quidem & excommunicatis multum adhuc ibi prævalentibus, nec facile se absque violentia expelli permittentibus. *Henricus* quoque Imperator in *Longobardia* jam biennia morabatur, ibique circumquaque terram *WVelfonis*, *Ital.* Ducis, præda, ferro & incendio vastare non cessabat, ut eundem Ducem & ejus prudentissimam uxorem (*Machtilda*, Pope *Hildebrands* Mistress) a fidelitate Sancti *Petri* discedere, sibi que adherere compelleret, sed frustra; Nam Dux in sua sententia persistit, ipsique satis viriliter restitit. This year (1093.) by the solicitation of Pope *Urban*, & *Machtilda*, *Conrade* the Emperors Son deserting his Father, a patre decessit, & *WVelfoni* Duci, reliquisque fidelibus Sancti *Petri* contra patrem cum suis adjovit. Whereupon by *Urbanus* appointment, a *Mediolanensi* Archiepiscopo & reliquis fidelibus Sancti *Petri*, in Regem coronatur, aunte *WVelfone* Duce *Italia*, & *Machtilda* ejus charissima conjuge. Civitates quoque de *Longobardia*, *Mediolana*, *Cremona*, *Lauda*, *Placentia*, contra *Henricum* in viginti annos conjuraverunt, qui omnes prædicto Duci fideliter adhaferunt. Transitus etiam *Alpium* in *Longobardiam* obtinuerunt, ut fautores *Henrici* ad ipsum non possent proficisci. *Augustenses* Episcopum quem *Henric.* illis dedit, expulerunt, ipsique sibi Catholicum pastorem canonice elegerunt, qui *Eporegiensem* Episcopum in castello, quo transitus *Alpium* custoditur, captivavit. *Metensis* Ecclesia & *Tullensis* & *Virdunensis*, ab obedientia *Egelberti Treverensis* excommunicati, eique non amplius obedituras apertissime mandaverunt. Quorum *Metensis*, refutato Episcopo, quem *Henricus* eis dare voluit, ipsi sibi canonice pastorem eligere, eumque, a *Gebehardo Constantiensis* Episcopo sedis Apostolici Legato consecrari fecere. This Popes Legat the same year held an assembly at *Ulin*, where *WVelfo* Duke of *Bavaria*, his own Brother *Bertoldus*; whom he had made Duke of *Germany*, with sundry Princes, Bishops, Abbots, Religious persons entred into League and Oath against the Emperor *Henry*, Ut ipsi Episcopo *Constantiensis* omnimodo secundum statuta Canonum obediretur, & ut Duci *Bertolde* secundum legem *Alemannorum* obsecundaretur, a septimo die Decembris usque in Pascha, & a Pascha in duos annos. Hanc pacem singuli Principes qui convenerunt, tam majores quam minores juraverunt, & per potestatem suam usquequaque viritim jurare fecerunt. The next year they drew into this confederacy Duke *WVelfo*, *France*, *Alsacia*, and many parts of *Germany*, even to *Hungary*. These were the fruits of *Hildebrands* Successors and confederates to set up not only Subjects of all sorts against their lawful Prince, but the Son against the Father; the People against their lawfull Bishops, yea Bishops themselves against their lawfull Archbishops appointed by the Emperor, adhering faithfully to him against *Urban* their Anti-Pope; And not satisfied herewith,

Anno 1093.
b Bertold. Ibid.
p. 368.

Anno 1093, &
1093.
c Idem. p. 366,
368, 369.
Bertold. Ibid.

Anno 1094. They solicited and procured *Praxedis* the Empress to fly away from her Husband, to his capital Enemies, first to Duke *VVelfo* and *Machilda* his Wife, Qui gratanter eam susceperunt & honorabiliter tractaverunt, and then to Pope *Urban*. Quæ se tantas tamque inauditas fornicationum spurcitas, & a tantis passam fuisse conquesta est, ut etiam apud inimicos fugam suam facilem excusaret, omnesque Catholicos ad compassionem tantarum injuriarum sibi conciliaret. Then her scandalous complaints to defame the Emperor must be published in a great Synod first held at *Constans* by *Geberhardus* the Popes Legate, and spread over all *Germany* to alienate his Subjects from him then; in *Lombardy*, *Italy* and *Rome*; God in the meantime during these Rebellions, plagued and punished these seditious *Hildebrandians* not only with intestine wars, but most grievous pestilences, famine, inundations, prodigious flies, caterpillars, corrutions, earthquakes, tempests, prodigies from year to year, to bring them to repentance, recorded at large by Historians. Yet though many of the vulgar sort of people, and other persons were reclaimed, yea brought to confess and lament their sins thereby, yet the Pope, Prelates, Clergy and Ringleaders of this obdurate *Hildebrandian* factions (all be it many of them were cut off by sudden death, to their great grief and prejudice of St. *Peters* cause) still proceeded impetently in their antichristian, antimonarchical Treasons, rebellions, excommunicating their Opposites afresh in all places; and so cauterized the consciences of their own party by their unchristian Anathemas, that their great Advocate *Bertoldus Constantiensis*, informs us: Magna tamen in illis partibus (viz. *Boiaria*, *Franca*, *Teutonica*, *Alsatia*) sancta mater in devitatione excommunicatorum perpeffa est, quas utique vix devitare posset, si non jamdudum Dominus Papa sententiam excommunicationis quodammodo cum Apostolica autoritate temperasset. Nam multos ipso more prædecessoris sui venerabilis Papæ *Gregorii*, de excommunicatione seculit. videlicet, viatores, rusticos, servos & ancillas, uxores & filios, quos tamen perversa voluntas eodem vinculo excommunicationis non astrixerit. This salve found out for this inconvenience, (for which Cardinal *Benno* and others taxed *Hildebrand* of Heresie) An. 1094. in *Galliarum* Civitate, quam *Ostionem* vulgariter dicunt, congregatum est generale Concilium, a venerando *Hugone Lugdunensi* Archiepiscopo & levis Apostol. Legato cum Archiepiscopis, Episcopis & Abbatibus diversarum provinciarum 17. Cal. *Novembris*, in quo concilio renovata est excommunicatio in Henricum Regem, et in Guibertum sedis Apostol. invasorem, et in omnes eorum complices. And not contented herewith: Item Rex Gallicarum Philippus excommunicatus est (as well as the Emperor, and that in his own Realm by his own Bishops in obedience to this Pope) eo quod vivente uxoræ suæ aliam superinduxerit. Item *Simoniac* hæresis, & incontinent. Sacerdotum sub excommunicatione damnata est. The like was decreed in the Council of *Constans*, held by the Popes Legate the same year, who prohibited the people under pain of excommunication not to resort to the Masses and divine Offices of Simonians or married Priests, which many therupon in *Alsatia* refused to do. *Urban* not daring to reside at *Rome*, by reason of *Clements* party there overpowering him, celebrated the Nativity at *Pisa*, where *Dagobertus* the Bishop most studiously serving him, he honored him and his See with a Pall and Title of Archbishoprick. By this Popes treachery, *Henricus* in *Longobardia* morabatur pæne omni regia dignitate privatus. Nam filius suus *Conradus*, jamdudum in Regem coronatus, se ab illo penitus separavit, et *Dominæ Mathildæ* cæterisque fidelibus sancti *Petri*, firmiter conjunctus, totum robur paterni exercitus in *Longobardia* obtinuit. Dominus Papa Deo & S. *Petro* prosperante (whom he intitles to these unnatural, prosperous Treacheries and Rebellions) jam pæne ubique prævaluit, & in media *Longobardia*, in Civitate *Placentina*, inter ipsos Schismaticos & contra ipsos generalem Synodum condixit, ad quam Episcopos *Italia*, *Burgundia*, *Franca*, *Alemannia*, *Briaria*, aliarumque Provinciarum, Canonica et Apostolica auctoritate missis Litteris convocavit, (without either the Emperor or the Kings Mandates, the only lawfull antient Summoners of General, National, and Provincial Councils too, as the premises evidence) Ad quam Synodum tam innumeralis multitudo confluit, ut nequaquam in qualibet Ecclesia illius loci possit comprehendi. Unde & Dominus Papa extra urbem in campo illam celebrare compulsus est. In hac Synodo *Praxedis* Regina jamdudum ab *Henrico* separata (by the Popes and *Mathildæ* persuasion and advice, to defame her Husband) super maritum suum Domino Apostolico & Sanctæ Synodo conquesta est, de inauditis fornicatorum Spucitiis,

Anno 1094.
Bertold. Ibidi.
P. 369.
P. 370, 371.

* Append. ad
Herm. Chroci.
An. 1394. P.
370.

* In Vita
Gregorii 7.

Anno 1095.
Bertoldi Constant.
Append. P. 372, 373.

Spurcitias quas apud maritum passa est : cujus querimoniam Dominus Papa cum Sancta Synodo satis misericorditer suscepit, eo quod ipsam tantas spurcitias non tam commisisse quam invitam pertulisse pro certo cognoverit : (She and they fathering her abominable Adulteries on the Emperor) Unde & de pœnitentia pro hujusmodi flagitiis injungenda illam clementer absolvit, quæ & peccatum suum (therefore not the Emperors) sponte & publice confiteri non erubuit (to shame the Emperor rather than herself) Ad hanc Synodum *Philippus Rex Galliarum* legatum suum direxit, seque ad illum iter arripisse, sed legitimis sociis se impeditum fuisse mandavit, unde inducias sibi usque Pentecost. apud Dominum Papam Synodo intercedente impetravit; Dominus autem *Hugo Lugdunensis* Archiepiscopus ad eandem Synodum vocatus, ab Officio suspenditur, eo quod ipse non venerit nec legatum cum canonica excommunicatione illuc pro se direxerit, [a just reward for excommunicating his Sovereign.] Now because so many were excommunicated, that few of their Party could be admitted to the Lords Supper, without some mitigation of the laws, they enacted amongst other things in that Synod, Ut quilibet rite ad confessionem venientibus Eucharistiam non denegemus, quos solo corpore non mente inter excommunicatos manere, nec tamen eorum Sacramentis communicare, cognoscimus. They likewise condemned Priests and Deacons Marriages under the nick-name of *Nicholaitans*, and Investitures under the Title of Simony, in pursuance of *Hildebrands* Decrees, which they then ratified. Item hæresis *Nicholaitarum* [i.] incontinentiam Subdiaconorum, Diaconorum, & præcipue Sacerdotum, irretractabiliter damnata est, ut deinceps de officio se non intromittant, qui in illa hæresi manere non formidant, nec populus eorum officia nullo modo recipiat, si ipsi *Nicholaita*, contra hæc interdicta ministrare præsumant. In hac quoque Synodo hæresis Simoniacorum penitus damnata est, ut quicquid & in sacris ordinibus, & in Ecclesiasticis rebus, data & promissa pecunia acquisitum Simoniace videretur, pro irritato haberetur, nullasque vires habuisse, & habere judicaretur. Hæc tamen non Simoniace & nescienter a Simoniacis ordinati sunt, misericordia in servando ordine concessa est; qui vero scienter ab hujusmodi ordinati sunt, cum suis ordinatibus irrecoverabiliter damnati sunt, for receiving Investitures onely from Laymen.

Item in *Guibertum* hæresiarcham sedis Apostolicæ invasorem, & in omnes ejus complices [wherein the Emperor was principally intended] sententia anathematis Synodali judicio cum ardentibus candelis iterum promulgata est. In hac Synodo quatuor millia fere Clericorum & plusquam triginta millia Laicorum fuisse perhibentur. After which *Conradus* Rex filius *Henrici*, [whom the Pope had trayterously, unnaturally set up in rebellion and opposition against his Father] Domino Papæ *Urbano*, Cremonam venienti obviam progreditur, eique stratoris officium exhibuit, quarto Idus Aprilis. Deinde fecit ei fidelitatem juramento, de vita, de membris, & de Papatu Romano. Dominus autem Papa in filium Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ recepit illum, eique Consilium & adiutorium ad obtinendum regnum, & ad Coronam Imperii acquirendam, coram populo firmissime promisit, salva quidem justitia illius Ecclesiæ, & Statutis Apostolicis, maxime de investituris in spiritualibus officiis a Laico non usurpandis.

Anno 1095.
Bertold. Constant. ad Herm.
Append. p. 374.
375.

After which this Pope presumed to summon a Synod at *Claremont* in *France* by his own authority, ad quam diversarum Provinciarum Episcopos, missis literis Canonica vocatione invitavit. Whereupon, In Galliis ad Clarum montem generalis Synodus a Domino Papa in octav. Sancti *Martini* congregati est, in qua 13. Archiepiscopi cum eorum Suffraganeis fuerunt, & 205. Pastorales virgæ numeratæ sunt. In hac Synodo Dominus Papa eadem Statuta quæ in præterita Synodo *Placentina* confirmavit, insuper & *Philippum* Regem *Galliarum* excommunicavit, eo quod propria uxore dimissa, militis sui uxorem sibi in Conjugium sociavit. *Philip* the next year, Jamdudum pro adulteriis excommunicatus, tandem Domino Papæ, dum adhuc in *Gallia* moraretur, satis humiliter ad satisfactionem venit, & abjurata adultera, in gratiam receptus est, seque in servitium Domino Papæ satis promptum exhibuit.

Anno 1096.
Bertold. Ibid.
P. 376, 377.

This Pope encouraged by these his successfull Usurpations in *France*, Ibi etiam aliam Synodum in tertiam subsequentis Quadragesimæ hebdomodam *Turonis* celebrandam denunciavit. In tertia hebdomada Quadragesimæ Dominus Papa Synodum celebravit cum diversarum Episcopis Provinciarum, in Civitate *Turonensi*, ubi iterum suorum præteritorum Statuta Conciliorum, generalis Synodi assensione roboravit; & non multo post Episcopum *Strazburgensem*, de excommunicatione resipiscentem recepit in communionem, ita tamen ut de illatis criminibus se expurgaret. In these Synods,

Synods, to weaken the power of Kings and Princes he stirred up great multitudes to cross themselves, for the holy wars, under *Peter* the hermit, and others, though with ill success, * His temporibus maxima multitudo de *Italia*, & omni *Gallia* & *Germania* *Hyerosolymam* contra Paganos, ut liberarent Christianos ire cepit, *cujus expeditionis Dom. Papa maximus auctor fuit*. Nam & in præteritis Synodis studiosissime omnes de hac expeditione promovere eamque eis in remissionem omnium peccatorum faciendam firmissime commendavit: omnes quoque qui se ad hoc iter devoverunt, signo crucis seipfos in vestibus notare fecit, quod etiam signum quibusdam, in ipsa carne notum apparuit. Unde & a quampiuribus Dei ordinatione & inspiratione ipsum iter inceptum fuisse credebatur. Nimum tamen simpliciter innumerabilis multitudo popularium iter illud arripuit, qui nullo modo se ad tale periculum præparare noverunt & potuerunt. Unde et eorum non parva pars occubuit quæ terram *Ungarorum* satis impudenter devastare præsumpsit, reliqui vero subsequentem multitudinem Rex *Ungaria* terram illam intrare, non permisit, *cujus etiam non minima pars ad introitum Ungaria* occubuit. Non erat autem mirum quod propositum iter ad *Hierusalem* implere non potuerunt, *qui non tali humilitate & devotione ac deberet illud iter* adorti sunt. Nam et plures Apollatas in comitatu suo habuerunt, qui abjecto religionis habitu cum illis militare proposuerunt. Sed & innumerabiles scæminas secum habere non timuerunt, quæ naturalem habitum in virilem nefarie mutaverunt, cum quibus fornicati sunt, in quo Deum mirabiliter, sicut israeliticus populus quondam, offenderunt. Unde post labores, pericula et mortes, tandem cum *Ungariam* non permitterentur intrare, domum morte cum magna tristitia exierunt repedare. Such was the ill successe of this holy Cheat, designed for other ends.

* *Joannes Augustinus* renders us this account of *Conrads* Rebellion against his Father and his proceedings against him, when incorrigible. Augustus jam ad statum pristinae Majestatis, universis pacatis, *Hildebrando* sublato, *Urbano* profugo rediisse videbatur & redierat, nisi filius suus *Conradus*, æmulus paternæ potentiaæ fax & turbo novæ discordiæ fuisset. Is suavis *Urbani* & *Machtylda* filiam *Rogeri Normanni Sicilia* reguli uxorem ducit; a *Patre* decelsit, *Italia* regnum sibi vendicat, moxque ad eum omnes inimici Augusti provolant. Augustus frustra crebro ad filium Legatos mittit, sibi insidiari non desinentem, ex professo sub magna superficie pietatis exercitus, proceres, milites sollicitantem; nequicquam orat, obsecrat, ne tam infandum scelus adversus genitorem (qui eum hætenus consortem Imperii successorem testari perseveraverit) committat; sed surdo cecinit *Augustus*. *Clemens tertius* *Urbe* a *Conrado* pellitur. *Urbanus* restituitur; mox invicem diras inferiasque dicunt. *Urbanus* acta *Hildebrandi* tueri, *Clemens* rescindere pergit. Imperator quoque summa ope contra *Urbanum* nititur. Moveri rursus Civitas Christiana, & dissensio Civilis, quasi permistio terræ erumpere cepit, scinditurque populus Christianus, pauci reperti, qui veram pietatem, injustæ potentiaæ anteponerent; partium studia, quæ extincta erant, gliscunt. Neque illis modestia, neque ullus est modus contentionis; utrisque cupiditas victoriae haud satis moderata; multos mortales ea lues extinxit, remque Christianam pessundedit; dum alteri alteros quovis modo vincere volunt. *Urbanus* criminando Imperatorem, plebem Christianam exagitat occulte largiendo, indulgendo, pollicitando, magis incendit, ita ipse clarus, potens factus, ex libidine sua victoria utitur, plusque sibi ac successoribus *Urbani* ac potentia, quam pietatis, atque amoris comparavit sub titulo Christi, pro sua magnitudine amplitudineque laboravit. Namque uti paucis verum absolvam, post illa tempesta quicumque concionem divinam agitabere honestis nominibus, quasi jura Ecclesiæ, libertatemque religionis defenderent, et quo Romani Episcopi auctoritas maxima foret, bonum publicum simulantes pro sua quisque potentia certaverunt. Imperator quidem contra hæc summa ope connisus fuit: And by all possible means endeavoured to reclaim his Sonne *Conrade* from his Unnatural Rebellion, but could not prevail, being intoxicated by *Urban* and *Machtylda*; whereupon, * *Is ubi filium ad sanitatem reducere non potuit, in Agripinense Colonia hybernare octavo Idus Januarii ad Aquas Granas ad Conventus Procerum Imperii agendos concedit. Ibi habito eorum, quibus venire, sententiam dicere jussit, Concilio in Senatu, ita verba fecit: O fidissimi Civium, piissimique amicorum, Romani Imperii proceres, Christianaque familia columen, id vos oro & per Deum immorta-*

* Bertoldus, p. 374. See Abbas Ulsterensis, Mit Paris, Sabellius, Simon Dunelmensis, Radul, de Diceto, Otto Frisingensis, Antonius, Hermannus Schedel, and others.

* Annalium Boiorum, l. 5. p. 469.

* Ibidem, p. 471, 472.

lem, per Majestatem Imperii, per salutem & dignitatem vestram, per iusjurandi religionem, qua nobis & Reipub. astritti estis obsecro, ut possitis gratia atque odio in commune consulatis, & Rempubicam capeffatis; pietatem, pacem jam pridem factione atque perfidia paucorum terris depulsam, vestro labore, vestraque industria reducem stabilite, sacrior tempestas rursus fluitibus obruit, me in Imperium natum educatumque; quem Deus summus rerum arbiter, & vos Imperatorem rebus humanis imposuistis, non inimicus, neque hostis, sed quod falsum esse, & neminem credere percipiam, filius meus illecebris famineis captus, quem genui, participem regni feci, successorem declaravi, contra jus Gentium, adversus jus naturæ et sanguinis necessitudinem, contra divinum edictum, immemor beneficiorum, oblitus naturæ, non solum dignitate, sed et vita privare conatur parentem, cui vitam, dignitatem, quicquid denique habet acceptum referre necesse est, extinguere conatur, * Dux facti scœmina est: diutius quam filio placet me Deus servat, vitam quam natura mihi donat, proles mea mihi invidet. Expectare senis fura recusat. Quæ sane nostræ sunt injuriæ nihil ad vos. Verum nunc vestrum duce famina occupavit regnum, vi & armis tenet. Vos in mea injuria despicitis, vestra beneficia mihi excepta sunt, non me, sed vos contemnit. Vestra res agitur, audaciam hominum spectate. Non opus est malis geniis, homini ex homine plurima mala; Vni animalium, homini, ambitio honoris, avaritia immensa cupido; nulli rerum major libido, nulli rabies acrior. Quid reliquum est, nisi ut ceteri omnes, ab hoc, quasi in loco illustri constituti, exempla sibi sumant, parricidia passim impune committant! Si nulla apud vos est memoria Conradi avi, atque Henrici parentis mei, majorumque vestrorum, nolite pati Imperium vestro sanguine atque sudore partum, per scelus et parricidia tabescere, per amplitudinem, salutemque vestram, per immortalem majorum gloriam obsecro, auferte procul in ultimas terras ex Germaniæ vitæ Scentium flagitium hocce, hactenus inauditum. Dessum tot civilibus præliis Orbem Romanum asserite a vitiis, scelere immanissimo Rempubicam Christianam vindicate, pœnas impietatis scelerati reddant, sentiant sacrilegi impostores, Germanicam virtutem nondum a majoribus degenerasse, vos Majorum vestigiis inniti decet, terrori pessimis, quibusq; bonis patrocinio esse. Quod tum fiet si uno consensu filium meum minorem natu, majore ob scelera ex hæredato atque proscripto, Cæsarem declaraveritis. Hac ubi Augustus dixit, pauci, quibus omnia alia atque fides & Reipub. chariora erant, contra nitebantur. Ceteri omnes indignitate facinorosi commoti, æqua postulare Augustum censent, ejusque; postulatis annuunt ex consilii decreto: more majorum Hainricum filium Augustum impuberem adhuc Cæsarem consalutant, isque se nunquam a patre defecturum solenni ritu jurat, Jamque Civile bellum, parricidialisque pugna parabatur. Imperator cum exercitu in Italiam intrat, Nordmannos, Machtyldam atroci prælio superat, Castellæ, oppida, vicos, Mantuam, Florentiam obsidet, expugnat, capit. Romanos supplices obviam procedentes, datis acceptisq; mandatis domum dimittit. Urbanus in Hispaniam aufugit. Eodem anno interea, dum Cæsar in Italia belligeratur, Welpho Augustum Rhetiæ capit, populus Sacerdotes præda fuere. Complures qui in Templum maximum confugerant ab irato teste ibidem contrucidati sunt; Sigefridus Episcopus ab ara retractus in vincula conjicitur, Wigoldus Hildebrandinus, author hujusce belli, Civibus Episcopus imponitur. Postridie, licet pollutus homicidio, sacrificat. Vix sacra perpetrarat, morbo corripitur atque expirat. Circa eundem tempore tractum universi Episcopi, Principes, faces et antesignani civilis belli, quo septemdecim annos Respublica attrita fuit, uno anno extincti sunt. A memorable judgement of God upon them for their Rebellions, Seditions, Treasons. After this,

* Countesse
Machtylda.

Anno 1097
a Bertoldus
Constantiensis,
ibid. p. 375,
376.

* Dominus Papa Urbanus bene dispositis rebus in Gallia, post reconciliationem Regis Franciæ & multa Concilia, tandem in Longobardiam cum multo triumpho & gloria repedavit. (a) Anno 1097. Dominus Papa tandem ad Apostolicam sedem cum magna gloria & tripudio reverfus Cardinalibus gloriosissime celebravit nativitatem Domini cum suis: quippe tota Romana urbe pene sibi subjugata præter turrin Crescentii, in qua adhuc latitabant Guibertini. Domina egregia Dux et Marchionissa Machtylda, devotissima Sanctæ Ecclesiæ filia, ipsa pene sola cum suis complicitibus Heinricum & hæresiarchum Guibertum, complicesque eorum jam septennio prudentissime pugnavit, tandemque Heinricum de Longobardia satis viriliter fugavit, & ipsa recuperatis suis bonis, Deo & Sancto Petro gratias referre non destitit.

Pope

Pope Urban continued at Rome Anno 1098. maintaining wars and contests both there and in Italy with Clement his Competitor: at last having manfully enough either appeased or finally conquered most of his Enemies, Anno 1099. Romæ Dominus Papa generalem Synodum 150. Episcoporum & Abbatum & Clericorum innumerabilium in tertia hebdomada post Pascha collegit, in qua Synodo, confirmatis suorum antecessorum statutis, etiam sententiam Anathematis super Guibertum hæresiarcham, et omnes ejus complices iteravit (if the many former excommunications of him had been valid, what need this reiteration of them?) Statuit quoque ibi, ne communicare præsumerent, qui concubinas haberent, nisi prius eas omnino demitterent. De Hierosolymitano itinere multum rogavit ut irent, & fratribus suis laborantibus succurrerent. Our Historians (c) Eadmerus, (d) Radulphus de Diceto, and (e) others record, that Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury was present in this Roman Synod, ubi excommunicationis sententia tam Laicos qui investituras Ecclesiarum dant, or moze pristino conferentes (as Radulphus de Diceto words it) quam illos qui easdem de manibus laicorum accipiunt, et qui sacris eos initiunt, &c. or taliter post acceptum honorem manus consecrationis impendere præsumentes, a communione fidelium Synodalis auctoritas decrevit extorres, as Diceto renders it. Upon which account, Anselm peremptorily refused to consecrate any Bishops who received investitures from the King, of which in due place, (f) Simeon Duxelmensis, and (g) Johannes De Brompton, who register this Constitution, render the reasons thereof given by Pope Urban, in these ensuing terms.

An. 1099. Urbanus Papa 3. Ebdomada Pascha magnum Concilium tenuit Romæ: In quo recisis recidendis & statutis statuendis, in adversarios sanctæ Ecclesiæ excommunicationis sententiam in omnes laicos investituras Ecclesiarum dantes, et omnes easdem investituras de manibus illorum accipientes, nec non omnes in officio sic dati honoris hujusmodi consecrantes, cum toto Concilio Papa intorfit; eosque Anathematis vinculo colligavit, qui pro Ecclesiasticis honoribus Laicorum hominum homines fiunt, dicens, Nimis execrabile videri, ut manus quæ in tantam eminentiam excreverant, ut quod nulli Angelorum concessum est, Deum cuncta creatorem, suo signaculo creent, et eundem ipsum pro redemptione, et salute totius mundi summi Dei Patris optatibus offerunt, in hanc ignorantiam detrudantur, ut ancillæ fiant earum manuum quæ die ac nocte obscænis contactibus inquinantur, sive rapinis, ac injustæ sanguinum effusioni addictæ, commaculantur. Which blasphemous reasons being uttered, Fiat, fiat, ab omnibus est acclamatum, & in his Concilium consummatum.

The Emperors Henry the 3. & 4. notwithstanding all Hildebrands, Urbans, and other Decrees against Simony, would not part with, but still maintained and exercised their ancient Right of Investitures, in conferring Bishopricks, and the Papacy it self, according to the forecited Decrees of Popes themselves, used by their Predecessors, as these Presidents in the eleventh Century after Christ (when Investitures were most eagerly decayed, decreed against,) will evidence, besides others which I premit.

The Emperor (a) Henry the 3. having constituted Clement the 2d. Pope by his Imperial Authority, Anno 1048. about the same time he made Humfridus his Chancellor Bishop of Ravenna in Italy, Theodoricus Bishop of Constans, his Arch-chaplain, Bishop of Aquisgran, Herardus Bishop of Spire, Theodoricus of Verdunum, and one of his Chaplains Bishop of Basil, Henry his Chaplain Bishop of Augusta, Alalbero Bishop of Metz, and Eberhardus Bishop of Trevers, within the compass of one year, in the places of those who fled or were removed, as [b] Hermannus Contractus, and others record, who also inform us, That Anno Dom. 1049. this Emperor elected, and made Poppo Brixienfis Pope, and sent him to Rome to be installed, that the same year he made Gorebassus Patriarch of Aquileia after Eberhardus his decease, and likewise elected and made Bruno Pope, sending him to Rome to be installed. That he designed by his Imperial authority Meinverchus to be Bishop of Padiborn: and Anno 1051. he constituted Luitpoldus Archbishop of Mentz in the place of Bardo deceased, Ruitpoldus Bishop of Constans in the place of deceased Theodoricus, and Egelhardus Bishop of Magdeburg after Memfred. Anno 1052. he promoted Henry to the Archbishoprick of Ravenna after the poysoning of Humfridus. Anno 1055. he instituted Hatto Bishop of Trent, Echardus Bishop of Brixia, and Engelbertus of Minden. Anno 1056. he ordained Gomradus Bishop of Nemets, and Hermannus Archbishop of Agrippina. Anno 1060. he made Sigefridus Archbishop of Colen, Euchardus Bishop

Anno 1098, 1099.

c In vita Anselm. & Hist. Novorum, l. 2. d Abbrev. Chronie. col. 495. e Centur. Magd. 11. c. 9. col. 513. f De Gestis Reg. Angl. An. 1099. col. 224. g In Willielm. 2. col. 294.

a Platina Onuphrius, Hermannus, Schedel. Barnes Balzæ, Centur. Magd. 11. in Clement. 2. Hermannus Contractus, b Chron. An. 1047, 10 1086. Centur. Magd. 11. c. 10. Bertold. Constant. ad Hermannum Appendix. An. 1063. &c. Bruschius de Episc. German. Crantzius Metropolit. l. 4. c. 2. 36, 37. l. 5. c. 7, &c.

Schali-
us
re chus
de
Centur.
Magd. 11. c. 10.
col. 588
d. Hermani
Contracti
Chronicon.
Granzus Me-
trop. 4 & c.
Centur. Magd.
11. c. 10. Brul-
chus de Episc.
Germ.

* Here, p. 279.
306.

m. Hist. de vi-
ra Hiltebrandi,
Pont. Rom. pag.
54, 55.
n. Centur.
Magd. 11. c. 9.
De Synadis,
col. 511.

of *Nemesi*, *Otho* Bishop of *Masburgh*, and at the *Romans* petition elected, and con-
stituted the Bishop of *Parma* Pope in the place of Pope *Nicholas* then deceased. Anno
1062. *Egerhardus* Bp. of *Magdeburg* dying, he constituted another who succeeded
him. Anno 1063. (c) *Henry* Bishop of *Augusta* (a proud lecherous Prelate) over-
familiar with the Emperess *Agnes*, was thereupon besieged by the Emperors forces,
and surrendering himself to mercy, all the rest were dismissed, at *Episcopi pudenda*
liquet cuspidis transfigit, whereof he shortly dying, *Henry* the 4th. succeeding his Fa-
ther *Henry* the 3d. *Inbricum fecit Augustinum* Episc. An. 1065. *Henry* the 4th. made
Almannus his Chaplain, Bishop of *Patavia*; An. 1066. he elected *Conrade* Archbishop
of *Triers*, who though opposed by the *Hildebrandian* faction, prevailed at last. At-
ter which he constituted *Henry de Werle*, Bishop of *Paderborn*, *Udo* Bishop of *Heilde-*
shim, *Hardicus* Bishop of *Magdeburg*, who had great contests with their *Hilde-*
brandian and *Rodolphian* Competitors, but prevailed against them in conclu-
sion. Anno 1084 he deposed *Adelbero* Bishop of *Wirtzburgh*, for adhering to
the Pope against his allegiance, and placed *Meginhardus* in his See, who being vio-
lently dispossessed thereof by *Adelbero*, the Emperor again ejected this intruder and
re-placed *Meginhardus* in the Bishoprick; yea he deprived no less than 14. *German*
Archbishops and Bishops for their rebellions against him at once, and put others in
their places, by his Imperial power, as I have * already evidenced.

Pope *Clement* notwithstanding all the excommunications denounced against him
by *Urban*, would not quit his Right to the Papacy, nor the Emperor his Preroga-
tive of conferring Bishopricks and Churches by Investitures; But on the contrary,
this very year, *Cardinal Benno*, with others of the Emperors and *Clements* party, meet-
ing in a Synod of *Rome*, after many admonitions & summons to *Urban* & his schismati-
cal Party to appear before them, and renounce their seditious, turbulent, schismatical
Practises, Heresies, and sophistifications, denounced this ensuing sentence against them
as incorrigible Schismatics & Hereticks, and ordered all their Decrees made in their
forecited Councils at *Placentia*, *Claremont*, *Rome*, & elsewhere, to be publicly burnt
as heretical; thus enrolled to posterity by Card. (m) *Benno* and (n) others out of him.

Adelbertus Episcopus *S. Ruffina Sylva Candida*, *Johannes* Episcopus *Hoftiensis*.
Hugo Episcopus *Prænestinus*, *Albertus* Episcopus *Nephesinus*. *Benno* Cardinalis
Presbyter urbis *Roma*, *Romanus* Cardinalis urbis *Roma*, *Ostavianus*, Cardinalis Pres-
byter designatus, *Paulus* Primicerius *Romane Ecclesie*, *Nicholas*, *Electus* Abbas,
S. Sylvestri urbis *Roma*, N. Abbas *S. Pancratii* urbis *Roma*, & Clerus: Et clarissimi Prin-
cipes Laici, *Theobaldus Chirebii*, & *Udalricus* de *S. Eustathio*, & populus *Romanus*,
omnes Deum timentibus, & salutem *Romane* Reipublice diligenter.

Nolumus ignorare prudentiam vestram, quod ad destruendas hæreses noviter ab
Hiltebrando inventas, & antiquas sub nomine pietatis, impie ab ipso renovatas, &
ad defensionem fidei Catholice, et ad exterminandam impietatem eo-
rum qui nobiter ipsam fidem Catholicam (quantum in ipsis erat) scindere
non timuerunt, Deo auctore; Nomis apud Sanctum *Blasum* convenimus, octavo
Idus apud *S. Celsum*, septimo Idus apud sanctam *Mariam* in Ecclesia quæ vocatur *Ro-*
runda. confestim, ipsas Hæreses damnatas, sicut Majores nostri, et
nos damnamus, omnes Sectatores, communicatores, complices semel, dam-
natæ pravitatis pari sorte censemus, ne si vel paululum taceamus, consentire
videamur. Eos vero qui authoribus errorum communicant, data securitate, libere
veniendi & abeundi, vocamus, & ut per Majores suos, Dominum *Roynerium*, &
Johannem Burgundionem cursum suum, agant admonemus, securitatem integram
in quantum possumus, usque ad festum omnium Sanctorum proponimus, etiam cum
in causa sua defecerint, neminem circumvenientes, nullius sanguinem, sed omnium
vitam, & honorem sitientes, nec seditiones in populo commoventes. De causa e-
nim sua diffidere videtur quisquis auctor est seditionis. Pacem vero & dilectionem sin-
ceram proponimus omnibus, pacem & veritatem & unitatem Catholice Ecclesie
amplectentibus, ut simus filii Patris nostri, qui in cælis est. Qui enim ex patre Di-
abolo sunt, opera patris sui faciunt, conspirationibus, & seditionibus cujus filii sunt mani-
feste ostendunt. Nos vero illius Discipuli esse desideramus, cujus Doctrina etiam
inimicis sane est intelligenda. Orent pro nobis Ecclesie filii, ut crescat Sermo Domi-
ni, &c. 1098. Indictione sexta 7. Id. Augusti. His Literis vocati sunt. Declinarunt
autem audientiam schismatici per 16. Annos, per obsides potentes & clarissimos, etfi
per

per Sacramenta invitati, ne caperentur suis mendaciis, ne suis libellis convincerentur, quibus authores eorum corruerunt, terram hæresibus variis, longe lateque disseminatis per Apostolos multiplicis erroris. Sacer & jam Conventus, toties deprehensi eorum versuta, in conspectu Ecclesie coram multitudine Remorum ait: Eos qui sanctam Ecclesiam scindere non timerunt, iterum vocamus ad Synodum, quam Deo authore celebrare disposuimus circ. Calend. *Novembris*. In præsentitamen, quia venire renuunt, testes invocamus contra eos cælum & terram, quod nullum consensum adhibemus eorum pervertitatis, et in testimonium illius in medio Ecclesie, in conspectu Angelorum et hominum, incendio tradimus Decreta eorum hæretica, quibus orbem terræ perverterunt, verbum Dei adulterantes, sub ementito colore pietatis querentes plus se, quam fidem Catholicam amari. Qui per 16. annos nullum dederant locum veritati, fugientes lucem examinationis, tenebris errorum assueti, falsis expositionibus violenter intorquentes Scripturas in adjumentum nefandissimi schismatis.

Hereupon Papa *Urbanus* post multas tribulationes, tandem 4. Cal. *Augusti*, de hac luce migravit, post cujus obitum, Dominus (e) *Paschalis* 2. Papa ordinatur, & hoc ex divina revelatione factum ubique divulgabatur. Ordinatus est autem a Clero & Populo, as *Bertoldus* relates, But *Aventinus* and others record, that *Conradus* filius Imperatoris Rex *Italiae*, & *Romani* cum Pontificem maximum faciunt, (not the Cardinals) in opposition to his Father. This Pope (*Hildebrandus* Disciple) endeavoured not only to imitate and equal, but exceed him in antichristian Pride, Tyranny, Usurpations, Treasons, Rebelstions against the Empror *Henry* the 4th. Hic superbissimus Nebulo, (as *Platina*, *Stella*, *Omphrius*, *Baleus*, and others assure us) fellam Pontificam ascendere novit prius quam populus ter acclamasset: Sanctus *Petrus Raynerum* virum optimum elegit. Indutus deinde coccinea chlamyde? (juxta illud Apoc. 1. & mulier erat circumdata purpura & coccino, &c.) thuraque capiti ejus imposita, deducebatur a bo equo vectus in Lateranum, ubi Pontificum Sceptum illi dabatur, ac *baltico* cingebatur, de quo *claves septem* (Saint *Peter* had but two at most) & totidem sigilla dependebant, tanquam Papicæ potestatis symbola, quibus *ius datum esse significabat*, secundum septimanam Spiritus sancti gratiam, *Ecclesias claudendi & aperiendi*: O abominatio inaudita! Ita se exaltabat magnus ille Dei adversarius & Antichristus, writes *Baleus*: Hoc modo (ait *Functius*) eques Meretrix virilem aetatem nata in bestiam illam decacornem ascendit, quam & usque ad nostram ætatem magno fastu rexit, ut prædictum est, Apoc. 13. & 17. * *Bertoldus Constantiensis*, who writ in that age, Anno 1100. observes: Jam multum pæne ubique sententia excommunicationis capite pectere, ut etiam quidam religiosi, qui usque ad hoc tempus in illa causa fuerunt ferventissimi a Catholicis discederent, et inter excommunicatos promoveri non timerent: (The frequency and contrariety of these Papal brutish, malicious sentences, making them both contemptible and execrable to most:) Sed sancta Ecclesia in obedientia circa excommunicatos nihilominus persistit, quæ post apostasiam Judæ, reliquos Apostolos etiam firmis, cum Domino perstitisse cognovit. This Pope, as the Historians of that age, with *Platina*, *Baleus*, *Barnes*, and others observe, (to evidence himself the true Successor of *Hildebrand*, not of *St. Peter*) Totum vitæ cursum in bellis gerendis ac seditionibus absolvit, hic summus in terris *Satanæ Vicarius*. Et ne ulla in re impunito *Hildebrandus* haberetur inferior, omnia experiebatur quæ ad amplitudinem *Satanicæ sedis* pertinere videbantur: Episcopos omnes atque Abbates, a *Cæsare* constitutos, sedibus furiose deposuit. *Theodoricum*, quem *Cavenses* Pontificem designaverant, coegit quarto ferme mense post Electionem *Papatum* deponere, & habitum Anachoritæ suscipere: *Albanus* *Julphum* Romanum Civem apud *Ravennates* sibi arrogantem Pontificis titulum, in exilium pepulit, & auxiliantibus Romanis urbe eiecit. In *Guibertum Antipapam*, exercitum mover, *Rogeri* *Siciliæ* comitis copiis & opibus adjutus, qui videns se viribus impirem esse *Paschali*, profugit in tutiorem locum, & non multo post subitanea morte opetit grandævus. Quidam scribunt, hunc suavis quorundam bonorum se abdicasse suo Pontificatu. Alii scribunt, eum eodem die ejectum & relegatum esse. This Martial Pope *Paschal* freed by force of armes from his Competitors, * Concilium congregat

Anno 1099.
1100.
e. Ad Herm.
Append. p. 376.
Plat. Mart.
Polonus, Stella.
Volater. Herm.
Sched. Omph.
Sabel. Anton. n.
Baleus, Falc.
Temporum,
Magn. Chron.
Germ. Avent.
Centur Magd.
11, & 12 c. 11.
Sim: Duncelm.
Radulph. de
Diceto, Abbas
Ulstergensis,
Opmer: Geneb.
in Pasch. 2. &
An. 1099. 1100
&c.
* Ad Herman.
Appendix.

* *Sacris Concilii*
Tom. 1. p. 60.
606, &c.

Anno 1101.
* Platina, O-
nuphrius, Stel-
la, Bains, Ba-
laus, in Paschali
2. Antonini
Chron. Tit. 16.
cap. 1. Sabelli-
cus Æneid. 9.
Centur. Magd.
11. c. 9. col.
1235, 1236.
Surius Concil.
Tom. 3. p. 606
Krantzii Me-
trop. l. 3. c. 33,
36.

gat Florentia, Anno Dom. 1101. as some, but An. 1105. or 1110. as others vari-
ously compute it; the occasion of his summoning this Council is very observable;
Episcopus Florentinus, as most, (but *Fluentinus*, as *Sabellicus*) styles him; *audebat*
palam asseverare, Antichristum iam natum esse: Idque hand dubie animadvertit ex
illo horribili Metamorphosi regni Christi spiritualis in mundanum. Nam Pontifices Ro-
mani magis arma quam Biblia sacra tractabant, opponebant sese Imperatoribus, eosque
contemptissime tractabant, articulos fidei depravabant, Sacramenta a Christo sancita pro-
phanabant, &c. Plures ad Pontificatum insidiis, armis, ac cadibus ascendebant, quam li-
bera electione, & castitas, quæ etiam in honesto conjugio colitur, ex tota quasi choro sacra-
torum virorum exterminabatur. Erat denique Romanus Papa vorago pe-
cuniarum totius mundi, vi, non ratione pleraque administrans.
Ista quidem huic Antistiti & alius presentem Ecclesiæ statum nonnihil perpendentibus
occasionem præbuerunt, iam evidentissimis & illustribus notis affirmandi, Antichri-
stum iam esse natum, publiceque in Ecclesia dominari, (being likewise seconded
with many prodigies, at large related by Historians, hapning at this season.) *Hæc re*
divulgata Paschalis 2. vicem Antichristi Romæ gerens, (conscious of his own
guilt) nequaquam sibi dormiendum præsumebat; sed confestim Florentiæ cæto Conci-
lio *Episcoporum Galliæ & Italiæ, Episcopum ad examen vocat. Re ipsa admodum dis-*
cussa (silentium autem de argumentis ipsius altum est, nec enim visa est ex re Pontificis Ro-
mani, si rationes in vulgus sparsæ, aut memoria fuissent commendatæ.) Hoc tantum asse-
verunt, hominem verbis castigatum ac dimissum esse: Credibile est, verbis satis indig-
nis. And to shew himself a true Antichrist, as Dr. Barnes and others relate, *Perpe-*
tuum Anathema a Gregorio adversus Henricum 4. promulgatum in
ea Synodo renovat et confirmat, ejusque Synodi sententiam postea
in coena Domini, apud Lateranum Romæ publice pronunciat.

Immediately after, (as Platina, Barnes and others story) *ad Guardastalum, conventu*
multorum Principum et Episcoporum habito, de homagiis, de feu-
dis, de Episcoporum Sacramentis Laicis antea exhibitis, exhiben-
disve, magna est habita ratio: And to reform the Clergy of France, non ita inte-
gre ut deceret vitam ducentes, Treas *Conventu habito, redactis ad laudabilem cultum*
Ecclesiis, earumque præsidibus partim pulsis, partim castigationibus emendatis, in Italiam
propere rediit, quod intellexerat omnia seditiosorum quorundam factionibus perturbari:
Several persons seizing upon St. Peters patrimony, and raising parties against this
Paschal, who like a Martial Pontiff, encountered his Enemies in the field, *obstinatè*
resistentes expugnat, non sine magno utriusque partis incommodo; oppida quæ jam defecerant,
in deditionem recipit, & totum Petri patrimonium brevi pacatum reddidit. This year
Conrade the Emperors sonne, after 9. years revolt from, and rebellion against his
Father, (wholly swayed by the Pope, and Machiylde, cui, ut quidam dicunt, sicut
sanguine, ita & connubio conjunctus) died in rebellion, being poisoned, as some relate;
whereupon this Pope endeavoured to engage his Sonne Henry (whom his Father had
declared to succeed him in the Empire in a publick assembly of the States, and all
the Hildebrandian faction to depose, and usurp his Fathers throne by force and trea-
chery: For which end, Pope Paschal Anno 1102. summoned a General Council at
Rome, wherein he resumed the old quarrel about Investitures, passing this Decree
therein, and other subsequent Councils; (thus registred by Gratian, caus. 16. qu. 7.)
Si quis Clericus, Abbas vel Monachus per Laicos Ecclesias obtinuerit, secundum
Sanctorum Apostolorum Canones, (to wit of Urban and Hildebrand) & Antiochieni
Concilii capitulum, excommunicetur. Constitutiones Sanctorum Canonum sequen-
tes (of Hildebrand and Urban) Statuimus, ut quicumque Clericus ab
hac hora investituram Ecclesiæ, vel Ecclesiasticæ dignitatis de ma-
nu Laici acceperit, et qui ei manum imposuerit, gradus sui pe-
riculo subiaceat. Nullus Laicorum, Ecclesias vel Ecclesiarum
bona occupat vel disponat, qui vero secus egerit ab Ecclesiæ limini-
bus arceatur: ratifying all his Predecessors forecited Decrees against Investitures.
Henry the Emperor having notice of the Popes intention and designs to call this
Council; *Habito cum Principibus colloquio, Romam se profecturum, ac Generale*

Anno 1102, to
107.
o Abbas Ulspen-
gensis, Chron.
Anno 1102. p.
237. Gotfridus
Viterbiensis,
Chron. pars 17
Sabellicus Æ-
neid. 9. lib. 4.
Hermoldus
Chron. Slavo-
rum, l. 1. c. 32,
33. Anonius
Historia &
Cuspinian De
Vita H. 4. Imp.
Hermannus
Schedel. Anto-
nini Chronicon
Grimstons Im-
perial History,
in H. n. 4. & 5
Cent. Magd. 12
c. 10. Barnes,
Balrus in Paschal. 2. Sigonius l. 9. de Regno Italiæ, Morney Histor. Papatus, p. 172, 173, &c. Aventinus Annal.
Boiorum, l. 5. Krantzii Metrop. l. 5, & 6. Saxoniæ, l. 5.

Con-

Concilium circa Febr. Kalend. inibi convocaturum (according to his Imperial Privilege to summon Councils, of which this Pope would deprive him) **condidit**; *quatenus tam sua, quam Domini Apostolici causa canonice ventilata, Catholica inter Regnum et Sacerdotium confirmaretur unitas.* *Constat tamen nec ipsius iuxta placitum venisse, nec nuncia dignitati Apostolicæ subjectionem proposita misisse* (as he had no reason) *Nec hoc latet, quod alterum Papam ipsi Domino Paschali superponeret* (he being unduly elected without his Imperial assent, by the power and confederacy of his rebellious usurping Sonne *Conrade*) **si fieri posset, conatus sit**: The ground of his absenting himself, was, his just fear of the Popes treachery and designs to dethrone or murder him, to establish himself in his usurped Papal Chair. Whereupon this Pope taking advantage of his absence, *convenientibus universis Apuliæ, Campaniæ, Siciliæ, Tuscaniæ totiusque simul Italiæ Præsulibus, Ultramontanorum autem quamplurimorum Legatis* (all or most of the *Hildebrandian* faction) *Synodus magna Romæ est habita; ubi præter antiqua Patrum instituta* (to wit against Investitures) *more solita reverenter confirmata, etiam sæpeditum hujus temporis Schisma, inter præcipuas hæreses computatur, ac perpetuo cum suis authoribus atque sequacibus anathemate hujusmodi subscripta professione condemnatur.*

Anathematizo omnem hæresim, & præcipue eam, quæ statum præsentis Ecclesiæ perturbat; quæ docet & asserit Anathema contemnendum, & Ecclesiæ ligamenta spernenda esse: (And to make sure his Title, superadded this new Oath of absolute Canonical obedience) **Promitto autem obedientiam Apostolicæ sedis Pontifici, Domino Paschali, ejusque successoribus, sub testimonio Christi et Ecclesiæ, affirmans quod affirmat, et damnans quod damnat sancta universalis Ecclesiæ.** Ibi etiam, quam sententiam in Imperatorem vel Patricium Romanum *Heinricum* idem Apostolicus Paschalis promulgaverit, (by no Apostolical president) nos quoque inter innumeras diversarum Gentium caterbas, proxima cœna Domini in Ecclesiâ Lateranensi ab ipsius ore didicimus; *Nimirum, postquam 8. Kalend. Octobris maris fluctibus Joppæ iratius Romæ sumus, per gratiam Christi prædicta majore hebdomada introiisti. Quia, inquit, tunicam Christi scindere, id est, Ecclesiâ rapinis & incendiis devastare, luxuriis, perjuriis atque homicidiis commaculare non cessavit, Primo a beatæ memoriæ * Gregorio Papa, deinde a sanctissimo viro Urbano prædecessore meo propter suam inobedientiam excommunicatus est atque condemnatus; Nos quoque in proxima Synodo nostra judicio totius Ecclesiæ, perpetuo cum anathemate tradidimus. Id notum volumus omnibus, et maxime Ultramontanis esse, quatenus se ab ipsius contineant iniquitate.* After this Excommunication the Pope dispatcheth his Legates and Letters into *Germany*, exciting Princes and Prelates of the *Hildebrandian* faction to take up arms afresh, against the re-excommunicated Emperor and all his adherents. Amongst others he sent one Letter to *Robert* Earl of *Holland*, newly returned from the wars against the *Saracens* in the holy Land, to this effect. *a Hoc est legitimi militis, ut sui Regis hostes instantius persequatur. Gratiis ergo prudentiæ tuæ agimus, quod præceptum nostrum in Cameracensi parochia executus es, id ipsum de Leodientibus excommunicatis Pseudoclericis præcipimus* (who adhered faithfully to the excommunicated Emperor) *Nec in hac tantum parte, sed ubique cum poteris, Henricum hæreticorum caput, et ejus fautores pro viribus persequaris. Nullum profecto gratus Deo sacrificium offerre poteris, quam si eum impugnes, qui se contra Deum erexit, qui Ecclesiæ Dei regnum auferre conatur, &c. Hoc tibi et Militibus tuis in peccatorum remissionem præcipimus, &c.* Hereupon the Bishop, Canons and Clergy of the Diocese and Church of *Leodium*, in their own just defence writ a memorable answer to this Popes Letter, wherein they thus notably oppugned his antichristian proceedings against the Emperor and his adherents, oppugne his pretended Supremacy, Tyranny, Bloodthirstiness, vindicate this Emperors cause supremacy over Popes, Prelates, prove *Rome* to be *Babylon*, and the Pope Antichrist.

* See Krantzii Metrop. l. 5. c. 22, 28. 29. Saxoniæ, l. 5. c. 6; 15, 18, 19, 20.

a Platina in Gregorio 7. Sabellicus Enead. 9. l. 42. Morney hist. Papanus, p. 275 d

b In 2. Volan.
Concliatorum,
Colon. apud
Quintelberg.
p. 309. &c. 611.
cū Hystici Ca-
tol. Testima
Veritatis, p. 277
Phil. Moray
H. G. Paganus,
p. 275. 10. 79.
* 1 P. 5

stupendo & gemendo exclamo (inquit *Ecclesia Leodiensis*) cum *Esaia*, qui onus de-
serti maris exaggerans, exclamat, sicut turbines ab *Africo* veniunt, de deserto ven-
nit, de terra horribili visio dura nuntiata est mihi, &c. Qui haecenus non intellige-
bat loquendo, quid sit desertum mare, nunc intelligat videndo, quid per desertum
mare significetur; non solum *Babylonia*, sed etiam mundus & Ecclesia, &c. Ecclesia
gemit se desertam a sano praefulum consilio. Quae enim major olim confusio fuit in
Babylonia, quam hodie est in Ecclesia? In *Babylonia* confusa sunt linguae gentium, in
Ecclesia dividuntur linguae & mentes credentium. Ait *Petrus* in Epistola sua, *Sal-
utate vos Ecclesia quae est in Babylone collecta*, Haecenus interpretabar ideo voluisse
Petrum per *Babylonem* signare *Romam*, quia tunc temporis *Roma* confusa erat Idolo-
latria & omni spurcitia. At nunc dolor meus mihi interpretatur, quod *Petrus* Pro-
pheta spiritu dicens Ecclesiam in *Babylone* collectam, praevideat confusionem dissen-
sionis, quia hodie scinditur Ecclesia, &c. Qui sint turbines ab *Africo*, discimus pati-
endo magis quam legendo, de terra horribili, ab *Romana* scilicet Ecclesia, visio du-
ra nuntiata est mihi, inde turbo ut tempestas venit ab *Africo* *Romanus* enim
praeful, pater omnium Ecclesiarum literas contra nos mittit *Roberto Flandrensi*
Comiti, et earum hic exemplar interfuerunt. Super his literis cujus lumbi non reple-
antur dolore? Super his me obstupescerunt tenebrae, nec tantum pro horrore pe-
riculi, quantum pro horrenda novitate rei, quam tam lacrymabiles literae potue-
runt scribi a Matre contra filias suas, quamvis peccantes. In iudicio *Salomonis* ex-
pressa est magnitudo materna pietatis, quoniam iudicante *Solomone*, ut infans pro
quo contendebatur, gladio divideretur, maluit mater filium suum sub aliena muliere
vivere, quam gladio iudicis dividi. Dicit *Esaia*, *Babylon dilecta mea, versa est mihi
in miraculum*. At ego dico, *Roma dilecta mea mater, versa est mihi in miraculum*.
Quid enim tam mirabile, imo quid tam miserabile? Vidit olim *David* Angelum Dei
stantem extento gladio super *Hierusalem*, nos filiae Romanae Ecclesiae, Ecce videmus
Romanum praefulum, qui est Angelus Domini (*hunc nique locum occupat*), extento
gladio super Ecclesiam. *David* orabat ne populus occideretur; angelus noster por-
rigens *Roberto* gladium, orat ut occidamur. Unde iste gladius angelo nostro? Unus
est gladius spiritus, quod est verbum Dei, &c. Est alter gladius spiritualis, quo mor-
tificatis vitis carnis emitur corona martyrii. Cum ergo duos tantum gladi-
os a Domino Apostoli habeant, unde iste tertius Apostolico gladius, quem
in nos porrigit *Roberto* armigero suo? Forte recurrit Apostolicus ad *Ezechielem* Pro-
phetam, ut de manu eius tertium arripens gladium, vadat ad dextram, sive ad sini-
stram, credendo bonos & malos, &c. Hic est gladius interfectionis magnae, qui me
cum *Ezechiele* obstupescere facit; quem enim non faciat corde tabescere, quod A-
postolicus ad vivificandum unctus, accingitur in nos tertio gladio interfectionum, &c.
Si liceret dicere (salva Apostolica dignitatis reverentia) ipse nobis videtur dormi-
visse. Dormierunt cum eo omnes consilarii ejus, quando conduxit sibi vastatorem
Ecclesiarum Dei. Praecipit *Paulus*, ut verbum Episcopi sit sanum & irreprehensibile.
Nos ergo nec infirmamus aut reprehendimus verbum Episcoporum Episcopi, sed
quia Apostolicus non debet deviare ab Apostolo, quærimus humiliter per singu-
la, utrum haec Apostolici verba sint per omnia gravitate Apostolicae auctoritatis sana
& irreprehensibilia? Ecce ut pater dilecto filio salutem mittit, & apostolicam bene-
dictionem promittit! Sed non ea illa opera indicit, quibus salutem & benedictio-
nem a Deo promereri possit, &c. Quis unquam populum Dei, quis unquam Eccle-
siam Dei impune persecutus est? (*Et huc multa ex Scripturis sacris exempla adducunt*.)
Ecce opera iusta malitiae, quibus pater filium, Papa caelestis Regis militem imbu-
it, per quae possit contendere ad caelestem *Hierusalem*, impugnando scilicet Ecclesiam
Dei. Graciam, inquit, prudentiae tuae agimus, quod praeceptum nostrum in *Came-
racensi* parochia executus es; Qualis & quanta sit vastitas & contritio *Cameracensis*
Ecclesiae, quis recolat sine dolore? Ego quidem filia *Romana* Ecclesiae, condolebam
Cameracensis pro affectu germanitatis, nunc vero audiens haec mala inferri prae-
cepto Apostolice auctoritatis, jam amplius doleo, quia timeo Matri meae, ne in eam
redundet illud quod Deus dicit per os *Esaiae*, *Va qui condunt leges iniquas, & scriben-
tes iniustitiam scripserunt, ut opprimerent in iudicio pauperes, &c.* Tantam Ecclesiae de-
solationem, tantam pauperum & viduarum oppressionem, tantam praedarum & rapi-
narum immanitatem, & quod his gravius est, promiscuam bonorum & malorum oc-
cisionem, Haec & pejora his praecepto Apostolici facta esse quis crederet, nisi ipse suo
se ore prodidisset? Nos attoniti hac novitate rerum, quærimus unde sit hoc novum
exemplum, ut praedicator pacis, suo ore & alterius manu, inferat Ecclesiae bellum, &c.

Aposto-

1 Reg. 3

Esaia 21.

2 Sam. 24

12. ch. 21

Tit. 2.1.

May 10. 1.

Apostolici enim peccantes arguunt, *Obsecrant, increpant, in omni patientia & doctrina* 2 Tim. 4
 &c. Dicit Iesus, *Si peccaverit in te frater tuus, corripe illum, &c.* Et hic exemplum Math. 18
 Gregorii erga Episcopum Salonensem proferunt, Imperatorem Maximum arguentem,
 quod in Priscilliani sectatores vim adhiberet; Qui damnavit, inquit, accusatorem Ita-
 chinum pro morte hærenici, si adhuc viveret, non laudaret & istum, cujus præcepto
 tot occiduntur pro causa Cameracensium, &c. Idipsum de Leodiensibus excommuni-
 catis pseudoclericis præcipimus, inquit, Nos vero Leodienses quare excommunicati
 dicimur, in uno Spiritu nos omnes, in unum corpus baptizati sumus, &c. Quando
 significatum est Romana Ecclesiæ quod contentiones fuerit inter nos, idipsum in Chri-
 sto sapimus, idipsum dicimus, Non dicimus, *Ego sum Pauli, ego Cephe, ego astem Chri-* 1 Cor. 1. 12.
sti; num quid pro hac unanimitate excommunicati dicimur, &c. Nobis legem Dei
 tenentibus obijciunt, quod transgrediamur eorum novas traditiones. At illis dicit
 Deus, Quare vos transgredimini mandatum Dei propter traditiones vestras? Jubeat
 Deus, ut quæ sunt Cesaris, reddamus Cesari, & quæ sunt Dei, Deo. In hanc sententi-
 am Petrus & Paulus pedibus eunt. Petrus inquit, *Deum time, honorifica Regem.*
 Servi subditi estote in omni timore dominis, non tantum bonis & modestis, sed etiam
 dyabolis, &c. Qui hoc omni animo præcepit, quem a subiectione terrenæ potesta-
 tis excepit? Quia ergo Regem honoramus, quia Dominis nostris non ad oculum, sed in
 plicitate cordis servimus, ideo excommunicati dicimur? Sed Simoniaci sumus. Simo-
 moniacos, quantum ad nos, vitamus, & quos vitare nequimus, pro loco & tempore
 toleramus, nec minus vitamus illos, qui notam avaritiæ honesto nomine prætexen-
 tes, quod gratis se jactant dare, vendunt sub charitatis nomine, & sicut Montanista
 sub nomine oblationum artificiosius accipiunt munera; Oh dolendo miramur, quare,
 quando & a quo excommunicati sumus. Non ab Episcopo nostro, non ab Archiepi-
 scopo, cui Episcopus noster suffragatur, nos excommunicatos esse scimus. Sed nec
 a Papa Romano nos esse excommunicatos credimus, quia scimus eum non ignorare
 quod ait Nicodemus, *Lex nostra non judicat quemquam nisi audierit ab ipso prius.* Nec
 Sodomitæ damnasset Deus, nisi descendisset ad ipsos, videre, utrum clamorem, qui ve-
 nerat ad eum, exire complessent. Qui nihil a nobis audivit, quem non Episcopus, non
 Archiepiscopus aliquando contra nos interpellavit, quis crederet quod nos excom-
 municaverit? &c. Credo dicetis nos ideo haberi excommunicatos, quia favemus E-
 piscopo nostro, faventibus partibus domini sui Imperatoris. In hac re sunt initia do-
 lorum, pro hac re erubescunt causæ malorum, quia Satanas solutus terram peram-
 bulans, jam divisit regnum & Sacerdotium, Quia ergo Diabolus venit ad nos habens
 iram magnam, Patrem nostrum qui est in cælis oramus pro hoc specialiter, ne nos in-
 ducat in tentationem hanc, sed liberet nos a malo hujus tentationis, &c. Quis jure re-
 prehendat, quod Episcopus partibus Domini sui favet, cui promissam cum
 juramento fidelitatem debet? &c. Hoc non ignorant illi qui regnum & Sacerdotium
 scindentes nobello schismate, et nobellis traditionibus, illos qui Regi perjurant,
 se a culpa perjurii absolvere promittunt, &c. Hinc omnes perpendite, quis sit
 reus capitis, qui non reddit Cesari quæ sunt Cesaris secundum Decretum
 Dei, vel qui Regem inhonorat contra Decretum Apostoli, vel perjurando as-
 sumit nomen Dei in vanum, per quod juravit Regi fidelitatem. Ecce quare ex-
 communicati dicimur. Sed quare pseudoclerici vocamur, qui canonice viventes, operi-
 bus meremur, ut Clerici vocemur? Non est inquam de sorte Dei, (alludens ad vocem
 Κληρ) qui vult nos excludere a sorte Dei; (ac proinde Paschalem, qua in parte col-
 locat) Evomit cor Paschasi vile convicium, prout vetulæ & textrices faciunt. Pe-
 trus Apostolus docet, non dominantes in Clero, sed forma facti gregis. Paulus A-
 postolus, filii quos iterum parturio in Domino; Hos igitur attendat Dominus
 Paschasius pios admonitores, non impios conviciatores. Maledictum excommunica-
 tionis Dominus Paschasius nobis impropere, sed illud ante omnes timemus, quod
 Spiritus sanctus per os Psalmistæ dicit, *Maledicti omnes qui declinant a mandatis tuis;*
 Maledictum excommunicationis, quod ex novella traditione Hilibrandus, Odardus
 & iste tertius indiscrete protulerunt, omnino abjicimus, & priores Patres sanctos us-
 que nunc veneramur & tenemus, qui dictante Spiritu sancto, non animi motu, in
 majoribus & minoribus potestatibus graviter delinquentibus, quædam dissimula-
 runt, quædam correxerunt, & quædam toleraverunt. Dominus noster Episcopus
 communicat Regi & Imperatori suo, cui ex Regalibus ejus acceptis fidelitatem juravit
 Nuncium effudit tempus, quo hæc consuetudo incipit, & sub hac consuetudine
 migraverunt a sæculo sancti et reverendi Episcopi, reddentes Cesari quæ erant Cæsa-
 ris,

Mat. 15. 2, 23

Mat. 22. 21

1 Pet. 2. 17, 18

Johann. 7.
Genes. 18

Apocal. 20

1 Pet. 5.
Gal. 4. 19:

Psal. 119. 21.

ris, & Deo qua erant Dei. (Hicque multos ex Ambrosio & Augustino locos adducunt.) Ecce, inquit, quare excommunicati vocamur, eo quod sanctos et moderatos et antiquos Patres tenemus, et pro posse imitamus. Episcopum, Archiepiscopum nostrum, provincialem & comprovincialem Synodum ex antiqua traditione tenemus; & quicquid ibi de Scripturis sacris definitum fuerit, Romam non refertur, usque ad graviora negotia, de quibus non invenitur in Scripturis sanctis autoritas. Illos vero Legatos a Latere Romani Episcopi exeuntes, & ad ditanda marsupia discurrentes, omnino refutamur, sicut temporibus *Zozimi, Caelestini, Bonifacii* Concilia probaverunt. Etenim ut a fructibus eorum cognoscamus eos, non morum correctio, non vitae emendatio, sed inde hominum cades, & Ecclesiarum Dei proveniunt deprædationes. Quia igitur antiquæ regulæ inhæremus, & non omni vento doctrinæ circumferimur, ecce unde excommunicati dicimur? Cur *Paschasius* vult, ut exolvamus quod non rapimus? ut pseudoclerici vocemur, ubi rectam lineam tenemus? Potius deposito spiritu presumptionis, cum suis consiliariis solerter recolligat, quomodo a beato *Sylvestro* usque ad *Hildebrandum* sedem Romanam Papæ obtinuerint, & quot et quanta inaudita ex ambitione illius sedis perpetrata sint, et quomodo per Reges Imperatores definita sint, et pseudopapæ damnati et abdicati sint, et ibi plus valuit virtus Imperialis, quam excommunicatio *Hildebrandi, Odardi, Paschasis, &c.*

Paulus Apostolus in faciem *Petro* Principi Apostolorum restitit. Ergo remoto Romanæ ambitionis typo, cur de gravibus et manifestis non reprehendantur et corrigantur Romani Episcopi? Qui reprehendi & corrigi non vult, pseudo est sive Episcopus, sive Clericus; Nos vero qui per misericordiam Dei, juxta regulam obedientes & corrigibiles sumus, & schisma, & simoniam, & excommunicationem per omnia dictante ratione & Spiritu sancto vitare volumus, &c. Quæ etsi devastanda essent, edicto Regum et Imperatorum devastari deberent, qui non sine causa gladium portant. Sed solutus est *Satanas* habens iram magnam, quem exerceat valida manus Dei, (ad Ecclesiam in *Apocalypsi* alludens, quam *Satan* persequitur.) Nos ab excommunicatione excipiet ipsa Romanorum autoritas. *Hildebrandus* Papa, qui author est hujus novelli schismatis, & primus levabit Sacerdotalem lanceam contra diadema regni, primo indiscrète *Henrico* sabentes excommunicabit, sed reprehendens se intemperantiæ exceptit ab excommunicatione illos, qui Imperatori adhærebant necessaria & debita subjectione, non voluntate faciendi vel conciliandi malum; Et hoc pro decreto scripsit, &c. Excutit inde amplius *Paschalis* ad *Robertum* Epistola verba; *Henricum* hæreticorum caput & ejus fautores persequere; nullum profecto Deo gratius sacrificium offerre poteris, &c. Cum *Alaricus* Rex *Gothorum* iret ad capiendam Romam, monitus a quodam servo Dei, ut ab his malis cessaret, non volens, inquit, vado Romam; vir enim quidam me quotidie torquens urget, ut eam ad destruendam Romam; Hoc exemplo urget Apostolicus armigerum suum, ut totum depopuletur regnum, quod non potest fieri sine cade & sanguine, & Ecclesiarum Dei depopulatione. *Alaricus* in hoc quidem mitior fuit, qui capta Roma Ecclesiis Dei pepercit, & a cade hominum abstinuit; nunc nihil excepto, immittitur *Robertus* ab Apostolico, ut non solum in *Cameracenses* & nos *Leodienses*, sed totus feratur ad dispergendos omnes. Quis clamabit modo cum *Esaiâ*, Quam pulchri super montes pedes prædicantis & annunciantis pacem, &c. Qualem zelum habuit *Petrus* in amputanda auricula *Malchi*, talem zelum habet modo Vicarius *Petri* in amputanda auricula Regis hæretici; sed qui in feriendo *Petrum* imitatur, etiam in recondendo gladio *Petrum* imitetur, &c. Esto, concedimus vobis inviti eum talem esse qualem dicitis, nec talis a nobis repellendus esset, armis contra eum sumptis, sed precibus ad Deum fuis. Contra *Pharaonem* cujus cor contra Deum induravit, *Moses*, ranam, muscam, locustam, grandinemque induxerat; has tantum plagas non nisi orando extensis in cælum manibus, avertere potuit; *Jeremias* pro *Nabuchodonozor*, & *Paulus* pro *Nerone* orant, &c. (Et hæc exempla latius exporrigit.) Quis Pontificum Romanorum suis unquam decretis autorizavit, ut debeat Pontifex gladio belli in peccantes uti? *Gregorius* primus hujus nominis Papa quid omnes ante se Papæ, super hoc senserint, & quid omnes post se sentire debeant, ostendit, scribens *Sabiniano* Diacono, &c. Hoc exemplo omnes a primo *Gregorio* contenti, utebantur solo gladio spirituali, usque ad ultimum *Gregorium*, qui primus se et suo exemplo alios Pontifices contra Imperatorem accinxit gladio belli, &c. Dicitis cum *Gregorio*, quoquo modo liget pastor, timeat grex vinculum pastoris; Dicimus & nos cum *Gregorio*, ligandi & solvendi potestate se privat, qui subiectos pro suo velle & non pro merito eorum, ligat & solvit. Dicitis

No. 2.

Gal. 2. 11.

Apocal. 22. v. 1. & 12.

Isa. 52. 7.

Mat. 26. 51, 52.

Exod. 6. 6, &c.

Greg. 1. 7. Regist. c. 1.

citis, quoque modo excommunicatur, si morte prævenitur, damnatur. Hic nobis succurrit Romanæ Ecclesiæ authoritas; *Gregorius* enim primus scripto & facto exauctoravit, quod potest Romanus Pontifex absolvere excommunicatum in iuste ab aliquo; Si hoc potest Romanus præful, quis neget etiam Deum posse absolvere, si quem præful Romanus iniuste excommunicaverit? Nemo enim potest ab alio lædi, nisi prius lædatur a semetipso, nullum vero sacrificium Deo gratius offerre poterit *Robertus*, quam si nos persequatur; Quæro a te, O mater mea Romana Ecclesia, Num Deo placeat sacrificium, nisi sit mundum & immaculatum? Quale ergo & quomodo tam gratum est Deo hoc bellandi sacrificium (quod non potest fieri sine macula culparum?) (*quod caput multis Scriptura locis explicat*) Et hoc, inquit, tibi ac militibus tuis in peccatorum remissionem præcipimus; Hic quid dicam, nescio, quo me verum, non video. Si enim utriusque legis totam bibliothecam, si omnes totius bibliothecæ veteres expositores revolvam, exemplum hujus Apostolici præcepti non inveniam. Solus *Hildebrandus* Papa ultimam manum sacris Canonibus imposuit, quem legimus præcepisse *Mathildi* Marchionissæ in remissionem peccatorum suorum, ut **debelleret Hencicum Imperatorem** (*Tunc, ex Scriptura & aliquos Gregorii locis, veram peccata remittendi rationem edisserens, qua nempe peccatori peccatum suum ob oculos ponitur, quod & confiteatur & agnoscat, indeque & ejus gravitatem expendat, & dolore conpunctus, viva fide remedium in Christo querat, conclusis hæc ipsa Leodientis Epistola his verbis;*) Hunc morem discrete ligandi & solvendi hæcenus tenebas, & nobis tenendum mandabas, O sancta mater Romana Ecclesia; Unde ergo hæc **nova authoritas** per quam reis sine confessione & pœnitentia offertur præteritorum peccatorum immunitas & futurorum libertas? **Quantam fenestram malitiæ patefecisti hominibus?** Te o mater liberet Deus ab omni malo. Sit Jesus tibi ostium, sit ostiarius, nullus in te introeat, nisi cui ostiarius aperuerit; Te inquam, tuumque Præfulem liberet ab his, qui (ut ait *Michæa*) seducunt populum Dei, qui mordent dentibus suis & prædicantem pacem. Et si quis non dederit in ore eorum quippiam, sanctificant super eum bellum.

Mich: 3. 2, 7.

This Pope after *Conrades* death, perceiving he could not work his design to depose the Emperor (who upon *Conrades* long unnatural rebellion against him, had declared his Son *Henry* Copartner with him in and Successor to the Empire; by Decree of the German Princes) but by engaging *Henry* to revolt and take up arms against his Father, as *Conrade* had done; by his Legate and Agents, perswaded *Henry* (against his filial duty and express Oath, never to bear arms against his Father) suddenly to desert and raise Forces both to imprison and dethrone him. To prevent which design, *Henry* the Father, Anno 1103. published his intention to leave the Government of the Empire wholly to his Son, and to take a voyage to relieve the *Holy land*; whereby many were encouraged to accompany him thither, and the malice of his enemies abated for the present, but he deferring his expedition, thereupon An. 1105. his Son *Henry* by the advice of the Pope & of some German Princes, & Prelates, rebellionem adversus Patrem in Boiaria parat: most unnaturally departing privily from his Fathers side, as an Heretick excommunicated by the Pope; soon after to engage all the *Hildebrandian* Papal faction to side with him against his Father, * *Primo hæresin* (*Investiturarum*) anathematizans, Apostolicæ sedis Pontifici debitam proficitur obedientiam; indeque federatis sibi Noricis principibus, atque ab *Alemannia*, necnon ab *Orientali Francia* nonnullis Nobilibus, ad Saxones convenitur, (the old seditious Rebels) A quibus honorifice susceptus, in brevi universis Saxonix civitatibus potius, & ab optimatibus est dignitate Regia satis honoratus. Consilio tamen atque ministerio *Ruothardi Moguntini* atque *Gebehardi Constantiensis Episcopi* (responsalium scilicet Domini *Pascalesis* Papæ, being the Popes Legates and Commissioners) totam *Saxoniam* Romanæ Ecclesiæ reconciliavit. After which this Usurper of his Fathers Throne by his new Imperial authority, Episcopis atque Clericis Conventum generalem in villam regiam, que *Northusam* dicitur, quarto Calendas Junii indixit, ubi super Ecclesiastica institutionis jam depravata disciplina traheretur. Convenis igitur magnus Episcoporum Abbatum & Monachorum turba. In quo Concilio super sententiis instantibus Patrum decretis primo relictis, quæcumque poterunt ad præsens laudabiliter corrigebantur; quedam vero quæ & graviora videbantur, ad Apostolicam audientiam differabantur: *Simoniaca* quippe hæresis Patrum consuetudine condemnata ibid. ab omnibus condemnata. Deinde (as the Century Writers observe) *Investituræ* jus totum Romano idolo consecrabant, et involabant plenissimis

[S f]

orbibus

* Otto Frisug. Chron. l. 7. c. 2. Abbas Ulspurg. Chron. Anno 1005. p. 143. Krantzii Sax. l. 5. c. 17. &c. Metrop. l. 5. c. 31. Barns, Balzus Platina, Stella. in Pasc. 2. Aventinus Annal. Boiorum l. 6. Erfordensis c. 36. Hermold. Chron. Slav. l. c. 32.

oribus. Nam Henricus hactenus majorum auctoritatem et privilegia contra furorem Romanorum Præsulum tutatus fuerat. Et hac quidem in parte Henrici filius Papam omnium maxime fricare studebat, sed postea in similes penas iusto Dei iudicio incidit. Hoc igitur Investituræ jus, quod sibi politici arrogabant, per invidiam nonnulli Scriptores, & Papa, Simoniam appellabant. His vero qui a Pseudo-Episcopis (as they deemed all who received Investitures from the Emperor) fuerant consecrati, per Catholicam manus impositionem reconciliatis, proximo ieiunio danda fore promittitur, to corroborate their I action. This young Emperor Henry the 5th. counterfeited very much humility and ingenuity in this Council, to induce himself to the Pope, Prelates and Church. Nam cum servorum Dei conventui non nisi vocatus interesse vellent, tandem in abjecto productus habita, locoque flans editiori, omnibus juxta Principum decreta, suas leges atque jura rationabiliter renovavit; si qua vero irrationabilia rogabantur, mira & ultra suos annos prudenti responsione, & avia magnanimitate confutavit. Christi Sacerdotibus dignam exhibens reverentiam. Inter hac obortis lacrymis, ipsum regem cæli, cunctamque militiam cæli testabatur, se nulla regnandi cupiditate paternum sibi Regnum usurpare, neque Dominum et Patrem suum a Romano deponi Imperio exoptare; imo debitam pertinaciæ & inobedienciæ ejus semper compassionem exhibere. Sique Sancto Petro suisque Successoribus lege Christiana sublici velit, sive regno cedere, sive serviliter ipsi se subesse promissit. Quod audient omnis multitudo collaudans, lacryma simul & preces, tam pro Patris conversione, quam pro filii prosperitate fundere cepit, voce magna Kyrieel: declamans. Eadem hora Ilto Hildintheimentis & Henricus Paderburnensis, & Fredericus Halberstatensis præsules vestigiis Metropolitanis prostrati, ipsius atque Regis stantis, totiusque præsentis Ecclesiæ testimonio, Apostolicæ se dederunt obedientia. Quorum etiam commissa Apostolico nihilominus iudicio reservantur, sub Officii sui tantum suspensione. After this, Henry the Son raising an army against his Father, forcibly ejected the Bishops made by his Father, who on the contrary opposed, despised the Bishops ordained by the Son. After several bloody battles (one of them continued for three dayes) against each other, to the great effusion of Christian blood, both parties referred themselves to a Treaty of Peace in an Assembly of the German Princes and Prelates to be held at Mentz: wherein the Emperor was to purge himself from the Heresie objected against him by the Pope, and safe conducts were mutually granted to each party to resort to that Synod without any peril either of life or body: Eo jam Henricus 4. Imperator cum irret, a filio in itinere per insidias contra fidem publicam datam, capitur, captus in communissimum castrum obducitur, non permittitur illi ut Comitatus adeat. Henricus filius præsentibus Pontificiis Legatis, Albano Episcopo & Gebhardo Constantinensi Episcopo, Comitatus celebrat, patre captivo & excluso. Legati anathema a tot Pontificibus in Henricum promulgatum, renovant, & iterum confirmant, & Imperium impositione manuum conferunt filio. Henricum 4. ea lege libertati restituendum esse statuunt, ut coram Legatis Pontificiis culpam suam confiteatur, satisfactionemque promittat, & cedat filio regnum, cum omnibus Imperialibus insigniis, corona, lancea, sceptro, globo, atque corona. The Emperor thereupon writ one memorable Letter to his Son, another to Pope Paschal, complaining of this his Treachery, Injustice, and against these inhuman proceedings, which you may peruse in his Epistles, and this to the Bishops and Nobles of the Empire.

*Hist. & Epist.
Hen. 4. p. 22.
Henrici 4. de
injustis sibi illatis
querela.

* Henricus Dei gratia Rom. Imp. Aug. Archiepiscopis, & ceteris Saxonie Principibus, ac etiam reliquo populo, gratiam & dilectionem dignantibus eam recipere. Conquerimur Deo omnipotenti, & Dominae mee sanctæ Mariæ, & beato Petro, principi Apostolorum, patrono nostro, & vobis Principibus omnibus, quia iniuste & inhumane & crudeliter in illa consili fide, qua dubitare non debuimus, tractati sumus, et tam honore regni, quam prædiis omnibus quæ habebamus, contra divinum et humanum jus, ad infamiam et vituperium regni, ita expoliati sumus, ut nihil penitus præter vitam nobis relictum sit. Ubi cum ferme omnes essetis, magna pars vestrum visa est dolore contristari: sed pro dolor, nihil nobis contulit vestra tristitia, quin in nobis sibi satisfaceret voluntas inimicorum odiosa. Et quia consilio & rogatu filii nostri, fide & securitate vitæ & honoris primum ab eo accepta, fiducialiter & desideranter Moguntiam in præsentiam Legati Romani & principum tenderamus, ut eorum dispositione ageremus tam de statu Ecclesiæ & honore regni, quam de salute animæ nostræ, ipse non est veritus

tus in hac voluntate et obedientia nos contra datam fidem capere, et usque ad articulum mortis ferme ducere: non ausi sumus ita illi credere, ut injuria, & contumelia nos pro voluntate sua, sicut prius, valeat tractare. Quapropter multum vos rogamus, & obnixe precamur, ut pro timore Dei & honore Regni, & honestate vestra, dignemini studere, quomodo injuria, in manibus vestris nobis illata, per vos possimus *recuperare iustitiam*. Nos autem pro consilio vestro & aliorum, qui nos odio non habent, religiosorum virorum parati sumus, tam filio nostro, si in aliquo eum offendimus, quam alicui in regno libenter rationem dare. Præterea sicut Domino Papæ in præsentia Legati sui & vestra obedire parati fuimus, ita nunc parati sumus ei omnem debitam reverentiam & obedientiam sincero corde & devotione præsentialiter exhibere, ac tam consilio vestro quam spiritualis patris nostri, *Henrici Cluniacensis* Abbatis, aliorumque religiosorum de statu Ecclesiæ & honore regni quantum in nobis est disponere. Cum ergo ad hæc omnia parati sumus, rogamus & obnixe precamur, quatenus pro Deo & honore regni & vestro instantè moneatis filium nostrum, cum nulla ei secundum præfatam sententiam adversum nos residua sit occasio, a modo desistat nos et fideles nostros persequi, et pacifice et quiete vivere permittat, ut supra dicta integre & cum tranquillitate perficiantur. Quod si noluerit, rogamus vos per autoritatem Rom. Ecclesiæ, cui nos committimus, & honorem regni, ne super nos & fideles nostros veniat, quia manifestum est non cum divinæ legis zelo, vel Rom. Ecclesiæ dilectione, sed concupiscentia regni, Patre injuste eo privato, hoc incepisse. Apud quem si interpellatio vestra nullaque alia interventio ad præsens prodesse poterit, appellamus Romanum Pontificem, & sanctam universalem Rom. sedem & Ecclesiam.

Petitio ad cardines Saxon.

Henr. Cluniac.

Appellatio.

He likewise sent another Epistle to Pope *Paschal*, & *Regi Celtarum*, thus complaining against the tyranny, treachery, injustice of the Pope & his own Son, by his instigation.

Princeps clarissime, & omnium in quibus post Deum speramus fidelissime: primum & præcipuum inter omnes vos excepi, cui conqueri & deplorare omnes calamitates meas & miseras necessarium duxi, & etiam *genibus vestris advolvi, si licet salva Majestate Imperii*. Primum quidem est, quod non solum vobis, sed totius Christianæ professionis hominibus gravissimum ac intolerabile arbitramur, quod de Apostolica sede, unde usque ad memoriam nostri temporis salutifer fructus consolationis, dulcedinis & salvationis animarum oriebatur, modo *persecutionis, excommunicationis et omne perditionis flagellum emittitur: nec ponunt ullum modum sententia, tantum ut satisfiat voluntati indiscreta*. Hujus voluntatis lux intemperantia adeo usque nunc abusi sunt, ut nec Deum, nec quid aut quantum mali inde proveniat penitantes, per se & per suos omnibus modis in nos invehantur, cum obedientiam & omnem subjecti onem debitam sæpe obtulerim Apostolicæ sedi: si tamen honor debitus et reverentia, sicut antecessoribus meis, exhiberetur et mihi. Quod autem intendant, opportunius significabo vobis, si quando optati colloqui copiam Deus dederit nobis. In hac igitur persecutionis, et odii sui inflammatione, cum parum viderent se proficere, contra ipsum jus naturæ laborantes, quod sine maximo cordis dolore, sine multis lacrymis dicere non valeo, et quia dicitur, vehementer contremisco, filium meum, Absolon inquam dilectissimum, non solum contra me armaverunt, sed etiam tanto furore armaverunt, ut inprimis contra fidem et sacramentum, quod ut miles Domino juraverat, regnum meum invaderet, Episcopos et Abbates meos deponeret, inimicos et persecutores meos sustineret: ad ultimum, quod maxime vellem taceri, aut si taceri non potest, vellem non credi, omnem affectum naturæ abjiciens, in salutem et animam meam intenderet, nec quicquam pensi haberet, quomodo vi et fraude ad hanc periculi et ignominie sue summam aspiraret. In hac tanta mali sui machinatione, cum essem in pace & in aliqua salutis meæ securitate, in locum, qui Confluentia dicitur, in ipsis Dominici adventus sanctissimis diebus ad colloquium evocavit me, quasi de communi salute & honore filius tractaturus cum patre. Quem cum vidi, illico ex paterno affectu tactus, intrinsecus dolore cordis mei ad pedes suos procidi, admonens & obtestans per salutem

Epist. Henr. 4.
P. 33, 34, 35,
36, 37.
Sedes Romana
lerna malorum.

Cæsaris æ-
quius postula-
tio.

Henr. V. alter
Absolon.

Confluentia.

Henr. V. 11.
Paterna.

Sabdo-
lolum in-
fatum.

Binga.

O sceleratam
in filio perfidi-
am.

Henrici 4.
captivitas.

Contumelia &
& injuria illata

Vipertus Groi-
ensis.

Ingelheim.

Henric. 4. co-
gitur se abdi-
care imperio.

salutem animæ, si pro peccatis meis flagellandus eram a Deo, de me ipse nullam conquireret maculam honori, et nomini suo, quia culpa patris vindicem filium esse nulla divinæ legis constituit sanctio. At ille tam pulchre, imo miserrime institutus ad malitiam, quasi abominabile & execrabile scelus cepit detestari. **Et precipiens ipsos ad pedes meos, de præteritis capit veniam deprecari.** In reliquum ut miles Domino, ut patri filius, cum fide & veritate per omnia se mihi obauditurum promisit cum lacrymis, si modo sedî Apostolicæ vellem reconciliari. Quod cum promptissime annuissem, & deliberationi suæ & consilio principum hoc tantum mancipandum promississem, in præsentî nativitate se producturum *Moguntiam*, & ibi de honore & reconciliatione mea, quam fidelius posset acturum, & inde in pacem & securitatem me reducendum, **promisit in ea veritate et fide, quia patrem a filio honorari, et filium a patre præcepit Deus diligere.** Hæc promissione, quæ & gentili observanda est, securus ibam, & filius meus aliquantulum me præcesserat. Et ecce quidam fideles verissime me deceptum affirmabant **et proditum** sub falsa pacis & fidei sponsione. Revocatus autem filius meus, & iterum a me instantissime admonitus, sub ejusdem fidei & sacramenti obtestatione, **animam suam pro anima mea fore promisit secunda vice.** Cum ergo ad locum, qui *Binga* vocatur, pervenissem, jam existente die Veneris ante nativitatem, numerus armatorum suorum jam satis augebatur, jam fraus ipsi de se detegebatur, & filius ad me, **Pater,** inquit, **nobis secedendum est in vicinum castellum: quia Moguntinus Episcopus in suam civitatem non admittet vos, quam diu in banno eritis. Nec vos impacatum et irreconciliatum audio ingerere inimicis vestris.** Illic nativitatem cum honore & pace agatis, quoscunque placuerit vobis, vobiscum habeatis: ego interim quanto instantius, quanto fidelius potero, pro nobis utrisque laborabo, quia **causam vestram meam erissimo esse.** At ego, mi inquam fili, **judei et testis sermonum et fidei sit inter nos hodie Deus,** quomodo te in virum & heredem meum produxerim, quantis tribulationibus meis honori tuo inservierim, quot & quantas inimicitias pro te habuerim & habeam, solus conscius es. Ille autem tertio sub ejusdem fidei & sacramenti attestacione, si ingrueret occasio periculi, caput suum pro meo capite fore mihi promisit. Sic postquam clausit me in eodem castello, quo omnia animo et corde fuerit locutus, manifeste rei ostendit eventus. Ex omnibus meis quartus ego sum inclusus, nec quilibet alius admitti potuit, **custodes deputati, qui vitæ meæ erant atroces inimici.** Benedictus per omnia Deus exaltandi & humiliandi, quæ voluerit rex potentissimus. Cum ergo ipso sacratissimo die **nativitatis** suæ omnibus redemptis suis ille sanctus sanctorum puer fuisset natus, mihi soli filius ille non est datus. Nam ut taceam opprobria, injurias, minas, gladios in cervicem meam exertos, nisi omnia imperata facerem, præterea famem & sitim, quam perferrebam ab illis, quos injuria erat videre & audire, ut etiam taceam, quod est gravius, me olim satis felicem fuisse, **illud nunquam obliviscar, illud nunquam desinam omnibus Christianis conqueri, quod illis sanctissimis diebus, sine omni Christiana communione in carcere illo fui.** In illis poenitentiae & tribulationis meæ diebus a filio meo missus venit ad me quidam Princeps *Wigbertus*, dicens: **nullum vitæ meæ esse consilium, nisi sine ulla contradictione omnia regni insignia redderem ex voluntate et imperio principum.** At ego etsi omnis terra, quantum inhabitatur, mei regni terminus esset, nollem regnū vitam commutare: quia vellem nollem sic agendum, et sicut definitum intelligebam, coronam, sceptrum, crucem, lanceam, gladium misi *Moguntiam*. Tunc communicato consilio cum inimicis meis meus filius egrediens, relictis ibidem fidelibus & amicis meis, quasi me eo adducturus, sub multa frequentia armatorum suorum me abductum ad villam, quæ dicitur *Engilzaim*, fecit me ad se adduci, ubi maximam inimicorum meorum multitudinem collectam inveni, nec ipsum filium cæteris mihi meliorem reperi: Et quia **firmiter et stabilius videbatur eis esse, si propria manu cogerent me regnum et omnia regalia exsternuere, simili modo & ipsi omnes minabantur mihi, nisi omnia imperata facerem, nullum vitæ meæ consilium fieri posse.** Tunc ego inquam, quia de sola vitâ mea agitur, quæ nihil preciosius habeo, ut saltem vivens poenitentiam exhibeam Deo, quicquid imperatis faciam. Cumque inquirerem, si

si saltem sic de vita mea certus essem, Apostolicæ sedis Legatus, qui ibidem aderat (non dico qui omnia hæc audiverat) respondit, me nullo modo eripi posse, nisi publice confiterer, me iniuste Hildebrand. persecutum esse, Wigbertum ei iniuste supposuisse, et iniustam persecutionem in Apostol. sedem et omnem Ecclesiam hæcenus exercuisse. Tunc cum magna contritione animi prostratus coepi per Deum, per ipsam conscientiam orare, ut locus et tempus mihi daretur, ubi in præsentia omnium Principum, cum innocens essem, vellem ex iudicio omnium me expurgare, & in quo culpabilem me recognoscerent, ex consilio omnium sanioris sententiæ poenitentiam & satisfactionem, quo ordine juberent, querere, & in principibus regni de fidelibus nostris, quoscunque, obsoles vellent, dare. At idem legatus locum et diem mihi abnegavit, dicens, aut tibi totum debere determinari, aut nulla spes mihi esset evadendi. In tanto tribulationis articulo, cum interrogarem, si confiterer omnia, quæ imperabantur, an confessio mea, ut iustum est, veniam & absolutionem consequeretur? Ibi legatus dixit, non esse juris sui me absolovere: Si vellem, inquit, absolvi, Romani item satisfacere Apostolicæ Sedi. Sic desolatum & spoliatum (nam & castella & patrimonium, & quicquid in regno conquiesceram, eadem vi et arte sua extorserant a me) in eadem villa reliquerunt me. In qua cum aliquo tempore commoratus essem, & filius meus ex eodem fraudis suæ consilio demandasset, ut ibidem eum expectarem, superveniens quorundam fidelium meorum legatio præmonuit, ut siquidem admonitum ibidem remanerem, fore aut in perpetuum raperer captivitatem, aut in eodem decollarer. Quo nuncio satis tunc vitæ meæ diffusus, illico aufugiens, fugiendo Coloniam veni, & ibi aliquot diebus commoratus, postea *Leodium veni, in quibus locis fideles viros & in fide regni constantes semper inveni. Horum cæterorumque regni fidelium consilio usus, vobis fiducialius & honestius habeo deplorare has omnes meas miseras. Fiducialius quidem propter mutua consanguinitatis & antiquæ amicitie debitum: honestius autem propter tanti regni nomen gloriosum. Vos igitur per fidem, per amicitiam rogo, in tantis tribulationibus meis ac iniuriis propinquo & amico consulatis. Quæ fidei & amicitie vincula etsi inter nos non essent, Vestra tamen et omnium regum terræ interesset, injuriam et contemptum meum vindicare, et tam nefariæ proditoris et malitiæ exemplum de superficie terræ extirpare.

These Letters prevailed nothing at all with these obstinate resolved Traytors, who presumed all to be just, righteous which their holy Father the Pope approved, and instigated them to by his Bulls and Legates, who affirmed, * In scrinio sacro Pontificis Romani Episcopi omnia iura contineri, iusta omnium condita esse; Pope Paschal determining, *neceffe esse cuique Christiano in Romani Pontificis leges jurare; Quisquis post hæc ejus decretis non steterit, ex albo Christianorum eradit*: How barbarously, yea antichristianly this Pope and German Bishops his Confederates dealt with this good Emperor, *Hermoldus and Krantzius thus further relate.

Igitur ubi firmatus est Paschalis in sede, præcepit excommunicari Imperatorem ab universis Episcopis et Catholicæ Ecclesiæ cultoribus, et eo usque sententia hic invaluit, ut collecta Generali Curia, Principes Henrico Diadema tollendum, et ad filium ejus æquibocum transferendum decernerent. Erat autem idem jamdudum ex petitione Patris designatus in Principem. Missi ergo a Principibus venerunt ad Regem, qui tunc forte consistebat in corte regia Hilgelsheim, Moguntinus, Colonienfis, Wormatierfis, & pertulerunt ad eum mandatum ex ore Principum, dicentes; Fac nobis reddi coronam, annulum et purpuram, cæteraque ad investituram Imperialem pertinentia, filio ejus deferenda. Illo percunctante dejectionis suæ culpam, responderunt dicentes, Quid quæris ea, quæ optime nosti? Meministi qualiter universa Ecclesia tui causâ maximo schismatis errore multis jam annis laboraverit, qualiter Episcopatus, Abbacias, præterea omnia Ecclesiæ regimina fecisti venalia, nec fuit in constituendis Episcopis ulla legitimæ Electionis facultas, sed sola periculi ratio. Pro his & aliis causis sanxit auctoritas Apostolica, favitque Principum

Exagitur a legato Papa.

* See here, p. 311, 312, 313, &c.

* Aventinus Annal. Bojorum, l. 6. p. 485.

* Chron Slavorum, Lib. I. cap. 32, 33. p. 27, 28, 29. Alberti Krantzii, Saxoniæ, l. 5. c. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, &c. Annales Arnoldi Abbatis Lubecensis.

Paschalis Papa ignovavit Anathemata in Cæsarem.

Cæsar exauctoratur.

Postulantur insignia Imperii, Crimina Obiecta.

Purgatio, cum
justissima peti-
tione.

*Pisi.

*vitz

Indigna Epis-
coporum pervi-
cacia.

* Pathetica
Cæsaris Oratio

Notat:

Tragicus co-
natus.

pum unanimitas, Te non solum regno, verum etiam Ecclesiastica com-
munionem privandum. Quo contra Rex ait, Dicitis quia Spirituales
dignitates precio vendiderimus; Vestra quidem potestas est, tale
nobis crimen impingere. Dic ergo, O Moguntine, dic adjura-
tus per nomen æterni Dei, quid eregimus, aut recepinus, quando
te Moguntia præfecimus? Tu quoque Colonienfis, per fidem te
contestamur, quid nobis dedisti pro sede, cui nostra munificentia
præfides? Illis fatentibus nihil pecuniæ hujus rei gratia aut oblatum
aut exceptum, Rex ait, Gloria Deo in excelsis, quia vel in hac parte fideles inventi
sumus. Certe dignitates ex duæ præstantissimæ sunt, & magnum quantum Cameræ
nostræ referre poterant. Porro Dominus Wormatiensis, qualis a nobis susceptus,
ad quid promotus, *scilicet pietate, vel quæstu erga ipsum uli fuerimus, nec vos nec
ipsum latet. Condignam ergo beneficiis nostris rependitis gratiam?
Nolite quæso, effici participes eorum, qui levaverunt manus ad-
versus Dominum et Regem suum, et temeraverunt fidem, et ju-
ramentoꝝ Sacramenta. Ecce jam defecimus, parumque nobis *viæ
restat, senio & labore confectis: sustinete modicum, & nolite gloriam nostram con-
fusione terminare. Si autem nobis cedendum omnino esse dicitis, & manet fixa sen-
tentia, præfigantur induciæ, statuatur dies placiti, si Curia adjudicaverit, filio no-
stro Coronam manibus propriis resignabimus. Generalem itaque Curie audien-
tiam expetimus. Illis e contrario *nitentibus, & dicentibus, Se negotium pro
quo missi fuerant, fortiter expleturos, Rex parumper avulsus ab eis, fidelium suo-
rum participavit consilio. Vidensque quia Legati venissent stipati malitia, & non
esset locus resistendi, fecit sibi regiam exhiberi præparaturam, qua indutus, & in
sedem receptus, legatos alloquitur dicens, Hæc quidem Imperialis honoris
insignia mihi præstitit æterni Regis pietas, et Principum regni electio
concoꝝ. Potens autem est Deus, qui me ad hoc culmen sua dig-
natione proverit, mihi conservare quod concesserit, manusq; vestras
a cœpto opere cohibere. Divino enim præsidio nos enixius inniti oportet, om-
ni scilicet militia & armis destitutos. Hactenus quidem externis bellis impliciti, sem-
per in custodiæ nostræ diligentia constitimus, omnes impugnationum jacturas, pro-
pitia divinitate, partim consilio, partim virtute prælii evincentes. Hoc autem in-
testinum malum sicut nec suspectum habuimus, ita nec præcavimus. Quis enim
in Orbe Christiano tantum nefas confurgere crederet, ut jurata
Principi Sacramenta fidelitatis irritentur, suscitetur filius ad-
versus patrem, postremo nulla beneficiis gratia, honestati reve-
rentia exhibeatur? Certe majestas Imperatoria eam etiam er-
ga hostes honestatis disciplinam servare consuevit, ut prosci-
bendis sive damnandis, vocationum sive judiciorum remedia
non negaverit, ante præmuniens quam feriens, prius invitans
per gratiam, quam damnans per sententiam. At nobis con-
tra fas, vocationes et audientia negantur. Ideoque præfoca-
mur, ne audiamur. Quis tantam mentis alienationem a fidis-
simis amicis, maxime vero a Pontificibus crederet? Dominum
ergo factorem Orbis vobis proponimus, ut ipsius terror vos coher-
ceat, quos pietas non revocat. Quod si nec Deum nec honestatem
vestram reberemini, ecce præsentem sumus, violentiam explodere
non possumus, necessarium est vim sustinere, cui refragari locus
non est. Cœperunt ergo Pontifices hæsitare quid agerent: Magnarum enim rerum
ingressus semper sunt difficiles. Tandem Moguntinus allocutus est socios, dicens,
Quousque trepidamus, O Socii? Nonne Officii nostri est Regem
consecrare, consecratum investire? Quod ergo Principum decreto
impendere licet, eorundem auctoritate tollere non licet? Quem me-
ritum investivimus, immeritum quare non divestiamus? (Brave
Pontifical doctrine!) Statimque accepto conamine, Regem aggressi sunt,
eique

cique coronam de capite abzipuerunt. Deinde sublatum de sede, pur-
pura, cæterisq; quæ ad sacram^{*} investituram pertinent, funditus eru-
erunt. Tunc Rex confusione circumdatus, ait ad eos, Videat Dominus & iudicet, quia
iniquè agitis contra me. Ego quidem suo peccata adolescentiæ meæ, recipiens a Do-
mino stateram æqui ponderis, ignominiam & confusionem, quantam nemo regum,
qui ante me fuerunt, sustinuisse dinoscitur. Non vos tamen ideo
immunes a peccatis, qui levastis manus adversus Dominum ve-
strum, et præbæcatis estis iurjurandum quod iurastis. Uideat Do-
minus, et ulciscatur in vos, Deus, inquam, ultionum Dominus.
Non consurgatis, neque crescatis, neque prosperetur honor vester,
sitque portio vestra cum eo qui tradidit Christum Dominum. At
illi obturantes, aures suas, perrexerunt ad niliū, deferentes ei Imperialia, firmante-
isque eum in regnum. Surrexit ergo **Filius adversus Patrem, et expulit eum**
a regno: ille fugiens a facie filii sui, pervenit ad Ducatum, qui dicitur *Lintburg*,
pergens & accelerans, ut evaderet manus quarentium animam ipsius. Erat autem
in regione illa Princeps nobilis, quem Cæsar, adhuc sui Compos, ducatu de *Lint-*
burg destituerat, & alii dederat. Accidit ergo, ut idem Princeps forte venationi dedi-
tus, esset prope viam cum Cæsar transiret, comitatus viris novem, animadvertitque
quia fugerat a facie filii sui. Jam enim aliquid auditum fuerat. Sedensque in equo,
assumptis militibus infectus est regem velocius. Quem videns Cæsar, & repucans
hostem, cæpit metuere de vita, & exclamans voce magna cæpit postulare veniam.
At ille: Male, inquit, Domine, erga me meruisti, qui supplicanti quondam omnem
negastis gratiam, & abstulisti mihi ducatum meum. Hoc est, ait Cæsar, quod nunc
luc, quia filius meus surrexit contra me, & depulsus sum ab omni honore meo:
Videns ergo Princeps ille regem desolatum miseratione commotus, ait ad eum. Li-
cet quidem potestate vestra in me abusus fueritis, Deus tamen novi, quia magna su-
per vos penititudine movear. **Impietas enim maxima adversum vos commissæ**
est, ab eis maxime apud quos pius et beneficus semper extitistis,
Quid ergo vobis videtur, etne vobis inter Principes aliquis relictus?

Cumque Cæsar diceret se ignorare, eo quod nec dum esset tentatum, il-
le ait, Potens est Deus adhuc refarcire honorem vestrum, eo quod iniquè actum sit
adversus vos. Facite ergo, quod suadeo, ascendite urbem hanc, & habete corporis
fessæ curam, mittamusque ad regiones & Civitates, tentare si possimus alicubi inveni-
re auxilium, forsitan enim non ex toto defecit Iustitia a filius hominum: Nec mora,
misit circumquaque pro militibus, collegitque quasi octingentos loricated, assump-
tumque Cæsarem, perduxit in Civitatem magnam *Coloniæ*; *Colonienses* vero rece-
perunt eum. Quod cum audisset filius, venit cum exercitu grandi et obsedit *Coloni-*
am. Cumque obidio vehementer cresceret, Cæsar timens Civitati, noctu elapsus
fugit *Leodinium*: Et convenerunt illic ad eum omnes viri constantes, & quorum cor-
da misratio teigerat. Perspectoque auxiliatorum numero, dimicare statuit. Quem
cum filius persequeretur in manu gravi, Ille egressus est in occursum ejus ad aquas
Mosanas, Rogavitque Principes, & omne robur exercitus sui, dicens, Si fortissimus
Deus nos hodie adjuverit in Prælio, factique fuerimus in conflictu superiores, serva-
te mihi filium meum, & nolite interficere eum. Commissum est ergo Prælium, &
prævalens Pater fugavit filium trans *Pontem*, multique illic occisi gladio, plures a-
quis præfocati sunt. Rursus instauratum est prælium, & Cæsar senior victus, con-
clusus, comprehensus est. Quantas autem contumelias, quanta opprobria vir iste
magnificus in illis diebus pertulerit, sicut relatu difficile, ita auditu lamentabile est.
Insultabant ei amici, illudebant illi nihilominus inimici. Denique, ut aiunt, pau-
perculus quidam, sed literatus, coram omnibus adorsus est eum, dicens, Inveterate
dierum malorum, nunc venerunt peccata tua quæ prius operaberis, judicans judicia
injusta, opprimens justum, & dimittens noxium. *Cui cum astantes irascerentur vi-
ri scilicet sensati, Cæsar compescuit eos dicens, Nolite quæso, irasci in eum. Ecce
filius meus, qui egressus est de utero meo quærat animam meam, quanto magis alie-
nus: finite eum ut maledicat quia voluntas Dei est. Erat autem illic Episcopus *Spi-*
rensis Cæsari quondam dilectissimus, nam & templum ingens Dei genetrici apud *Spi-*
ram construxerat. Præterea Civitatem & Episcopum decenter promoverat. Dixit
ergo Cæsar ad amicum suum Episcopum de *Spira*, Ecce destitutus regno, decidi a spe,
nihilque mihi melius est quam renunciare militiæ! Da ergo mihi Præbendam apud

* The Empe-
ror must not
grant Investitu-
res of Bisho-
ps, yet these
Bishops in se di-
vest him of his
Imperial Inves-
tures, and
Robes.

Cæsaris exau-
ditorati in ad-
versarios dira.

Benevolentia
in hoste.

* In imitation
of King David,
2 Sam. 16, 5.
to 14.

Spiram

Spiram, ut ſim ſamulus Domine meæ Dei genitricis, cui devotus ſemper exſtiti; Novi enim literas, & poſſum adhuc ſubſervire choro. Ad quem ille; Per matrem, inquit Domini, non faciam tibi quod petis. Tunc Cæſar ſuſpirans & illachrymans ad circumſtantes ait, * Miſeremini mei, miſeremini mei vos ſaltem amici mei, quia manus Domini titegit me. Mortuus eſt autem eo tempore *Leodii*, ſtetitque corpus ejus inhumatum in Capella quadam deſerta quinque annis. **Tanta enim ſeveritate Dominus Papa, et cæteri adverſarii ejus in ipſum ultii ſunt, ut mortuum vel humari non ſinerent.** * *Krantzius*, and others adde, **Cataber ejus jam Chriſtiane ſepulturæ traditum in monaſterio, jubetur extrahi, et in locam poni non conſecratum; ubi poſt quinque annos reconciliatum, Spiram perducitur. Mirum et incomparabile rerum humanarum ſpectaculum et exemplum non vulgare, in quo contemplari poſſint ima atq; ſumma.** O Magna Dei judicia quæ completa ſunt in tam præpotenti viro! ſperandum autem quod caminus ille tribulationis decoxerit in eo ſcoriam, tulerit rubiginem: * quoties enim in præſenti judicamur, a Domino corripimur, ut non cum hoc mundo damnemur. Fuit autem Eccleſiis admodum bonus, his videlicet quas ſibi fideles perſenſit. Porro Romanum Antiſitem *Gregorius* & cæteros inſidiatores honoris ſui ſicut inſeſtos habuit, ita etiam inſeſtare ſtuduït. Impulit eum ad hoc, ut multi dicunt, **gravis neceſſitas**, Quis enim vel minimam honoris ſui jacturam æquanimiter ferat? Legimus autem quia multi peccaverunt, quibus tamen ſubventum eſt pœnitentiæ remedio. Certe *David* peccans & pœnitens Rex & Prophetæ permanſit. Rex autem *Henricus* ad veſtigia Apoſtolorum jacens, orans ac pœnitens gratis, peſſundatus eſt, nec invenit tempore gratiæ quod ille obtinuit duro legis tempore. Sed diſputaverint de his qui ſcierint vel auſi fuerint; **Num hoc ſcire licet, quia Romana ſedes adhuc hodie ſuit factum illud; a tempore enim illo quotquot regnant de ſtirpe illa omnibus modis nituntur humiliare Eccleſias, ne reſumant vires conſurgendi adverſus Reges, nec inferre quæ intulerunt patribus eorum. Regnavit autem Henricus junior pro Patre ſuo, ſuiq; Concordia inter Regnum et Sacerdotium, ſed non multo tempore, nam nec ipſe proſperatus eſt in omni vita ſua, irretitus ſimiliter ut Pater ejus a ſede Apoſtolica. De quibus ſuo loco dicendum eſt.** A Juſt puniſhment of God for his Wars and Rebellions againſt his Father to gratifie the Pope.

* Anonymus
Hiſtoria de vita Hen. 4. Cæſaris: where his Virtues are at large ſet forth and vindicated againſt all his Enemies calumnies.

* Platina, Scella, Balzus. Barnes in Poſchale 2.

The transcendent Tyranny of this Pope towards this pious Emperor, both in his life and after his death, (*which was* * *much lamented by all good men,*) made *Rodolphus Gualther* and * *Balzus* paſſe this further cenſure thereon. *Et hæc quidem non alicujus barbari tyranni juſſu, non Phalaridis alicujus inſinſtu, ſed ſanctiſſimi Patris conſilio ſunt.* Gaudete nunc *Caligulæ*, exultate *Nerones*, & quotquot unquam crudelitatis nomine fuiſtis celebres. *Habent enim quidam vos longo poſt ſe reliquis ſpatio, infamia & diris nominis memorialiberat; Romanum videlicet Pontificem, qui in Patris viſcera Filii gladium ſtringi præcepit. Sic Regem honorabat, 1 Petri 2. Sic Dei inſtitutis obediſſet Romanorum 13. ſuperbiſſimus Antichriſtus.* But now obſerve the ſignal Judgement of God upon this Treacherous Pope, who inſtigated this new Emperor moſt undutiſully to imprifon and depoſe his own Father, whom he kept 5. years from Chriſtian burial. This Pope, *Anno 1106.* by another Synod at *Guardaſſal*, making Decrees againſt Biſhops homages to the Emperor and other Princes for their Temporalities, againſt receiving Inveſtitures from them, and reſuſing to conſecrate thoſe Biſhops who received Inveſtitures from this Emperor; (the chief ground of the quarrel againſt *Henry the 4th.* his Father) He therewith exaſperated, upon this affront, * imprifons his ghofſtly Father in *Rome* it ſelf. *Ab eodem Imp. poſt ſedum oſcula capitur, et in Carcerem traditur; nec inde educitur, donec omnes confirmaret, inbeſtiendi juſ Carolomagno datum, diplomate reſtitueret, atque ipſum Imperatozem confirmaret.* Dum in *Cathedra* (inquit *Maſſæus*) poſt *Hiſſam* ſe contineret Pontifex, ecce *Hiſſites* clamantes, *Reddite quæ ſunt Cæſaris Cæſari*: tam ipſum quam totum Clerum invaſerunt, et abduerunt, exueruntque veſtibus adeo nudos, ut ne ſemoralia reliquerint eis, atq; ita ſpoliatos apud montem *Sozadam* cuſtodiræ

custodiæ manciparunt. **Uideres ergo Cardinales funibus in colla missis nudos trahi, vinctis post terga manibus.** So little did this New Emperor or his Souldiers value his Papal or his Cardinals authority, holiness, when put in competition with the antient Rights of the Imperial Crown, even in this case of *Investitures*, for defence whereof his Father was so frequently excommunicated, deprived. I shall recite the story more at large out of (a) *Hermoldus*, (b) *Krantzius*, (c) *Abbas Ulfpergensis* & others. King *Henry* the 4. being dead and thus trampled upon by the Pope, and his Son intangled in Wars in *Germany*, this Pope thinking he had now obtained a full conquest in case of *Investitures*, Synodali bus comitis non minus dat operam Pontificiam auctoritatem augere, quam *Henricus* Imperium armis, apud *Treves* enim congregato Concilio contentionem de dandis *Episcopatibus* resuscitat, propter quam *Hilibrando* cum *Henrico* inimicitia intercesserunt, quæ fuerunt maximæ cladis occasio in *Germania*. *Episcopos* namque non ineuntes secum gratiam & obedientiam pollicentes in eo Concilio deiecit, substituitque alios: Statuitque neminem ex *Laicis* debere dare *Ecclesiasticas dignitates*. *Henricus* audiens tale Decretum in Synodo promulgatum, *Moguntia* Concilium habuit, unde misit suos Legatos ad Pontificem, postulatos ne se ex jure spoliaret quod olim *Carolo* datum esset, et suis omnibus in imperio successoribus. Pontifex inducias petiit super ea quæstione, donec *Henricus* Romam veniret, dicens, Sibi non esse integrum in alieno regno de tantis rebus aliquid definire. *Henricus* 5. rebus in *Germania* pacatis, Anno Dom. 1111. in *Italiam* ire decrevit, ingreditur iter. In *Italiam* cum venisset, intellexit *Paschali* Pontifici suum adventum esse ingratum, eumque in se gerere hostilem animum quod pro suo arbitrio *Ecclesias* & *Episcopatus* demandasset iis qui sibi placuissent. Rex ergo *Henricus* *Sutrium* subsistit, nec putavit propius accedere ad Pontificem sibi tutum esse, & missis legatis, tuta fide, ut liceat Romam adire postulat. Pontifex dat Regi potestatem tuto veniendi Romam, & testatur se promptum, cum ad consecrationem, tum ad omnem honorem Regium augendum, ea tamen lege ut Rex *Ecclesiæ* suam libertatem relinquat, in qua tum fuit, & pollicetur, se pacato agmine ingressurum urbem. His omnibus utrinque per Legatos compositis, populo Romæ annuente, *Henricus* Romam movet, advenienti populus & Clerus fit obviam, Sacerdotalibus infulis, et Sanctorum reliquiis ornati. *Leoniam* urbem ingreditur, deduciturque in basilicam *Petri*, in cujus gradu *Paschali* Pontifici pedes deosculatur. *Henricus* positus in statione suis militibus ad dextram Pontificis, Basilicam ingreditur cum Pontifice; Oratione autem facta, rogabit, ut *Paschalis* *Episcopos* confirmaret & se institutos; *Paschali* recusante id facere, totus Dies disceptatione firme absumptus est. Rex videns, se pace et jure non posse tueri suam potestatem in instituendis *Episcopis*, quam quasi per manus omnes Imperatores a *Carolo* Magno, plulquam per Trecentos Annos acceperant, Milites a statione (dato signo) vocat, capitque Pontificem cum Cardinalibus, jubet eos in sua Castra perducî, et custodiri, in munitissimo monte S. Sylvestri, donec concederent Imperatori suo proprio jure de instituendis *Episcopis* libere uti. The Romans thereupon fly to their arms, assault the Emperors Army early in the morning, and after an whole dayes fight are vanquished. At last the Pope made Peace, and this agreement with the Emperor, which was to be ratified by these mutual Oathes, & hoc est Juramentum Regis. (d) Ego *Henricus* Rex liberos dimittam quarta vel quinta feria proxima Dominum Papam & *Episcopos* & *Cardinales*, & omnes captivos & obfides, qui pro eo, vel cum eo capti sunt, securos perducî faciam intra Portas *Transliverinæ* civitatis, nec ulterius capiam aut capi permittam eos qui in fidelitate Dom. Papæ *Paschalis* permanent, & populo Romano, & *Transliverinæ*, & *Insula* Civitatis pacem & securitatem servabo, tam per me quam per meos, in personis & in rebus, qui pacem servaverunt. Dom. Papam *Paschalem* fideliter adjuvabo, ut *Papatum* quietè & securè teneat, Patrimonia & possessiones Romanæ *Ecclesiæ* qua abstuli, restituiam, cuncta qua habere debet more antecessorum meorum recuperare, & tenere adjuvabo bona fide, & Dom. Papa *Paschali* obediam, salvo honore Regni, et Imperii, sicut Catholici Imperatores, Catholici Pontificibus Romanis. Hac omnia servabo bona fide, sine fraude &

genfis, Chron. Anno 1111, 1112. Otto Frisingensis Chron. l. 7. c. 14. Sigonius de Regno Italia, l. 10. Petrus Diaconus Chron. Cassinense, l. 4. 37. to 45. Aventinus Annal. Boiorum, l. 6. Will. Malmesbur. Hist. Angl. lib. 3. c. 40. Sigeberti Chron. Anno 1110, 1111. Chronicon Magnum Belgicum. Dr. Barnes in *Paschale* 2. Centur. Magd. 12. c. 9.

a *Hermoldus* Chron. Slavonum, l. 1. c. 60.
b *Krantzii* Saxenæ, l. 5. c. 305 311, 323, 33.
c *Abbas Ulfpergensis* Chron. 1011, 1119.
* Cent. Magd. 12. c. 9. De Synodis, Barnes in *Paschali* 2. Monney Hist. Papæ p. 237 &c.

d *Simeon Dunelmensis* de Gestis Regum Anglorum, p. 232, 233, 234, 235, 236. Radulphus de Diceto, Abbrev. Chronicor. col. 502. *Henricus* de Knyghton de Eventibus Angliæ, l. 2. c. 7. col. 2372. *Abbas Ulfper-*

* Hermoldus
Chron. Slavono-
rum, l. 1. c. 40

malo ingenio. Et isti sunt Juratores ex parte ipsius Regis, Fridericus Coloniensis Archiep. Gebhardus Episcopus Tridentinus, Burchardus Monasteriensis Episcopus, Bruno Spirensis Episcopus, Albertus Cancellarius, Comes Herimannus, Fredericus Comes Palatinus, Berengarius Comes, Fredericus Comes, Bonifacius Marcio, Albertus Comes de Bandriaco, Godefridus Comes, Warnerius Marchio. This Oath the Emperor refused to take at his Coronation, as new and unreasonable, *dicens, *Imperatorum nemini jurare debet, cum juramentorum Sacramenta ab omnibus sunt sibi exhibenda*: requiring the Pope to ratify all the antient Rights belonging to the Emperor, whereupon they came to this second Agreement ratified by the Popes Charter, and his and the Cardinals Oaths and Subscriptions.

Dominus Papa Paschalis secundus concedet Domino Regi Henrico et Regno ejus, et privilegio suo sub anathemate confirmabit et corroborabit, Episcopo vel Abbate libere electo sine Symonia assensu Regis, quod Dom. Rex eum cum anulo et virga investiat. Episcopus autem vel Abbas a Rege investitus libere accipiat consecrationem ab Episcopo ad quem pertinuerit. Si quis vero a Clero et populo eligatur, nisi a Rege investatur, a nemine consecretur; et Archiepiscopi et Episcopi libertatem habeant consecrandi a Rege investitos. Super his etiam Dominus Papa Paschalis non inquietabit Regem Henricum, nec ejus Regnum et Imperium. (A necessary Clause, since he and his Predecessors had so much disturbed them during his Fathers reign, and armed him against him.) *Hoc Sacramentum est ex parte Papæ.*

Nota.

Dominus Papa Paschalis non inquietabit Dominum Regem Henricum, nec ejus Imperium vel regnum de investitura Episcopatum, vel Abbatiarum, neque de injuria sibi illata et suis, neque aliquod malum reddet sibi vel alicui personæ pro hac causa, et penitus in personam Regis Henrici nunquam Anathema ponet, nec remanebit in Domino Papa, quin coronet eum sicut in ordine continetur, et regnum et imperium officii sui auxilio eum tenere adjuvabit pro posse suo, et hoc adimplebit Dominus Papa sine fraude et malo ingenio. Hæc sunt nomina illoz Episcopozum et Cardinalium qui præcepto Domini Papæ Paschalis secundi Privilegium et Amicitiam Sacramento confirmaverunt Domino Imperatori Henrico. Petrus Portuensis Episcopus, Centius Sabinensis Episcopus, Rodbertus Cardinalis Sancti Eusebii, Bonifacius Cardinalis Sancti Marci, Anastatius Cardinalis Sancti Clementis, Gregorius Cardinalis Sancti Chrisogoni, Johannes Cardinalis Sanctæ Potentianæ, Ritus Cardinalis Sanctorum Apostolorum *Petri & Pauli*. Item Gregorius Sancti Laurentii, Reinerus Cardinalis Sanctorum Marcellini & Petri, Vitalis Cardinalis Sanctæ Balbinæ, Duizo Cardinalis Sancti Martini, Teobaldus Cardinalis Sancti Johannis & Pauli, Johannes Diaconus Sanctæ Mariæ in Schola Græca.

Istud est Privilegium Domini Papæ quod facit Imperatori de Investituris Episcopatum.

Paschalis Episcopus Servus servorum Dei, Charissimo in Christo filio Henrico Glorioso Teutonicorum Regi, & per Dei operis gratiam Romanorum Imperatori Augusto, salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem; Regnum vestrum Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ singulariter coherere dispositio divina constituit. Prædecessores vestri probitatis cum prudentiæ amplioris gratia Romanæ Urbis Coronam & imperium consecuti sunt. Ad cujus videlicet Coronæ & Imperii dignitatem, tuam quoque personam fili Charissime Henrice per Sacerdotii nostri ministerium Divina Majestas provexit. Illam igitur dignitatis Prærogativam quam Prædecessores nostri vestris Prædecessoribus Catholicis Imperatoribus concesserunt, et privilegiorum paginis confirmaverunt, nos quoque dilectioni tuæ concedimus, et præsentis privilegii pagina confirmamus, At regni tui Episcopis vel Abbatibus libere, præter violentiam et symoniam, electis, investituram virgæ et anuli conferas; post investitionem vero canonice consecrationem accipiat ab Episcopo ad quem pertinet.

pertinuerit. Siquis autem a Clero et populo præter tuum assensum, electus fuerit, nisi a te investitur, a nemine consecratur. Sane Episcopi vel Archiepiscopi libertatem habeant a te investitos Episcopos vel Abbates Canonice consecrandi. Prædecessores enim vestri Ecclesias regni sui tantis regalium suorum beneficiis ampliarunt ut regnum ipsorum Episcoporum maxime vel Abbatum præsidis oporteat committeri, et populares dissensiones quæ in electionibus sæpe contingant, regali oporteat Majestate compesci. Quamobrem prudentiæ et potestativæ curæ debes sollicitius innitere ut Romanæ Ecclesiæ celsitudo, et cæterarum salus præstante Domino beneficiis et servitiis conservetur. Si qua igitur Ecclesiastica vel Secularis persona hanc nostræ concessionis paginam temerario ausu pervertere temptaverit, anathematis vinculo, nisi resipuerit innodetur, honozis quoque ac dignitatis suæ periculum patiatur. Observantes autem misericordia divina custodiat, et personam potestatemque tuam ad honorem suum, et gloriam foeliciter, imperare concedat.

His conventionibus & juramentis inter Dominum Papam & Imperatorem in *Paschali* festivitate facta est Concordia; Deinde *Romam* Idus *Aprilis* Imperator venit: quem Papa in Ecclesia Sancti *Petri* missam celebrans, Imperatorem consecravit, & ei omnibusque suis absolutionem fecit, & omnem injuriam sibi factam condonavit.

The Emperor being thus solemnly Crowned, and receiving this Charter concerning *Investitures*, and Oath from the Pope and Cardinals, not long after departed out of *Italy* with his forces, being conducted by the Pope, Cardinals, Prelates, with all possible professions & expressions of future loyalty and affection to him. No sooner were the Emperor and his forces departed out of *Italy*, but this most perfidious ambitious Pope upon this occasion, summoned a Council at *Rome* on purpose to null and abrogate all these his Concessions and Oath to the Emperor, as made by mere duress, and constraint, thus related by the * forecited Historians.

*Anno Domini 1112: Anno Pontificatus Domini Papæ Paschalis secundi 13. Indictione quinta, mense Martio 18. Calend. Aprilis, Celebratum est Romæ Concilium Lateranis in basilica Constantiniana, In quacum Dominus Papa resedisset cum Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, & Cardinalibus, & varia multitudine Clericorum & Laicorum, ultima die Concilii facta coram omnibus professione Catholica fidei, ne quis de fide ipsius dubitaret, dixit, Amplector omnem divinam Scripturam, scilicet Veteris ac Novi Testamenti, Legem Moysi scriptam & a Sanctis Prophetis. Amplector 4. Evangelia, 7. Canonicas Epistolas, Epistolas gloriosi Doctoris beati Pauli Apostoli, sanctos Canones Apostolorum 4. Concilia Universalis sicut 4. Evangelia, Nicenum, Ephesinum, Constantinopolitanum, Chalcedonense, Antiochenum Concilium, & Decreta Sanctorum Patrum * Romanorum Pontificum, &*

præcipue Decreta Domini mei Gregorii 7. et beatæ memoriæ Papæ Urbani: quæ ipsi laudaverunt laudo; quæ ipsi tenuerunt teneo; quæ confirmaverunt confirmo; quæ damnaverunt damno; quæ repulerunt repello; quæ interdixerunt interdico; quæ prohibuerunt prohibeo, in omnibus et per omnia, et in his semper perseverabo.

*Quibus expletis, Surrexit pro omnibus Gerardus Engolismensis Episcopus, Legatus in Aquitania, & communi assensu Domini Papæ Pasch. & totius Concilii coram omnibus legi hanc Scripturam. Privilegium illud, quod non est privilegium, sed vere debet privilegium dici, pro liberatione Captivorum, et Ecclesiæ, a Domino Paschali Papa per violentiam Regis Henrici extortum, nos omnes in hoc Sancto Concilio cum Domino Papa congregati, Canonica censura et Ecclesiastica auctoritate iudicio * Sancti Spiritus damnamus, et irritum esse iudicamus, atque omnino quassamus, et ne quid auctoritatis et efficacitatis habeat penitus excommunicamus. Et hoc ideo damnatum est, quia in eo privilegio continetur, quod Electus a Clero et populo, a nemine consecratur, nisi prius a Rege investitur, quod est contra Sanctum Spiritum et Canonicam institutionem. (though ratified by this and other forecited Popes.)*

* Simeon Dumenensis, Abulsergenis, & others, here cited, p. 321.

* The former part of this Confession was but to colour and usher in this later, repugnant to it.

* I much doubt it.

Perleſa vero hac Charta, acclamatum eſt ab univerſo Concilio Amen, Amen, Fiat, Fiat. (O the Punick faith, perjury, treachery of this Pope, his Cardinals, and Prelates, thus to repeal what they ſo ſolemnly ratified by their Oathes, Charters, in Gods own preſence but few Moneths before to the Emperor, as his undoubted right!) *Archiepiſcopi qui cum ſuis Suffraganeis interfuert, hii ſunt, Johannes Patriarcha Veneticus, Senes Capuanus, Landulfus Beneventanus, Almahitanus, Regitanus, Hidrontinus, Brundulſinus, Capſanus, Gironinus & Græci, Roſanus, & Archiepiſcopus Sanctæ Severinæ; Epſcopi quoque, Petrus Portuenſis, Leo Heſtienſis, Cono Præneſtinus, Gerardus Egoſolinus, Galo Leonenſis, Legatus pro Bituricenſi & Viennenſi Archiepiſcopis, Rogerus Wulturenſis, Gaufridus Senenſis, Rollandus Populienſis, Gregorius Terracinenſis, Villielmus Trojanus, Gibinus Siracuſanus, Legatus pro omnibus Siculis, & alii fere C. Epſcopi, & Sigmundus & Johannes Tuſculani Epſcopi cum eſſent Romæ illa die Concilio non interfuert, quin poſtea ſc. ſc. damnatione privilegii, conſenſerunt, & laudaverunt.*

Upon this occaſion there aroſe new Quarrels and conteſts between the Emperor and Pope about Inveſtitures, the Biſhops, and Churches adhering to the Emperor aſſerting, maintaining this his antient Right againſt Pope Paſchal and his perjured Confederates. Amongſt others, *Waltramus* Biſhop of *Naumberg* writ a particular Treatiſe, *De Epſcoporum Inveſtitura per Imperatores faciendâ*; Which being very rare and pertinent to my Theam, in reſpect of the great controverſies about Inveſtitures then ariſing not only in *Germany*, but alſo in *England* between *Anſelm* and our Kings, I ſhall here inſert.

* *Flavii Ilyrici*
Catalog. Teſti-
um Veritatis,
Appendix. p.
44. 55. 56. 57.
58.
* Not Pope
Leo.

* *Leo Conſtanti* ni filius, imperavit annis quinque in regno Græcorum & Romanorum. Poſt quem uxor ejus *Hyrene*, filia *Caiani Avaram*, id eſt, *Hunnorum* Regis, cum filio ſuo *Conſtantino* imperavit annis decem: verum *Conſtantinus* matrem ſuam *Hyrenem* imperio privavit, ſolusque annis ſex imperavit. *Hyrene* autem ſuper erepto ſibi imperio, ſcemineo dolore abuſa, *Conſtantinum* filium ſuum oculis & imperio privavit, & ſola annis ſex imperavit. * *Romani* autem, qui ab Imperatore *Conſtantinopolitano* jam animo deſciverant, propter tardum & infructuoſum illius auxilium contra Tyrannos, accepta occaſionis opportunitate, quia mulier, excacato Imperatore *Conſtantino* filio ſuo, imperabat, uno omnium conſenſu *Carolo Magno* Imperatorias laudes acclamaverunt, eumque per manus *Leonis Papa* coronaverunt, *Cæſarem* & *Auguſtum* appellantes. Igitur ex quo *Byzantium* Thraciæ Civitas, a primo *Conſtantino* in novam amplificata, & in regiam urbem eſt exaltata, evolutis annis circiter CCCCLXVIII, diviſo a *Conſtantinopoli* Romano imperio, *Carolus Magnus* Rex Francorum primus imperavit Romanis annos XIII. Ex tunc a Græcis in Reges Francorum tranſlata eſt Imperatoria dignitas: & *Adrianus Papa*, collaudantibus Romanis & plena Synodo Primatum, Archiepiſcoporum, Epſcoporum, Abbatum, Ducum & Principum acclamatione, *Carolo Magno*, cuiusque ſucceſſoribus futuris Imp. ſub anathemate conceſſit Patriatum Romanum: & per ſe vel per nuncios confirmationem in electione, et in conſecratione Romani Pontif. conceſſit, et inveſtituras Epſcoporum eis determinavit, ut non conſecretur Epſcopus qui per Regem et Imp non introiret pure et integre: exceptis quos Papa Romanus inveſtire et conſecrare debet ex antiquo dono Regum et Imperat. cum aliis quæ vocantur Regalia, id eſt a Regibus et Imperatoribus Pontif. Romanis data, in fundis et redditibus. In hac conceſſione continentur regales Abbatæ, Præpoſituræ. Ex hoc conſtituto, *Carolus Magnus*, *Aiſtulfum*, *Deſiderium*, alioſque Reges & tyrannos, bello, cæde & exilio delevit, qui fundos & bona Eccleſiæ Romanæ, aliarumque Eccleſiarum invaſerant, omnia reddens libertati. Alii Reges et Imperatores, ſucceſſores *Caroli Magni*, deſenſionem Romanæ Eccleſiæ, et aliarum Eccleſiarum timore Dei et charitate devote proſequuti ſunt, inveſtituras Epſcoporum facientes, eorum conſecrationibus per ſe & nuncios ſuos aſſiſtentes, juxta quod *Paulus* Apoſtolus ait ad *Corinthios*: Non quod primum ſpirituale, ſed quod animale, deinde ſpirituale. Magnus etiam *Gregorius*, *Theodorico* & *Theoberto*, & *Brummihildi* ſcribit, ut abſque Symonia inveſtituras Epſcoporum faciant. Hic etiam primus *Gregorius* non eſt conſecratus, donec *Mauritii* Imperatoris interfuit aſſenſus. *Joannes* Papa inveſtituram *Leodicenſis* Epſcopatus, quam *Carolus* Rex ſecerat, *Richardio* *Prumienſi* Abbati plane conſecrat, et invaſionem *Pildubini* per

* 1 Cor. 15,
26.

per Silbertum Comitem de Capremonte sub anathemate damnat. Papa Leo primo Otthoni, aliisque plures Pontifices Romani idem confirmaverunt sub anathemate Regibus et Imperatoribus. Unde mirum est, imo periculosum in salutem animarum, quod ea quæ sancti antecessores ex magna necessitate, et patenti ratione sub anathemate confirmaverunt, a tempore Gregorii, qui et Hilteprandus, sub absolutione immutantur. Qui a primo Constantino, quem Silvester baptizavit, gesta et decreta revolverit, patenter inveniet, quod per Reges et Imperatores, et devotos Laicos, Romana Ecclesia, aliæque in orbe terrarum Ecclesiæ, in fundis et mobilibus ditatæ et exaltatæ sunt, sibi que tutelas et defensiones contra tyrannos et raptos retinuerunt, ut gladius Regalis et stola Petri sibi indicem subveniant, quasi duo Cherubim conversis vultibus, respicientia in Propitiatorium. Romani Pontifices, aliique præfules, de fundis & rebus per devotos Laicos et Laicos adquisitis, & a seculari potestate confirmatis, struxerunt & ornaverunt Ecclesias: et a quibus acceperunt gratiam, non debent inferre contumeliā, et si de investituris peccaverunt, exemplo primi * Gregorii exhibeantur. Quod Paulus dicit: * *Argue, obsecra, increpa, in omni patientia & doctrina.* Hieronymus in Epistolis suis dicit, *Quadringscentos Episcopos Imperiales litteræ ad Synodum contraxerunt.* In hoc virtus Imperialis egit, quod excommunicatio Pontificis agere non potuit, ut sine captione, sine damnatione, sine contumelia, tot Episcopi ierunt & redierunt. Excommunicatio enim quanto intelligitur & timetur, tanto cavendo vitatur: & punitio corporalis in vita, vel in membris, & rebus vel in fundis, plures respicere facit ex iusticia regali. Domino autem Pontifici summopere cavendum est ex medulla Scripturarum, ne quando liget in terris, quæ Deus solvet in cælis: & quando solvit in terris, Deus liget in cælis. Hoc evenit ex illa gloria prælationis, nimisq; multibus animarum, quando succedentes Pontifices præcedentium Pontificum decreta & excommunications immutant & solvunt. Unde cum Dominus Jesus, ipsa veritas, dicat: * *Si male loquutus sum, testimonium perhibe de malo: mirum est, & periculosum in Christi pusillos, quod antiqua constituta sub anathemate confirmata, novis immutationibus solvunt, & inde nolunt reprehendi, objicientes, Romana iudicia non sunt retractanda.* Si Romana iudicia non sunt retractanda, non videtur pusillis Christi canonicum & salubre, ut a tempore Gregorii (qui & Hilteprandus) ea solvantur, quæ sub anathemate confirmaverunt Silvester, Leo, Adrianus, primus Gregorius, Leo, Benedictus, erga Reges et Imperatores, de investendis Episcopis per illos: a quibus, et etiam a devotis Laicis & tenentis, fundi & alia mobilia, Ecclesiis omni in orbe terrarum provenerunt, sibi que tutelas et defensiones rerum Ecclesiasticarum retinuerunt contra tyrannos et raptos. Si in successione quisque solvit, quod prædecessor sub anathemate confirmavit: ecce oritur confusio pusillis Christi, cui parti potius assentiendum sit, antiqua an nova. Pars antiqua in paupertate mediocri & honesta arguit, obsecravit in patientia & doctrina, & parcendo iustitiæ majores & inferiores personas ad correctionem adduxit. Nova autem pars ex votis fidelium insolescens, sub specie religionis omnia trahit ad se manibus expansis, cum Dominus dicat, * *Reddite Cæsari, quæ sunt Cæsaris, & Deo quæ sunt Dei;* Gregorius, Augustinus, Ambrosius testantur, ea quæ sunt data Ecclesiis a Seculari potestate, et confirmata, potius a seculari potestate retinenda. Legitur etiam de Episcopis Hispaniæ, Scotiæ, Angliæ, Ungariæ, quomodo ex antiqua institutione, usque ad modernam nobilitatem, per Reges introirent cum pace temporalium pure et integre. Qui pacifice sollicitus est, revolvat vitas patrum, & historias legat, & intelligat. Sed Episcopatus qui sub Romano degunt imperio, majoribus fundis, & amplioribus vigent iusticiis; & ideo propter majus scandalum, à stola Petri discretius tractandi sunt, quia non omnes sunt Petrus, qui tenent sedem Petri. Sic * *Scriba & Pharisei, qui sederunt super cathedram Moyse, non omnes fuerunt Moyse.* Elatio enim ex prælatione, et indiscretio ex correptione, pariunt scandalum in confusionem: & fit manifeste illud, quod Dominus in Evangelio dicit: * *Vos Scriba & Pharisei circuitis mare & aridam, ut faciatis unum proselytum; & cum inveniretis, facitis filium Gehennæ, duplo quam vos.*

* Gregorius.

* 2 Tim. 4. 2.

Nota.

* John 18. 23.

* Mat. 22. 21.

Nota.

* Mat. 23. 2.

* Mat. 23. 15.

Longe

Longe etiam ante decretum Adriani Papæ, ejusque successorum, Reges qui non erant uncti, et Majores domus, investituras Episcoporum fecerunt: scilicet Dagobertus, Sigibertus, Theodoricus, Hilaricus, Pipinus filius Begge Major Domus, Theodebertus. Ab his inthronizati sunt Remachus, Amandus, Audomarus, Autpertus, Eligius, Lampertus, alique sanctissimi presules; cum Reges isti in moribus suis satis fuerint notabiles, et solo nomine Regum per majores domus vivebant. Postquam autem Romani, ingruentibus vicinis & gravibus bellis, desciverunt a Græcis Imperatoribus, ex causis supradictis, Papa Stephanus ob infestationem Longobardorum venit Parisios, & assensu Romanorum & Francorum in Regem & Imperatorem unxit Pipinum, filium Caroli Martelli, nati ex Alpaide: propter quam ex pellicatu increpatam, Pontifex Lampertus martyr factus est. Unxit etiam idem Pontifex Stephanus filios ejusdem Pipini, Carolum qui agnominatus est Magnus, & Carolomannum fratrem ejus, confirmans stirpem illorum in Regia & in Imperatoria dignitate. Ibi de Investendis Episcopis per Reges, antiquam consuetudinem confirmabit: Ex horum collectione pure et integre servanda est antiqua constitutio, ne pusilli Christi scandalizentur. Nil enim refert, si verbo, si precepto, siue baculo, siue alia re quam in manu tenuerit, investiat aut inthronizet Rex et Imperator Episcopum: qui die consecrationis veniens, annulum et baculum ponit super altare, et in curam pastoralis singula suscipit a stola et ab auctoritate sancti Petri. Sed congruum magis est, per baculum, qui est duplex, id est temporalis et spiritualis. Operarius enim in seminandis spiritualibus dignus est mercede sua, non accipiendis temporalibus, juxta quod Paulus ait: * Si spiritualia vobis seminamus, non est magnum si carnalia, id est temporalia a vobis metamus. Precedens investitura per Regem in fundis et rebus Ecclesiæ contra tyrannos et raptos, quæta et pacifica reddit omnia. Sequitur autem Consecratio, ut hanc Episcopalis hanc Regali conveniens, in communem salutem operetur: et si Episcopis faciendum est regibus hominum, et sacramentum de regalibus, apertius est ante consecrationem, cum Paulus Apostolus dicat: * Unusquisque in suo sensu abundet. Omnia divina & Ecclesiastica per magistros Ecclesiarum ad pacem & quietem pusillorum Christi tendere debent. Legitur etiam in libris Regum et Machabæorum, quod a regibus Judæis et gentilibus sacerdotes investituras acceperunt, etiam in Judaismo. A Petro usque ad Silvestrum, qui Constantinum baptizavit, Imperatores Romani erant Gentiles, & Christianorum persecutores: & in fundis & rebus Ecclesiasticis pauperes erant Ecclesiæ: & a timoratis Christianis, qui tunc pauci erant, Roma & alibi constituiebantur Episcopi. Postquam autem a Silvestro per Christianos Reges & Imperatores dotata, ditata & exaltata sunt Ecclesiæ in fundis, & aliis mobilibus: & jura Civitatum in teloneis, monetis, villicis & scabinis, comitatibus, advocatiis, Synodali- bus hannis per Reges delegata sunt Episcopis: congruum fuit et consequens, ut Rex qui est unus in populo, et caput populi, investiat, et inthronizet episcopum, et contra irruptionem hostium sciat cui civitatem suam credat, cum jus suum in donum illorum transulerit. Primus Gregorius conqueritur dolendo, de quodam Episcopo, qui adeo pauper erat, ut de Episcopatu suo contra frigus hyemale vestem habere non posset. Atali Episcopo, forsitan sancto, non erat Regis necessarium exigere hominum, sacramentum, obsides. Ex hoc, prout sunt consuetudines in regnis per orbem terrarum, de Episcopis investendis servanda sunt antiqua jura. Sicut enim primus Gregorius dicit: Si voluissem, inquit, hodie Gens Longobardorum nec Regem nec Duces haberet: & quia Dominum timui, in alicujus sanguinem me miscere nolui. Ita successores ipsius Gregorii cavere debent scandalum, ne contristent nobiter Reges in suis antiquis juribus, per quorum antecessores caput et membra exaltata

* Signa.

* In 1 Cor. 9.
11.

* Rom. 14. 5.

et confirmata sunt: sed juxta Paulum a Pontifice Romano et Regibus omnia fiant in charitate et humilitate, remotis superbia et contentione. Quapropter apud Pontifices & Reges fiant Ecclesiastica pure et integre, quia Dominus JESUS dicit: a *Si oculus tuus fuerit simplex, totum corpus tuum lucerna erit: id est, si intentio bona est, et opus bonum est.* *Si Romani Pontifices intendunt Regibus auferre antiqua jura de investendis Episcopis, timent, dubitant, dolent pusilli Christi.* Reges si in Episcoporum investituris excesserint, possunt a timoratis viris et Pontifice Romano argui, et ad rectam correctionis lineam reduci. Si autem in promotione et consecratione Episcoporum Pontifex Romanus exorbitaverit, et sub verbo summæ prælationis ad voluntatem suam egerit, non vult ut reprehendatur, cum Dominus Jesus se reprehendi concesserit, dicens, b *Si male locutus sum, testimonium perhibe de malo.* Isti autem, Summus (inquiunt) Pontifex a nemine judicetur. Et si ab illa sua auctoritate sub specie religionis introducuntur personæ contra oculos Dei, ecce periculum et in capite et in membris: id est, qui scienter operantur, et scienter cooperantur. Unde Dominus JESUS hypocrisin, et avaritiam, & cupiditatem sacerdotum in Evangelis super omnia arguit, vocans illos *sepulchra dealbata*: et peccatum mulieris adulteræ misericorditer suscipit: c *tria genera eunuchorum humanè definit, c pro se & pro Petro tributum solvit, Regibus jubet debita reddi.* d Petrus, Paulus, alique in orbe terrarum viri sanctissimi concedunt in sententiam Domini JESU, qui omnibus dixit, e *Beati pacifici, quoniam regnum Dei possidebunt.* Sunt autem Pacifici, qui ex contentione, arrogantia, cupiditate, ex nimis moribus animorum, non moventur, non inveniunt commutationes contra antiqua jura propter pacem constituta, maxime propter potestates superiores, in quorum pace (juxta Paulum) tranquillam vitam agere debemus. Notandum est autem, Pontificibus Romanis et eorum civibus, quando orta fuerat divisio in electione Pontificum, et in communione civium, non est pars restituta nisi per Græcos Imperatores, quandiu Imperium ibi fuit: et per Francos Imp. ex quo Imperium Romanorum datum est eis. Et quidam Græci Imperatores Christiani, quosdam Romanos Pontifices, viros sanctissimos, usque ad exilium & mortem immisericorditer tractaverunt: sicut legitur de *Agapeto*, & de *Joanne*: Imperatores autem ex Francis, honestè & piè deduxerunt, sicut legitur de *Stephano*, et de *Leone* excæcato. De divisione cleri et populi in electione Romani Pontificis, comprehensa per *Honorium Augustum*, ex Græcis ita legitur: *Bonifacius xl.* Romanæ præsedie Ecclesiæ. Contra hunc *Bonifacium* ordinato *Eulatio*, et per hoc dissidente Ecclesiæ, ambo jussu Honorii Augusti, urbe egrediuntur, et sic reprobato *Eulatio*, jussu Augusti, *Bonifacius*, quia prius ordinatus fuerat, sedi Apostolicæ restituitur. De divisione Romanorum civium in electione Pontificum per Imperatores ex Francis adnihilata, ita legitur: *Otto primus Joannem*, quem *Adalbertus* Papam constituerat, judicio Canonico deponi fecit, et *Leonem* ordinari fecit; et iste *Joannes* se cum uxorē cuiusdam oblectans, a diabolo percussus est, ac sine viatico mortuus. Post reditum *Ottonis*, Romani ex ambitione quendam *Benedictum* superposuerunt. Imperator rediens, oblecta Roma, Romanos cæde et fame adeo afflixit, ut *Leonem* Papam se recepturos promitterent, et jurarent: *Benedictus* rejectus non solum Papatu, sed etiam sacerdotio, a *Leone* exordinatur. Idem *Benedictus* Simoniacæ Papatu Romano invaso, cum esset rudis

literarium

a Mat. 6. 22, 23

b Johan. 18. 27

c Mat. 13. 27

Mat. 17. 24, 25

26. c. 22. 17, 18

d Rom. 13.

1 Pet. 2. 13. 14.

e Mat. 5. 9.

f 1 Tim. 2. 2, 3.

literarum, alterum ad vices Ecclesiastici officii erequendas, secum Papam consecrari fecit. Quod cum multis non placeret, tertius superducitur, qui vices duorum expleret Romæ. Uno itaque contra duos, & duobus contra unum de Papatu altercantibus, Rex Henricus filius Chonradi, contra eos Romam vadit: et eis Canonica et Imperiali censura depositis, Swyggerus Babenbergensis Episcopus, qui et Clemens, Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cxvi præsedit: et ab eo Rex Henricus ad Imperatorem benedictus est, jurantibus Romanis, se sine ejus consensu, ejusque successorum, nunquam Papam electuros. Igitur hæc scandala gravia pastores animarum cavere debent, coram Deo, in vera simplicitate, propter pusillos. Ex quo Imperium Romanorum Carolo Magno acclamatum est, sunt anni trecenti et unum, est autem annus præsens, Millesimus centesimus nonus, quando ultimum Pascha fuit ab incarnatione Domini, secundum Cyclum Dionysii.

* Catalog.
Testium Veri-
tatis, Appendix
P. 53.

I shall hereunto adde * Flacius Illyricus his *Argumentum Libelli* præfixed to this Treatise of *Waltramus*.

Hildebrandus ille, de quo ex historia Bennonis superius plura scribuntur, Cluniacensis sectæ monachus, demum artibus suis post annum Christi MLXXIV. Pontificatum Romanum obtinuerat sub Gregorio septimi nomine: nullo tamen Romani Imperatoris, qui tunc Henricus quartus erat, consensu accedente. Quod quidem ut contrarius sacrosanctæ Catholicae Ecclesiæ esset, atque juribus autoritatisque Imperii multum derogare videretur, sic Reip. maximam calamitatem peperit. Statim enim quibusdam Symoniaca hæresis quaestis calumniis, Principibus Romanis potestatem conferendi Ecclesiastica officia eripere tentabat: quam Imperatores ab eo tempore quo in Germania Christus predicari cœperat, habuerant integram. Papa autem causa caput ab ipso Imperatore inchoans, omnia miscebat: cum bellis occupatus Augustus, iniitiis obstare non posset: at q̃ Conciliis, quæ Papa hinc indicabat, consulto interesse nollet. Hinc in ipsum insidia firmabantur, adde ut & de vita periclitaretur. Quibus non succedentibus, aperta vi grassabatur in Imperatorem ambitiosus Pontifex, ac summissis inauguratisque demum tyrannis supplicem sibi reddidit. Tandem devictis tyrannis, & Hildebrandum ipsum solio dejecit Augustus, cujus tamen victoria tantum non fuit, quo minus Victor & Urbanus, insequentes duo Pontifices eo etiam invito Romanam sedem ascenderent: Clemente, quem ipse ad eandem dignitatem intulisset, excluso. A Paschali deinde exagitatus Imperator, atq̃ ab Henrico V. filio, quem Pontifex instigaverat, & imperio et vita spoliatus, dum Pontifex odio adhuc flagrans, investiendi Episcoporum jus imperatoribus nititur extorquere: quapropter variae de hac re hinc inde habentur consultationes, diversis in locis congregantur Concilia, doctorumque virorum ingenia seriis disputationibus exercentur; inter quos Waltramus hic, Namburgensis Episcopus, hunc quem damus Libellum exaravit. Pontifex autem ambitiosissimus, qui auctoritatem suam omnibus modis amplificare studebat, nullius acquiescens consiliis, captus tandem, & vix liberatus, Henrico privilegia Francorum Imperatorum confirmavit: cujus confirmationis exempla apud Marianum Scotum, Nauclerum, atque alios permultis in historiis extant. Statim verò post discessum Imperatoris, Pontifex retractavit quod concesserat, Privilegium nominans; quo i scripto adiderat: quæquam morte præventus, quod moliretur exequi, atque ipsius successor Gelasius dignitatem, quam inconsulto Imperatore invaserat, retinere non posset. Atqui Calixtus, qui ex Burgundiaca familia Papa effectus, minis, diviſq̃ abstentionibus, irrisum omnibus Imperatorem reddidit: & ita terruit, ac nescio quo consanguinitatis vinculo enervavit, ut maximo, ac adhuc nunquam deleta Germaniæ ac Imperii totius dedecore, jus investiendi Pontificis condonaret; inque apud Wormaciam ad Rhenum in campo quodam spaciocissimo proclamare juberet. Literis insuper conscriptis & obſignatis, quas Pontificii postea Romæ in victoria signum, et triumphatæ Germaniæ testimonium publicè in æde Apostoli Petri suspenderunt. Of which more in its due place.

a Cent. Magd.
12. c. 9. de Syn-
odis, col. 1235
1237, 1240,
1245, 1246,
1250, & c. 1255
1256. Krantzii
Metropol. l. 5.
c. 33, & c. Sa-
xoniar. l. 5. c. 30.
Chronicon
Cassinese, l. 4.
c. 35. 47. Otto
Frisingensis, l.
7. c. 14. Ab-
bas Vſpergenſ.
Chronicon, Dr
Barns & Balæ-
us in Paschali
3.

Pope Paschal the 2d. (as I formerly touched) having in the respective [a] Councils of Rome, Mentz, Treca, Beneventum, Lateran, passed several Decrees against Clergymens receiving any Investitures to Bishopricks, or other Ecclesiastical preferments from the hands of the Emperor, or any other secular Prince or Layman, and revoked the Priviledge he had granted to Henry the 5th. though ratified both by his Charter and Oath; yea and the Sacred Hostias reception in these words, then

then uttered by this Pope himself to the Emperor; * *Domine, hic est Dominus Deus q̄ noster, ex Maria Virgine natus, pro nobis in crucem actus, sicut sacrosanctus Christianorum cœus credit; accipe pignus bæ amicitiæ, quo reconciliati sumus: sicut hæc pars vivifici corporis divisa est, ita divisus sit a regno Christi Domini nostri qui pactum hoc violare tentaverit.* Soon after he endeavoured (such was his atheistical, transcendent, execrable Papal perjury) by all possible means to dethrone this Emperor as he had done his father, upon the self-same quarrel of *Investitures*, and to stir up a rebellion against him. To which end *Adelbertus* Archbp. of *Mentz*, with the other * forementioned Bishops present in the Council of *Latean* (most perfidiously betraying the rights of the Emperor & those Christian Kings who had both endowed and advanced them freely to their dignities, to this ambitious perjured Pope) *Soluto Concilio Pontifici Legati emissi sunt in omnes Nationes ut Excommunicationem in Henricum Imperatorem publicarent, denunciarentque, Privilegium Henrico datum de Investitura Episcoporum, in Concilio revocatum atque damnatum esse: Præsul Romanus suis artibus cælum, terramq̄, quasi concitans non quiescens adversus Imperatorem.* Anno Dom. 1115. this Pope sent *Dieterichus* a Cardinal, his Legat into *Germany*, there to proclaim the Excommunication thundred against the Emperor in this Council; with whom the Bishops of *Magdeburgh*, *Mentz*, and other Bishops, Nobles, Creatures of this Pope, confederating, stirred up the *Saxons* with other Nations against the Emperor: who being reduced to great straits by these sedifragous Conspirators, summoned a Diet of the Princes, Bishops, & States of *Germany* to meet at *Mentz*, promising a most free audience of all parties, a liberal satisfaction if he had injured any, and a reformation if he had youthfully offended in any thing, by the advice and Decree of this Council. (b) *Sed Romanus Papa Cæsar, atque ejus Socii Episcopi, factis clamoribus Principum aures obtruderunt, minisque Excommunicationis a Synodo promulgatz, quasi catenis quibusdam constrinxerant, ut ad eum Conventum non veniret. Pauci igitur Episcopi Imperatori ad sunt, trebentes ad Pontificis fulmina. Ipsi quoque Moguntini Cives ab Ecclesiasticis inflammati, (præsertim cum ob perfidiam Archiepiscopus suus ab Imperatore captivus d'neretur) correptis armis, in ipsam Magistratus summi Curiam irruunt, eadem omnibus perquam horrenlis clamoribus intentantes. Cæsar Henricus tanta urgente calamitate, pollicetur se facilius quodcumque posulissent. Petunt autem liberationem sui Archiepiscopi: quo impetrato, indomitum vulgus tanquam tempestas illico subsidit ac sedatur. Sic Magistratus ille suus; Romanis artibus turbata Ecclesia et politia, contumeliose tractatur, Moguntia discedit.* The Archbishop being released and restored to his See, *mor sese totum Præsul Romano mancipat, incendiumq̄ publicum quantis potest viribus fovet et auget;* To which purpose he invited the Popes Legat by his own and other Bishops Letters to publish the Popes commands and Excommunication against the Emperor in a Council at *Mentz*, and to perfect his consecration to that See, without requiring the Emperors consent thereto, placing all his confidence in the most potent Imperial Pope, *quem videbat cælum terra impunè miscere posse, longeque plus valere Papæ fulmen, quam Cæsaris gladium; qui Spiræ cum paucis Principibus & Episcopis sese continet, acerbè ferens & observans quæ Coloniz agebantur.* The Popes Legat suddenly deceasing before the Excommunication published, the Emperor thereupon sent the Bishop of *Wirtzburg* to *Colen* to treat with these insolent Prelates, who would not admit nor hear him, till he had reconciled himself to them, and promised to approve the sentence of the Synod; who thereupon retiring to the Emperor without effecting any thing, was compelled to say *Masse* before him; *ea peracta mox ad hostes Henrici omnino iterum defecit;* Such was the treachery of those Popish German Prelats to this Emperor who advanced them: *Cam superbe itaque repulsus (c) Imperator et excommunicatus in Italiam, Eurozibus Ecclesiasticorum et Principum cessurus cum regina totaque familia sese confert, cum Papa Cæsare, si qua ratione posset, reconciliationem tractaturus:* Where staying an whole year, he employed the Abbot of *Clunzy* to mediate a reconciliation between him and the Pope; *Sed superbus & durus Paschalis difficillimum sese prabet, tandemque Synodum Romæ instituit.* Wherein the Pope declaring the principal cause of calling this Synod, confessed he had done ill in granting the priviledge of *Investitures* to the Emperor, desiring their prayers to God to pardon this his trans-

[Uu]

* Sigeberti Chronicon An. 1112. f. 133, 134. Aventinus, l. 6. p. 487. Sigonius De Regno Italiz, l. 10. p. 248. Morney Hist. Papatus, p. 281.

* Here p. 331, 332.

b Cent. Magde 12. c. 9. col. 1255, 1256. Abbas Ulspersensis Chron. Anno 1115, 1116. Hermoldus Chron. Slavorum, l. 1. c. 41.

c Ulspersensis Chronicon, An. 1116. Tritemius in Chr. Hist. Augiensis. Cent. Magd. 12. c. 9. col. 1256, 1257. Blondus Decad. 9. l. 4. Kraetzii Saxonia l. 6. c. 37, 38: Dr. Barnes in Paschali 2. Sigonius De Regno Italiz, l. 10. p. 250, 251, 252.

gression:

gression: superadding, *Illud malum scriptum, quod in tentoriis factum est, quod pro pravitate sua Privilegium dicitur, condemnio sub perpetuo anatematate, ut nullius sit unquam bonæ memoriæ, et rogo vos omnes ut idem faciatis.* Tunc ab universis acclamatum est (as in the former Synod) *Fiat, Fiat.* Bruno autem Signinus Episcopus, alius exorsus est, gratias agens Omnipotenti Deo, quod Dominum Paschalem Papam, qui præsentis Concilio præsidet, audivimus proprio ore condemnantem illud privilegium, quod pravitatem et hæresin continebat. Ad hæc quidam ex æstantibus Episcopis subjunxit; Si privilegium illud hæresin continebat, Ergo qui illud scripsit hæreticus fuit. Johannes autem Cajetanus ad hæc commotus, Signivo respondit: Tu ne hic, & in Concilio, nobis audientibus Romanum Pontificem appelles hæreticum? Scriptum quod fecit Dominus Papa, malum quidem fuit, sed hæresis non fuit. Et alter quidam adjecit, Imo nec malum dici debet, quia si liberare populum Dei bonum est, quod Dominus Papa fecit, bonum fuit: Sed liberare populum Dei bonum est, autoritate Evangelii, quia præcipimus, *animas quoque pro fratribus ponere. The Popes patience being awakened, and moved with this charge of Heresie, commanding silence with his hand, said; *Fratres & Domini mei audite; Ecclesia hæc nunquam habet hæresin, imo hic omnes hæreses conquassata sunt, &c.* On the 6. day of the Council, when as Cuno Prænstinus Episcopus frequently attempted to Excommunicate the Emperor therein, Johannes Cajetanus, and Petrus Leo, with some other of the Emperors friends resisted him to his face, and restrained him with these words: *Ecclesia primitiva martyrum tempore floruit apud Deum, & non apud homines; Deinde ad fidem conversi sunt Reges, Imperatores, Romani Principes, qui matrem suam Ecclesiam sicut boni filii honestaverunt, conferendo Ecclesia Dei prædia, & allodia, seculares honores & dignitates, regalia quoque jura & insignia, quemadmodum Constantinus caterique fideles; & cepit Ecclesia florere tam apud homines, quam apud Deum. Habeat ergo mater & Domina nostra Ecclesia sibi à Regibus sive Principibus collata, dispenset & tribuat ea filiis suis, & sicut scit, & sicut vult.* Notwithstanding which opposition, Paschalis Privilegium Investituræ, quod in tentoriis concessisse videbatur, obliterare volens, iterans sententiam Papæ Gregorii Septimi, investituram Ecclesiasticarum rerum a Laica manu rursus excommunicavit sub anathemate dantis & accipientis; Hereupon Cardinalis vero Dominus Cuno Prænstinus, talem Papæ fecit inductionem Legationis suæ, & contra disturbatores præsentis negotii competentem; Domine Pater, si tuæ placet Majestati, si vere tuus fui Legatus, & quæ feci tibi placent esse rata, in auribus Sancti hujus præsentis Concilii ore tuo edicto, & Legationem meam tua Authoritate corrobora, ut sciant omnes, quia tu me misisti. Ad hæc Apostolicus respondens, ait; Vere Legatus ex latere nostro missus fuisti, & quicquid tu caterique fratres nostri, Cardinales, Episcopi, Legati Dei & Apostolorum Petri & Pauli hujus sedis, & nostra Authoritate fecerunt, confirmaverunt, probaverunt, ego quoque probe & confirmo, quicquid damnaverunt damno. Et Dominus Prænstinus consequenter subjunxit, qualiter pro sedis illius Legatione Hierosolymis audierit, Regem Heinricum post Sacramenta, obides & oscula, in ipsa beati Petri Ecclesia Dominum Papam tenuisse captum, indigne tractatum, potiora Ecclesiæ membra, Cardinales videlicet, erutos, tractos, et male tractatos, Nobiles quoque Romanos occisos et captivos, et populorum stragem factam, audiens, ingemuerit, et pro hujusmodi facinoribus Ecclesiæ Hierosolymitanæ consilio et zelo Dei animatus, excommunicationis sententiam in Regem dixerit, et eandem in Græcia, Ungaria, Saxoniam, Lotharingia, Francia, in quinque Conciliis, consilio prædictarum Ecclesiarum, renovando confirmavit. Orare se demum, ut sicut Dominus Papa Legationem suam confirmasset, ita præsentis Concilii Patres & Episcopi concorditer annuerent. Ad eundem modum Legati, & litteræ Domini Viennensis postulabant. Dum tali ratione et ordine, tam variz & dissonæ multitudinis assensus exquiratur, à saniori parte veritati & aperta rationi nihil contradicendum, a paucis submurmuratum, ab Episcopis vel Abbatibus nullo modo reclamatum.

d Chronicon,
Anno 1116,
1117, Chronicon Bambergense, Centur. Magd. 12. col. 1160. Dr. Barnes in Paschali 1.

The Emperors Excommunications being thus ratified by the Pope & Council, the sad consequences thereof are thus recorded by *Abbas Wispergensis and others. Hinc factiones exitire, altera alterius agros vastare capis, maxime vero Herbipolenfis Diocesis per Conradum Ducem (qui Imperatoris frater erat,) affligebatur; ac denique cun-

Et.

Et a fere loca armis infecta erant. Igni oleum Moguntinus, qui serpente pejus Imperatorem oderat, addidit, Imperatoris fidelibus quacunq; ratione pterat, malum creans. Seditioes crebrae, ejectiones Praesulum, Castellorum demolitio- nes, confictus, caedes mutuae, oppresiones pauperum in frequen- ti usu fuere, et neque par Dei, caeteraque Sacramentis firmata pa- cata custodiuntur: sed uniuscujusque conditionis & aetatis, praeter solos Ecclesiasticae professionis homines, quibus jam penè nihil praeter miseram restabat vitam, caeteri hoc tempore belluino furore bacchantur.

The Emperor thus still vexed, excommunicated by this Luciferian Pope & his Pre- lates, without any hopes of reconciliation by all his amicable Treaties, being tyred out with Papal delays, & exasperated by new affronts, resolved to recover his right, & work out his peace by force of armes. *In pursute whereof, Heinricus tantam incle- mentiam Papae agerrime ferens, exercitum conscripto, ipsemet Romam contendit, armis discre- turus quod summa subjectione, & quotidianis precibus obtinere non poterat. Sed Papa id ani- madvertens, sese in pedes coniecit, atque in Apuliam fugiens, ibi Rogerium contra Impe- ratorem impellit. Dum itaque Romae Imperator est, in Apulia denno suos convocat, quiesci non assuefactus Paschalis; & primum quidem fulminibus suis Acheronta movet, deinde Rogerium hastis atque gladiis cruentis in Heinricum armat; who thought to surprise the Emperor at unawares; but being prevented by the Emperors sodain collecting of his forces, resolving to give him battel, he retreated with the Pope into Apulia. The Emperor often petitioned the Pope to absolve him from his Excommu- nications, but he still affirmed he could not do it without the consent of the Bishops who concurred with him in the sentence, and that in a Synod, where both parties might be heard, the Bishops by their Letters urging him to continue it. During these delays, the Emperor retrying with his forces from Rome into Germany, to suppress the Insurrections there raised against him by the Archbishop of Mentz and other Pre- lates and Confederates of the Pope; Paschal thereupon returned to Rome, and repos- sessed himself of St. Peters Church; whither the Emperor marching with a great Army to chastise him, Paschal soon after breathed forth his seditious Antichristian spirit.

During these contests between the Emperor and Paschal concerning Investitures, there fell out this Quarrel between the King of France and him. About the year 1108. Pope Paschal presiding in the Synod of Treca in France, therein publish- ed some Decrees against the Kings antient rights of Investitures, and Bishops Oaths, Homages, Fealty to him. In pursuance whereof, he presumed to make Richard Archdeacon of Virodune, Archbishop of Rhemes, to withdraw him from the Em- perors party, and confirm his usurped Papal authority in France: which preferment Richard refusing, being made Bishop of Verdune by the Emperor, Paschal thereupon constituted Rudolphus Archbishop of Rhemes, by his own Papal authority, without the consent of King Lewis the Grosse, then newly come to the Crown, and involved in wars with his Barons: who thereupon taking possession of the Archbishoprick, King Lewis on the contrary, created Gervasius Archbishop, Et Archiepiscopatu Rheimensi pro suo jure investit: The City hereupon receiving Gervasius for their Archbishop, was interdicted and excommunicated by Paschal, who employed Yvo Carnotensis, to mediate with King Lewis, to remove Gervasius as an intruder, re- ceive Rudolphus into his royal favour, and grant him leave to enjoy the Archbisho- prick. The King at last, upon Yvo his solicitation, concessit ut cum ad Curiam suam, qua Aurelianis in Natali Domini congreganda erat, Rudolphum secure adduceremus, & ibi cum eo & Principibus regni de hoc negotio, quantum fieri posset, salva Regni integri- tate, tractaremus. But what the issue of this Treaty was, Yvo himself thus relates in his Epistle to Pope Paschal. Sed reclamante Curia, plenariam pacem impetrare ne- quivimus, nisi praedictus Metropolitani per manus et Sacramen- tum eam fidelitatem Regi faceret, quam praedecessoribus suis Re- gibus Francozum antea fecerant omnes Rhemozum Archiepiscopi, et caeteri Regni Francozum, quamlibet Religiosi et sancti Episcopi: Whereupon Yvo made this request to Paschal; Petimus ergo flexis genibus, ut hoc eo- dem intuitu charitatis & pacis. veniale habeat paterna moderatio, quod illicitum facit non aeterna lex (Dei) sed intentione acquirendae libertatis praesidentium (Pontificum) sola prohibito. So that this great Bishop and Canonist Yvo, deemed Kings investing of Bishops, and Bishops Oaths, Fealty made to Princes, constantly pra-

* Aventinus, Balzus, and o- thers forecited.

a Yvo Carno- tensis Epistola 196, 238, 239. Morney Histo- ria Papatus, p. 286, 287. Ri- chardus de Vas- samburg in Chronico.

* Yvo Carno-
tensis Epist.
238, 239

* Epistola 238.

b Epist. 62. &
171. Decreta-
lium, pars 16.
c 344.

c Capitularia
Caroli Magni
& Ludovici, c.
383. Concili-
um Toletan.
12. c. 3. Pithou
Preuves des Li-
bertez de L'ég-
lise Gallicane,
c. 5, 6. p. 31,
32, 33, &c.

* ideo.

As sed ever before & at that time by all the holy & religious Archbishops & Bishops of France, no wayes unlawfull by Gods Law, but by Popes meer prohibitions: Which he likewise * asserted against John Bishop of Lions, and Hugo the Popes Legate in France, who expostulating, that this King had invelted the Archbp. of Sienna against the Popes Decretals, Ivo declared it to be no Heresie nor crime (as Popes deemed it) *cum hoc nullam vim Sacramenti in constituendo Episcopo, vel admissum, vel omissum, quod fidei & religioni officiat, habeat, cum Reges nihil spirituale se dare inten dant, sed tantum votis petentium annuere, & bona exteriora, qua de munificentia Regum obtinent Ec- cl-sia, ipsis electis conceder.* &c. Whereupon he made this supplication and gave this good advise to Pope Paschal, (who attempted Hermanensem Episcopatum à Noviodu- nensi distrahere, without the Kings royal assent:) * *Nos sicut filii & fideles, rogamus & consulimus, ut statum Ecclesiarum Gallia, qua quadringentis ferme annis duravit, in- concussum manere concedatis; ne hac occasione Schisma, quod est in Germanico Regno adversus sedem Apostolicam, in Galliarum regno suscitetur.* Nam enim Paternitas vestra, quod cum Regnum & Sacerdotium inter se conveniunt, bene regitur mundus, floret & fructificat Ecclesia: Cum vero inter se discordant, non tantum parva res non crescunt, sed etiam maxime res miserabiliter di- labantur; whereupon this Pope made no further progresse in these Usurpations.

This * Yvo Carnotensis asserts the Supremacy of Kings as well in Ecclesiasticals as Temporals; That they ought not to be excommunicated; That if they receive any Excommunicate persons into their royal favor and protection, the Bishops, Priests and people ought to absolve and receive them into their Communion; *Dispositiones rerum temporalium Regibus attributa sunt, & Basilei, id est, fundamentum populi et caput existunt: Si aliquando potestate sibi concessa abutuntur, non sunt a Nobis gravi- ter exasperandi, sed ubi Sacerdotum admonitionibus non acquieverint, divino iudicio sunt referendi,* (not to the Popes tribunal) *ubi tanto districtius sunt puniendi, quan- to minus fuerint divinis admonitionibus obnoxii; unde habetur in libro Capitulorum Re- galium auctoritate Episcoporum constitutorum.* Si quos culpatorum Regia potestas aut in gratiam benignitatis receperit, aut mensæ suæ participes effecerit, his etiam Sa- cerdotum et populorum conventus suscipere in Ecclesiastica communione debet, *ut quod principalis pietas recipit, nec a Sacerdotibus Dei alienum habeatur.* Upon which account Yvo thus justified his reception of Gervasius, an Excommuni- cated person, *ad communionem in Paschali Curia: Pro regia honorificentia hoc feci, fretus auctoritate Legis prædictæ,* which he there recites; thus ratified and prefaced in his Decretals, and in the 12. Council of Toledo. *Vidimus quosdam & flevimus ex nu- mero culpatorum receptos in gratiam Principum, extorres extitisse a Collegio Sacerdotum; quod notabile malum illa res agit, quia Licentia principalis, in qua se solvi licentius curat, ibi alios alligat, & quos in suam communionem videtur suscipere, à communione & pace Ecclesia eligit separare, & qui cum illa convalescant, sola Sacerdotum communione priventur.* Et ideo quia remissior alium qui contra Regem, gentem vel patriam agunt, per definitiones Canonum antiquorum in pote-estate solum regia ponitur, cui et peccasse noscuntur, * *adeo nulla se deinceps a talibus abstinere Sacerdotum communio;* Sed quos regia potestas aut in gratiam benignitatis receperit, aut participes mensæ suæ effece- rit, hos etiam sacerdotum ac populorum conventus suscipere in Ecclesiasticam com- munionem debet; ut quod Principalis pietas habet acceptum, neque à Sacerdoti- bus Dei habeatur extraneum. This was the received practice both of the Churches, Realms of France, Spain, and of England too, (as the learned French Advocate Pi- erre Pithou proves at large, by several Histories, Presidents, Authorities,) before and under Pope Gregory, Urban, and Paschal the 2. whose excommunications of the Emperors Henry 3. & 4. and their adherents, by all these resolutions, were meerly uncanonical, and voyd, by this approved antient Law, which gave Emperors and Kings power to absolve their Excommunicated Subjects, and exempted them- selves much more from Excommunications, which Priviledge the French Kings Cler- gy strenuously maintained against this usurping Pope Paschal; who though he mis- carried in his Design of stripping the Emperor and King of France of their right of Investitures, yet he so terrified the King of Hungary with his Thunderbolts, that after a great Schism and contention between them, *Litteris graviter scriptis renun- ciavit Pontifici Investituras Episcoporum & aliorum Pralatorum;* as the

^a Century

^a Century Writers inform us out of *Martini Capel*. But these Letters being not extant, we cannot resolve upon what terms, or how farre he quitted this his ancient indubitable Prerogative royal, to this Pope.

^a Cent. Magd.
12. c. 8. col.
1133.

Before I proceed to the next Popes Contests with the Emperor, I cannot but inform you what censure ^b *Siebertus Gemblacensis Monachus* (living and dying under Pope *Paschal*, in the year of Christ, 1112.) hath given in his Chronicle of this Controversie between the Emperors and Popes about the right of Investitures.

^b Chronicon
Editione Fran-
cosurti 1566. f.
133, 134.

Anno 1111. *Henricus Rex Romam vadis propter sedandam discordiam que erat inter Regnum & Sacerdotium, qua caput a Papa Gregorio septimo, qui & Hildebrandus nominatus est, et eragitata a successoribus eius Victore & Urbano, et per omnibus a Paschali, magno scandalo erat toto mundo. Rex autem uti * volens auctoritate et consuetudine et auctoritatibus privilegiis Imperatorum, qui a Carolo Magno, qui post de Regibus Francorum imperavit Romanis, jamque per trecentos et eo amplius annos imperaverant sub 63 Apostolicis, dabat licite Episcopatus et Abbatias, et per Annulum et per Virgam. Contra hanc majorum auctoritatem censebant Papæ Synodali judicio, non posse nec debere dari per Virgam vel per Annulum Episcopatum, aut aliquam Ecclesiasticam Investituram a Laicali manu, et quicumque ita Episcopatum, aut aliam Ecclesiastici juris Investituram accipiebant, excommunicabantur; Propter hanc præcipue causam Rex Romam tendebat.* After which he reciteth the ^c forementioned Charter and Oath of Pope *Paschal* and his Cardinals, confirming this ancient right of Investitures to the Emperor, and their pertidious violations thereof, upon which many prodigies and calamities ensued. I shall hereunto subjoyn these passages out of ^d *Joannes Aventinus*, relating the original and progresse of the Contests between this Emperor, Pope *Paschal* and his predecessors touching Investitures.

* misprinted
notens.

^c Here, p. 330.

^d Annalium
Boiorum, l. 6.
p. 480, 485,
486, 490.

*Per triginta tres annos a Gregorio & Urbano continenter sanguine ovium belligratus est, &c. donec Augustum Paschalis per filium Henricum a fastigio rerum in privatum statum deturbavit, pollicens se in Germaniam ad Convantum solemnem Augustam Rheinæ venturum. Dumque eo contendit, certior sit de morte Augusti (Henr. 4.) ad Padum ergo substitit, atque coacto sua partis Catu, acta Gregorii Urbanique comprobata, Clementis tertii, ceterorum Episcoporum atque Augusti rescindit; pollicui Religionem, si quispiam sacrificus suffragio prophano cooptatus fuerit, fidemve principi dederit. Necessè est cuiusvis Christiano in Romani Pontificis leges jurare, decernit, &c. Proinde debere homines consideratius jam loqui cum illo, atque pro legibus habere quæ dicat. Quisquid adversus Romanum Senatum Pontificalem se extulerit, contundendum esse decernit. Convantu peracto ad Casarem Legatos cum mandatis mittit, se in Germaniam venturum, ubi de summis utriusque rebus colloquatur, promittit. Inde Romam ipse, at Caesar Reginoburgum ad hyemandum petit, adventum Paschalis præstolatur. Verum is se in Gallias Cluniacum confert. Postea Augustobonæ in Trecaillorum, & Galliarum Lugdunensis Urbe, conciliato sibi Galliarum Episcoporum favore, ad captandum plebis auram, leges turbulentissimas rogat atque perfert. Casarem de creandis Pontificibus ad disquisitionem vocat: ipsum Pontificibus Comitibus excludit; ea ad Plebem transfert, nempe communem omnium Pastorem, communiter omnium suffragio capiendum esse statuit; pollicui religionem, si quispiam sacris addictus cælestis atque immortalis Imperatoris Cæremoniarum consortis sit, terreno atque mortali Regi se in Clientelam atque servitutem dicaverit. Sacerdotiorum administrationem ad Pont. Max. armorum ad Casarem pertinere. A singulis igitur Episcopis iurandum exactum, futuros in potestate Romani Pont. Hereupon the Emperor *Henry* the 5. in defence of his ancient Imperial Rights and Jurisdiction against these Papal encroachments, by his publike Proclamations declared, & per Edicta ita obnunciavit, Non licere Gallis curiosis, aliena, quæ nihil ad eos attinent, curare; cuiuslibet facile esse de alieno largiri. Christiani orbis Imperium sibi a Deo Opt. Max. impositum esse; proinde se de veteri more, et ri-*

* See here, p.
325.

tu

tu prisce Religionis, sacris supremæ Majestatis placitis non defuturum, daturumque jure suo operam, ne quid Respublica detrimenti capiat. Extare vetustissimam Sanctissimorum Patrum Legem tempore Caroli Magni perlatam, qua Paschalis, atque cum eo sentientes, per omnium Sacerdotum religiones deoventur, atque proscribuntur. Nullo pacto fas jusque esse fastuoso Pontifici, levissimis Gallis, magis superstitiosis, quam Religiosis, tot divos, tot pientissimos Pontifices maximos, minores Mystas, Monachos, Reges, Imperatores, Superos atque Cælitæ impietatis condemnare; se quoad vita suppetat, non passurum, ut instituta a majoribus accepta, per tot annos hactenus observata, fraude et astu paucorum, cum maximo Christianorum morum perniciæ, obliterentur, Pontifices, Episcopos, mystas, Monachos ab Imperatoribus, atque Regibus collocupletatos esse; ubi his pares opibus facti sunt, more perditorum, quo plura donata fuerint, plura concupiscere, illi q; sordere prima quæq; ubi majora sperarint: Titulo honesto libertatis Ecclesiasticæ, fraudulentos homines grassari, illud conari ut se excluso, paulatim etiam populum, Sacerdotes, Episcopos alios in ordinem atque servitutem tandem redigant, atque arma in eis, quorum beneficia possident, ne hac aliquo pacto repeti queant, vertant. Pontifices Romanos orbis Imperium animo cogitare, Regnum Christiani populi adfectare, non quieturos, donec oppresso Cæsare omnibus jugum servitutis, quod ipsi excussere, imponant. Christi cruciamenta declarare quenam sit rabies *sacerdotum, adversus immodicam concupiscentiam, cui semel animus deoverit, nullum stare terminum; se pæne impuberem, imperitum omnium rerum ab illis egregiis Pastoribus dolo circumventum in Patrem Charissimum concitatum esse, armaque horum consilio sumpsisse. Nunc genitore oppresso adversus se conspirasse, neque modum ambitioni ponere nisi alios omnes dignitate, honore expolient, et, quo ipsis quicquid habeat, liceat, ab singulis juramentum, se futuros in eorum potestate; quicquid illi dicant, pro legibus habituros, atque tandem pro Deo adoraturus, erigant. In hanc sententiam multæ ultro citroque datæ sunt Epistolæ. Novissimè Cæsar rescriptit: Quamvis veterem consuetudinem atque ritum a tot sanctissimis Patribus per tot annos observatum, jure atque armis retinere possit, nihil tamen sua referre, si Pontificalibus Comitibus excidat; modo Episcopi, mystæ, Monachi prædia stipendiaria, piscos, nervos Reipub. Arces, Civitates, Urbes, oppida, Vicos Regios, Castella, Respublica atque Cæsari reddant, Decimis contenti vivant, Dei & pauperum, populi que causam, Philosophiam divinam interpretando, vota illustrando, Crucem Christi præferendo agant, atque Universis Christianis paupertatem atque simplicitatem Servatoris nostri, & Comitum ejus emulando, præluceant. Convenit itaque inter Pontificem Max. atque Cæsarem, uti Sacerdotes, Flamines, Pontifices Maximi, Minores, medioximi, omnis hujusmodi Respublica, (ut Christus Magister noster appellat) spinis, victu parabili ac parco contenti, Christi præceptoris nostri quoad liceat modestiam, paupertatem sectentur, studio literarum operam navent. Atque ad hanc legem promulgandam jam Paschalis Romam ex Galliis redierat; where forgetting, rescinding all his premised Promises, Charter, Oaths, Obligations to the Emperor, (recited by Aventinus) he stirs up all the German Prelates, (whereof the Archbishop of Mentz was the ring-leader) to conspire and rebell against him, when he expected nothing but Peace and Unity.

* Mat. 26. 14,
15. 47, 57, 59,
to 69. c. 27. 1,
20. c. 41. John
c. 18, & 19.

Nota.

d Aventinus
l. 6. p. 489,
490.

* See Carolus
Sigonius de
Regno Italix,
l. 2. p. 252.

Hereupon, d Alberto Moguntino Pontifice auctore, plerique Proceres & Sacerdotes, maxime Saxones, adversus Imperatorem conspirant, domum jugum excussuri remeant. Augustus indicio ad se delato, Albertum Moguntinum in vincula conjicit. Unde elapsus, ad Saxones se confert. Fridericus quoque Agrippinensis Episcopus cum Civibus rebellionem facit. Gotofridus atque Hainricus Lutharæ inferioris duces, imperata etiam detrectant. * Pleraque tum prodigia bellum Civile portendisse in fastos relatum est; sanguine pluit, lavans caput cruore manus pollutas invenit; terra intremuit; Urbes, Domus everse; Dormitantes noctu cubilibus excussi sunt. Tonitrua, fulgura crebra morales attonitos fecerunt. Dira grando segetes, homines, pecora attrivit. Leodii subito tranquillo aere turbo coortus fulmine tres Sacerdotes comprecantes in Templo, vespere pridie ejus diei qua Christus triumphabundus calos conscendit, extinxit; mœnia, ades subvertit, fator

fator pestilens subsequutus est. Nubes soluta, fluminumque more effusa, pecudes, casas, villas cum hominibus aquis opernere; Nubes sanguinea, crux, homo candens in calo visus, exitum Orbi terrarum adventasse credebant. Rursus Germania in sua viscera ferum convertit. Solum Fridericus & Conradus, hic Franciæ, alter Sueviæ regulus, & Godefridus præfatus pratorio Rheni Imperatoris tuebantur partes. **Cæteri omnes jugum excutunt, sabunt, cuncta incendiis, cæde complentur.** Urbes, oppida, Vici, Arces, Castella diripiuntur, ad egestatem & solitudinem rediguntur, licentiaque & consuetudine belli civilis, grassatores plurimi, passim Villas, Civitates, itinera obsident, Viatores, Cives, Rusticos, Sacerdotes, sine discrimine spoliant, sana donis referta expilant. Dum hac in Germania sunt, Legati Calojoannis, qui Alexio Parenti successerat Imp. Constantinopolitani (taking advantage of these divisions and Civil wars between the German Emperor, Pope, and their adherents) Romam venire & honorificentissime excepti sunt. Romani eisdem ad quintum lapidem officii gratia obviam procedunt. Postridie Pont. Max. Sacerdotes, Senatum, Populum, acturos de communium salute, atque libertate Urbis Regine Mundi, in Templum Constantini coire jubet. Legati Orientalis Imperatoris introducti, super omnes ad dextram Paschalis collocantur. Deinde paucissimis ita verba faciunt; Salutat Universos orbis terrarum Dominus Imperator Orientalis, postulatque, ut relictis infamis discordiis, furibundis, et ebriosis Germanis, sævisissimis prædonibus, qui famem et egestatem suam latrocinis explere coguntur, ad verum, antiquum et legitimum Imperatozem redeatis. Is non solum Ecclesiæ se propugnatozem præstabit, sed etiam viduas, pupillos, infirmumque quemque auro, argento, ditabit. Hæc ubi dicta, acclamatum est more gentis, Perplacet, reddamus diadema legitimo et antiquo rerum Romanarum Principi. Deficiamus a Teutonibus seditiosis et stolidis ad veterem Romani Imperii moderatozem; vetus Roma cum nova, Occidens cum Oriente rursus jungatur. Posthac Paschalis concionatur in Imp. Hainricum Quartum, atque ejus filium Quintum; crimina, injurias, vitia commemorat. Petrus Leon præfectus Urbis, Joannes Cajetanus, Hugo Cluniacensis antistes, cæteri pacis studiosi, obnunciant, clamant, perstre-punt, vociferantur, Paschalem maximo Respub. Italiæ, Romæ, omnium denique incommodo, contra fas atque æquum pacem eruere, fœdus dissolvere, pactum prævaricari, Christianam Religionem discordiæ malis scindere, atque polluere. Fit tumultus, Conventus dissolvitur. Postridie in eandem adem Episcopi partim Paschalis, vocato ad arma populo, frequentes obstinateque concurrunt, conflunt. At Paschalis excluso populo, accitis in Curiam quibusdam Flaminibus Italia, Sicilia, Gallie, Britanniæ Episcopis, maxime Conrado, Prænestino, Beluacensi, Rhemeni Episcopis, Legato Burgundiæ, quibus omnibus Potentia Germani Principis formidolosa erat, contra nitentibus pacis studiosis, ac statum temporum, perniciem communem, clades futuras, civilia arma, Christianorum necem, dissensiones, seditiones deplorantibus; in Imperatorem Hainricum Quintum concionatur, ingratum vocat, eundem a se patronum D. Petri nuncupatum, tamen cuncta cæde, incendiis, rapina, sacrilegio complexse, castella vi expugnasse commemorat. Alia convitia que ira suggestit, in Cæsarem jactat, sacrilegii, cædis, homicidii, latrocinii, tumultus concitati condemnat, (of which himself was principally guilty.) Deinde Hildebrandum atque Urbanum amplissimis verbis collaudat; acta eorum comprobat, Imperatozem, Prophanos quosque a rerum Divinarum cura, a Sacerdotiozum procuratione, ab opum Ecclesiasticarum rerumque ministracione, decreto submovet, Comitibus Pontificalibus arcet, excludit; omne jus interdicto Cæsari admittit, nullam ejus rationem in illiusmodi habendam censet; Pontificem Pax. * mendacii religione obstringi non posse (iterum) decernit, induciturque Priore decreto, diploma privilegiumque sibi captivo, vi atque armis in Castris sub Papilionibus a tyranno extortum, ut sua Roma à servitute atque sevitia immanissimorum Latronum liberaretur, Privilegium nuncupat, quod modo ratum erat, irritum facit; quod dictum, inditum est, contra sentientibus sacrificiis

* juramenti.

cis interdictum. Deinde *Friderico Agrippinensi, Conrado Juvavensi* Archiepiscopis scriptum, Imperatozem in numero impiozum computatum esse, e Curia Christianoꝝum submotum, et ad auxilium Ecclesiæ Romanæ invitantur illi *Archimystæ*. Extant Epistolæ atque hujusmodi quæ ego breviter perstringo, quemadmodum gesta sunt, servantur in *Bibliothecis* nostris, relata a quodam *Legato Augusti*, qui interfuit, & quid quoquo die a singulis dictum factumve fuerit, Imperatori renunciavit. Dumque talia in *Italia & Roma* fiunt, *Conradus Archimysta Boicorum* ad *Saxones* defecit. *Hugonem* Episcopum *Casarianum, Brixina* movet, *Renobertum* Monachorum *Saliburgensium* Præsulem sufficit. *Hainricum* quoque *Fruxinensem* Episcopum abdicare conatur. *Vischopagum*, alia templa, quæ is consecrarat, resecat: *Fruxinum* inde se confert, *Hainricum Paschalis* decreta refellentem dignitate moturus. *Utrum mystæ ejusdem Fani*, qui tum doctissimi omnium *Sacerdotum Germaniæ* censebantur, *Acta Paschalis*, velut sacris literis contraria rescindunt, *Conradum* erigunt. Qui a *Saliburgensibus* quoque exelusus in *Saxoniam* aufugit, *Saxonia* Proceres, *Episcopi, Archimystæ* hi, *Conradus Juvavensis, Albertus Mogontinus, Fridericus Agrippinensis, Theodoricus Legatus Paschalis* in *Agrippinensi Colonia* coeunt, *Augustum* et *Episcopos* ab eodem more et ritu *pyscæ religionis* in *Senatum Pontificalem* allectos, debobent, Imperatoꝝi hisque *Pastoribus* rebellantibus mandata detrectantibus, belligerantibus aduersus *Cæsarem*, veniam scelerum condonant, cælum aperiunt, cæteris claudunt. Fidem igitur servantes oppugnantur sub specie *Religionis*; stupra, incestus, sacrilegia passim committuntur; cædes, incendia impune fiunt. *Augustus* se quoque tutaturus *Agrippinam* *Coloniæ* petit, agris circa vastatis in *Saxoniam* tendit, cum *Saxonibus* contendit, *Segisfridus* ac *Horo Manovestra* Proceres *Saxonum* prælio succubere, atque occisi sunt. Inter hæc *Conradus* in *Francia* & ad *Danubium*, *Fridericus* in *Suevia* & juxta *Rhennum* sorore Imperatoris geniti, fortiter acta avunculi tutantur, *Emicho* dynasta partium *Alberti Sarobrigæ*, *Episcopi Mogontini*, authoris hujusce belli Civilis, a *Friderico* occiditur, *Stephanus Colomanni* Regis *Ungariæ* filius *Lupoldus Austriacus* cum *Duce Boemie Ladislao*, subsequuntur vestigia *Ungarorum* ad *Eylenostadium* progrediuntur: agris circum circa vastatis, incolomes revertuntur. In the mean time *Machtylda* (*Hildebrands* and *Paschals* grand Patroness) deceasing, a *Romano Episcopo* legavit, id quod patrimonium *Petri* nominant (being in truth the Emperors Patrimony, not *Peters*) tuncque vox calitis audita (uti a gravissimis accepi Theologis) *Uenenum melle litum feminam propinasse*. The Pope seising on her pretended Legacy, the Emperor hereupon to recover his right, and chastise him for his premised Conspiracies and Rebellion, *Augustus cum exercitu* *Italiam* intrat, *Machtyldæ opes* jure hereditario (nam cognata fuerit) possedit; but before his arrival at *Rome* *Pope Paschal* died. This Papal Usurper (as *Aventinus* observes) was the first Pope who set the year and date of his Papacy to his Letters and Bulls instead of the Emperors, and granted immunities to Colleges built by others. *Priores Pontifices Romani* ad diplomata, *Epistolas, libellos omnes* hactenus *Imperatoris* annos addiderunt, primus *Paschalis* huc tactis, sua potestatis numerum adscripsit, (which other Bishops since usurped) huncque primum immunitate donasse Collegia, licet ab aliis extracta, reperio.

Anno Domini 1118: after *Paschals* death, *Joannes Cajetanus*, titled *Gelasius Secundus*, was chosen Pope by some of the *Romans* and *Cardinals*, without the Emperors privity, yet with great dissention. Nam cum sine Imperatoris consensu eligeretur *Cincius* quidam *Fregepanis* dictus, *Patricius Urbis* potentissimus, illius injuriam non ferens, ad *Palladii Monasterium*, ubi *Cardinales* erant congregatis, cum satellibus armatis venit, Imperatoris injuriam ulturus; Cupiebant enim hac in parte tum auctoritatem Imperatoris conservare, sicuti fidem ei dedissent, tum Ecclesiæ patrique suæ consilium. Cum autem monitionibus precibusque nullus daretur locus, impetu in *Coventiculum Cardinalium* facta, *Cincius* in eos irrumpens, refractis foribus, obvium quemque percussit; Pontificem obtorto ejus collo in terram dejectum calcibus contrevit, in vinculaque protrussit,

a Ibidem p. 474.

b Annal. Boicorum l. 6. p. 491
c Sigebertus, Stella, Volaterranus, Platina, Barnes, Balzus, Kiantzius, Hermannus Schedel, Martinius Polonus, Antoninus, O-nuphrius, Centur. Magd. 12. 1133, 1134, 1196. in Gelasio 2. Simo-neta, l. 7. c. 71. Bonfinius, lib. 6 Decad. 2. Rerum Ungar. Ann. 1119. Fascic. Temp.

trussit, ne sedem ascendat, donec Imp. ea de re certior factus esset. Cardinales autem fugam parantes et mulis et equis deiecit, nulumque genus contumeliæ prætermisit, quo affici tantus Senatus posset. Sed non tulit tantam injuriam populus Romanus, quin auxilio Normannorum cum tandem liberaverit, & hostes ad pedum oscula compulerit. Hinc Imperator Henricus (to vindicate his Imperial Jurisdiction and right in the Popes election and removal of this Intruder) Exercitum magnum ex Germania Romam misit. Gelasius hereupon, conscious of his guilt and inability to resist, cum suis Cajetam navigio max petiit, ibique Sacerdos factus est, cum solum Diaconus ante creatus fuisset Pontifex. Henricus Romam veniens absente Gelasio (by his Imperial Sovereignty and Privilege) Mauritium Burdinum Bracharensem Archiepiscopum Pontificem creavit, ac Gregorium octavum vocavit, eumque familia Frangepanum commensans tuendum, inde abiit. Quo audito Gelasius clam redit, & sumpto animo prodit in eadem Praxedis, Missam facturum. Ubi ab adversaria parte ita fuit impetitus, ut agere fuga sue incolumitati consuleret. Animadversus igitur Pontifex se imparem iis quos Cesar jusserat Burdini partes defendere, gravi concitata seditione, quasi favore suo relicto, ipse iterum in fugam dilabitur. Elapsus difficulter manibus suorum hostium, Pisas navigavit, atque inde in Galliam solvit, ad portum S. Egidii, & consecratis in via inter eundem aliquot Ecclesiis, scilicet S. Cæcilie in Stagello, S. Sylvestri in Tullano, & S. Stephani in Torna-co. (Christum nullibi predicabat) lapidibus earum terminos notabat. ^a Abbas Ulpergensis relates, that this Pope in contempt of the Emperor and Magistracy, assembled a kinde of Synod at Capua of his conjured Prelates, wherein Casarem cum Antipapa Burdino (quem vocat idolum Cesaris) damnavit, inde in Galliam iter facit. Ab Abbate demum Cluniacensi per amice exceptus est, ac pleurisi correptus Anno Domini 1119. post annum sui Pontificatus annum & aliquot dies, obiit moriens, in eodem sepultus Canobio. Abbas ^b Ulpergensis, Onuphrius, and others inform us, that after the death of Pope Paschal the 2d, the Emperor Henry hastening to Rome to provide a Pope to succeed him, primo quidem in electione Domini Johannis, qui & Gelasius 2. dictus est assensum præbens, postea vero eodem se à communione subtrahente, cum nolisset Investituram Prælatorum Heinricho confirmare, ideo sede dejectus est ab Imperatore, qui non sine quorundam Romanorum favore, quendam Burdinum ex Hispania supervenientem, Apostolicæ sedi imposuit, sicque scisma quod jam sperabatur emortuum, crudeliter revixit.

^a Chron. Ann. 1118. p. 262.

^b Chronicon, Anno 1119. Cent. Magd. 12. p. 1269.

^c Joannes Aventinus relates, that Paschali vita defuncto, Romani certiorum faciunt Imperatorem, petunt ut Romam veniat, atque Comititia Pontificalia cum Sacerdotibus Senatu populoque, more majorum habeat. Inter hæc quidem Joannem Cajetanum Magistrum Epistolarum Pontificem designant, Gelasium adpellant, is ubi adventare ad Urbem Imperatorem accepit in Galliam aufugit, tertio ab Augusto et Romanis rebocatus redire ad obile noluit, Cluniaci obiit. Cum quintus Romani veteri consuetudine Mauritium Burdinum Archiepiscopum Braccensem Hispanum Pontificem legunt, Gregorium Octavum adpellant. Profugi dissimulata hujus consecratione, Vidonem Archiepiscopum Viennensem Germanum, Stephani Burgundionum Tetrarcha, Avunculum Baldovini Flandrini Consanguineum Imperatoris, Pontificatus Maximo imponunt, Calistum vocant. Is à sociis emendicatas pecunias, ubi Augustus ex Italia in Germaniam redit. Romanis distribuit ad Urbemque triumphandus deductus est. Gregorius Sutrium aufugit atque in vincula coniectus est. Quintus impar factioni Pontificum Romanorum, diffidens rebus suis, atque eventum causa desperans, cum Calisto in gratiam rediit, ex summaque discordia Principes Romani reconciliati sunt. Augustus Comitibus Pontificalibus, clientela Episcoporum destitutus, arbitrio Cætus Ecclesiastici excidit Pontificatus universi, sacerdotiaque beneficia Romani Pontificis facta sunt. Thus Aventinus in brief. ^d Abbas Ulpergensis, Albertus Krantzius, Platina, and others quoted in the margin, render us this larger Narrative of the election and proceedings of Calistus. Pope Gelasius deceasing in the Abbey of Cluny, Anno 1119. the fugitive Cardinals of his faction assembling in that Abbey in opposition to the Emperor, and support of the Hildebrandian Faction, created Calixtus the 2d. Pope, in the life of Burdinus whom the Emperor had made Pope, and stiled Gregory the 8. Contra Burdinum igitur Calixtus non prius capit arma, quam Casarem sua Excommunicatione compulisset, ut sibi præberet suffragium et extorsisset Investituræ Episcoporum privilegium; To which end Calixtus sent Conon his Legat into Germany to excommunicate the

^c Annalium, l. 6. p. 491.

Anno 1119. d. Abbas Ulpergensis, Sigebertus, Platina, Martinus Polonus, Stella, Hermannus Schedel, Barns, Balxus, Onuphrius, & Centur. Magd. 12. in Calixto 2. Krantzius Saxonicus, l. 5. c. 40, 41, 42, 43.

à Aventinus
Annal. Boio-
rum, l. 6. Here
p. 341, 342.
Morney Hist.
Papatus, p. 283,
284.

Emperor, in order to deprive him of his Crown. This Excommunication; being publicly denounced first at *Colen*, and then at *Friburgh* in a *German Synod* of Bishops, thereupon *coactus est Imperator* (to post out of *Italy* into *Germany*) *apud Triburiam Convenium Episcoporum & Principum agere, ut concordia inter ipsum & Papam statim procuraretur. Et ne Pontificum arte regno (ut ejus piissimus Pater) exueretur, conditiones Pacis valde iniquas admisit. Missis Triburiam Oratoribus, Calixti hujus electionem ad summum sui dedecus confirmare cogitur.* (vivo adhuc Gregorio seu Burdino, quem ipse Pontificem prius fecerat) ne velit à dignitate sui Imperii excidere. Hoc scilicet erat caput rei, & causa cur regnum Romanum concuteretur. The Pope and his Confederates not satisfied with this his great condescension in the Council at *Friburg*, Pontificis Legati & Episcopi deinde perurgentes eum, ut de jure suo investendi Prælatos cederet, atque tradat Romano Præsuli, id enim postulare ipsum securissime et strictissime. Therupon the Emperor, who in a former Council at *Meniz* asserted, *Christiani orbis Imperium sibi a Deo Opt. Max. impositum esse, poinde se de veteri more et ritu pificæ religionis, sacris Supremæ Magistratus placitis non defuturum, &c.* insisting upon his ancient undoubted right, multa ultro citroque de hac re disputantur: Sed velle Pontificis praponderat. Intantas igitur angustias Caesar redactus, et aut cedendum suo veteri jure, aut regnum amittendum esset; petit inducias & potestatem cum Principibus conferendi; Sed illi perterriti atque examinati pene tam potentis Præsulis Romani fulmine, ad unum omnes suadent, cedendum esse voluntati Papæ, ni velit sese universamque Germaniam in extremum discrimen adducere. Consulit porro amicos atque adversarios, verum nihil solatii uspiam audit. Expugnatus itaque Caesar, quasi supplices manus porrigit, necessitatique, tanquam durissimo telo, parendum esse discernit. (Sic eius tandem Dominus retaliabat proditiones in pientissimum Patrem suum, as Balas and others observe.) Hereupon, Percepta illa grata fama, Casarem voluntati Papæ, seu iugo, sese submittere, non sibi celandum putat Calixtus, sed absque mora, ad S. Lucam Convenium indicit ad 13. Calend. Novembris. Promiserant autem qui Triburiam fuerant se ad eum locum venturos, quem Papa designasset. Vicinum quoque Caesar sese prabet, sicut Catalaudensis Episcopus, & Cluniacensis Abbas cum Henrico Argentina transegerant. Adfuerunt autem ipsi Calixto circiter 426. Patres, innumera Clericorum & populi multitudo. Alcus erat Investituræ negotium quam tenebant Laici, inter quos princeps erat Caesar Romanus. Legati Imperatoris Henrici sua proferunt privilegia antiqua a Pontificibus obsignata, et diuturnam possessionem, et jus ipsum atque æquitatem; sed eis se Papa Calixtus cum suis creaturis pro Authoritate opponit, omnia antiqua jura repudians, et mandans, se velle id dignitatis sibi attribui. Legati singulari reverentia, inducias ulterius petunt, et vix extorquent. Papa autem nihilominus Synodalia suorum antecessorum decreta confirmat, hoc est, decernit jus investendi Episcopos penes Episcopos Romanos, et non penes Casarem esse: (being against all rules of Law, reason, justice, the sole Judge in his own cause, and pronouncing sentence for himself): & sic omnem suam potentiam adversus Casarem dirigit. Hoc pacto diebus duodecim Synodus ista finitur. In Italiam deinde Papa reversus maxima pompa, ut Papam Casarem decebat excipitur. And here we may behold the proper Genius of the Popes and Popish Prelates, when ever they were in distresse, and needed the Emperors and other Princes ayde to assist and defend them against their Potent adversaries, they would then cry up, ratifie and confirm their Sovereign Power and Patronage over themselves, and all other Churches, and ratifie their right of electing, confirming Popes, and of Investitures, by Canons, Councils, Oaths, Instruments, but no sooner were they reestablished in their Chairs by them, but presently upon the first advantage they violated, abjured, revoked all their former Oathes, Canons, Engagements, and excommunicated, dethroned, and trampled them under their feet, with highest scorn, contempt, like most perfidious ungratefull Traytors. Anno sequenti, hoc est Vigesimo, in Germania Episcopis Papa literis prapcepit, ut vacantibus Cathedralis Canonice, uti loquebatur, Pastores eligerent. Hac ratione & decretis, & ipsa praxi, licet inducias verbis dedisset, ne tamen ipsa Papa Casari jus investendi Episcopos eripit. Moguntinus Præsul Albertus (seu Adelbertus) Romano Papa Casari addictus omnem Romano Imperatori Reverentiam detestabatur. Ita-

que

que Henricus eum persequitur. Pelluntur & Spirensis & Wormatiensis Episcopi suis sedibus, quia in gratiam Papæ volebant Imperatori communicare. Sed Moguntinus Dux Saxonie extimulat, ut arma contra Cæsarem sumant, et hisce facibus accensi Saxones ante Moguntiam exercitus Cæsaris suas opponunt copias, neque procul aberat res à cruento praelio. Sed Sapientum quorundam interventu duodecim Primates ex utraque parte deleguntur, qui de rebus inter Regnum & Sacerdotium, ut loquuntur Scriptores, componendis, consultarent, atque statuerent. Locus denominatur Herbipolis, seu Wirtzburg ad diem Michaelis, Anno Domini 1121. Veniunt autem eò armati utraque pars, ac consultatio inchoatur. Tandem Septimana integra controversiis agitata, sancitur pax tali pacto, ut regalia vel fiscalia regno, Ecclesiastica Ecclesiis prædia spoliatis, Hereditates heredibus manerent, & cuilibet persona sua tribueretur justitia. Prædones ac fures edictis Imperialibus, & juxta leges antiquas coercendos. Scandala & perturbationes excitatas in Germania, omni ratione sedandas & extirpandas. **Et communicatione unde ista mala omnia scaturirent, ad Apostolici regiminis audientiam esse rejiciendam.** Denominati etiam sunt Legati Bruno Episcopus Spirensis, & Arnulfus Abbas Fuldenis, qui Romam istam concordiam rationem perferrent, ac Papam de Generali Concilio in Germania instituendo sollicitarent. Anno sequenti mortuo Herbipolensi, Imperator Gebhardum constituit Episcopum, Sed alii Ruggerum diligunt, ac Moguntinus quidem contra Imperatorem eum confirmat instigantibus Legatis Pontificiis qui venerant, ut contra Imperatorem facerent omnia.

^a Reduentes Spirensis & Fuldenis ex Italia, secum adiungunt Papa Cæsaris Legatos, plenissima instructos potestate ad transigendum omnia, quæ ad Cæsarem Papamque pertinerent: nempe Lambertum Ostiensem, Saxonem, Sancti Stephani, & Gregorium Sancti Angeli Cardinales. Hi vultures Romani mox Wormatæ inducunt Convenerunt Principibus & Episcopis, Cæsare adstipulante. Nam ille nunc se passivè quidem habebat, prostratus iussu Pontificio, ac cernens se necessitatem præsentem nulla vi effugere posse. Caput disputationis est Investitura Episcoporum, quam e manibus Laicorum omni Auctoritate et vi extorquendum esse, Papa Romanus decreverat. Et si autem plurima de jure Cæsaris, et usu diuturno antecessorum, deque plurimum Pontificum permissione, et comprobatione in medium afferrentur, tamen vicit,

Sic volo, sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas.

Nam Magistratus Politicus debebat (juxta ipsius Petri Vaticinium, ab hujusmodi hominibus summa ignominia affici, atque egregie pedibus conculcari. Cæsar licet egerrimè ferret, tantam sibi plagam a Papa infligi. tamen excommunicationis terrore, et quod Papa omnes suos Principes fascinaffet, atque ad horribilem defectionem permovisset, Patrisque metuens exemplum (after an whole weeks contest, & more) fractus, cedit inditus tantæ violentiæ; Imperiique tranquillitatem suis commodis ac dignitati propriæ anteponebat, Pontificique suum jus investendi tradidit: Et Legato Apostolicæ sedis (qui postea et Summus Pontifex factus) resignavit, per eumque ab anathematis vinculo solutus est. Hec præda istis retibus capta, Legati eum nodis anathematis exolvunt, atque potestatem faciunt, ad Ecclesiæ ceterum, unde eum excluderant, redeundi. Ut autem nihilominus istam aviculam artissimè constrictam tenerent, catissimeque ut illi monebat ducerent, formulam concordie utrinque datis Literis sigillisque appensis corroborant, atque ut omnibus quam notissima esset victoria et Cæsaris probum, eas literas in loco campestri spaciosissimo prope Rhenum, clara voce proclamant ac denunciant.

Formulæ verò sunt ejusmodi: Ego Henricus, Dei gratia Imperator Augustus, pro amore Dei, et Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, et Domini Papæ Calixti, et pro remedio animæ meæ, dimitto Deo, et Sanctis ejus Apostolis Petro et Paulo, Sanctæque Catholicæ Ecclesiæ, omnem Investituram per Annulum et Baculum: et concedo in omnibus Ecclesiis fieri electionem et liberam consecrationem. Possessiones et regalia beati Petri, quæ a Principio hujus

[X x 2]

discordiæ

^a Abbas Ulster-
gensis Chron.
Anno 1122, p.
267. Otto Fri-
singensis l. 2.
c. 16. Alberti
Krantzii Saxo-
niæ, l. 5. c. 41,
42. Barnes &
Balxus in Ca-
lixto 2. Sige-
berti Chronie.
Anno 1123.
Centur. Magd.
12. c. 9. col.
1004, 1008.
Polychronicon,
l. 7. c. 19. Hen-
ry de Knyghton
de Eventibus
Angl. l. 2. c. 3.
col. 2377. Si-
meon Dunelm.
Hist. An. 1222.
col. 244, 245.
b 2 Pet. 2. 10.

Nota.

discordiæ usque ad hodiernum diem, siue tempore Patris mei, siue etiam meo ablata sunt, quæ habeo, eidem Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ restituo; quæ autem non habeo, ut restituantur fideliter iurabo. Et do veram pacem Calixto, Sanctæque Romanæ Ecclesiæ, et omnibus qui in parte ipsius sunt vel fuerunt, et in quibus Sancta Romana Ecclesia auxilium postulaverit, fideliter iurabo.

* Which he ever did, and might do, without this Papal grant.

Literæ à Pontifice Imperatori vicissim datæ hæc sunt. Ego Calixtus Servus Servorum Dei, Dilecto filio Heinricho, Dei Gratia Romanorum Imperatori Augusto, * Concedo Electionem Episcoporum et Abbatum Teutonici Regni, qui ad regnum pertinent, in præsentia tua fieri, absque Simonia, et aliqua violentia. Et si qua inter partes discordia emergerit, Metropolitani, & comprovincialium Concilio vel Iudicio, saniori parti assensum & auxilium præbeas. Electus autem regalia per sceptrum a te recipiat, (exceptis omnibus quæ ad Romanam Ecclesiam pertinere noscuntur) et quæ ex iis iure tibi debet, faciat. Et aliis vero partibus Imperii consecratus, infra sex menses regalia per sceptrum a te recipiat. De quibus vero si querimoniam feceris, secundum officii mei debitum auxilium præstabo. Doque tibi veram pacem, & omnibus qui in parte tua sunt vel fuerunt tempore hujus discordiæ. Datæ Anno 2122. 9 Calendas Octobris. Estque observatione dignissimum, quod Otto Frisingensis annotat. Hoc pro bono pacis Henrico soli concessum esse, et non successoribus ipsius. Attende igitur quam honestè, & candidè illi homines agant!

Hæc diplomata ubi Romam perlata sunt, incredibilem excitaverunt lætitiâ et tripudium. At autem triumphus ille de manubiiis Cæsari ereptis Communis et illustrior esset, Sanctissimus Papa Cæsar Calixtus 2. eas literas de extorta resignatione et renunciatione Juris Cæsarei de Investitura Episcoporum, in Ecclesia Lateranensi publice suspendit, ut omnibus et risum et insultationem, more scilicet vere Apostolico, moverent.

d Otto Frisingensis, l. 7. c. 16. Platina, Onuphrius, Stella, Barnes, Balauz in Calixto 2. Cent. Magd. 12. c. 8. col. 1134. c. 10. col. 1400. Antoninus, tit. 17. c. 1. Chron. Johan. Bromton, col. 1008. Polychron. l. 7. c. 16. Tyrius l. 12. c. 8. Vincentius, Morney Hist. Papatus, p. 288, 289. Henry de Knyghton de Eventib. Angl. lib. 2. c. 7. col. 2382.

e Otto Frising. l. 7. c. 16. Onuphrius in vita Calixti 2. Cent. Magd. 12. col. 1400. Morney Hist. Papatus, p. 289.

Pope Calixtus having thus publicly triumphed over the Emperor, and forcibly wrested out of his hands the right of Investitures, after above 46 years hot contests, and bloody warres about it, between the Imperial Scepter, and Papal Myter, he next addressed himself to vanquish his Competitor Gregory the 8. by the Temporal, as he had conquered the Emperor by the Spiritual sword; whereupon^d conspiratione suorum facta, more Romuleo, non Petrino, maximas copias militum Sutrium, ubi Gregorius se continebat, addito divo Joanne Cremenfi, Sancti Chrysogoni Diacono Cardinali, milite (ut decebat Ecclesiasticum virum) strenuo, ad oppugnamdam Civitatem. Ipse Pontifex ad visitationem, scilicet Ecclesiasticam, præmissis exercitum cum gladiis, lanceis & tormentis, pedetentim subsequitur, quia Burdinus adhuc nomen Pontificium arrogabat, quod electione habebat, Romanos incursionibus infestabat; & ut qui contra se latrocinia exercebat, peregrinos religionis & suorum negotiorum causa cum turgida crumena Romam adventantes pecuniis solabat, quas Papa, Cardinales, & sacrifici avidè expectabant. Quid sit? Sutrium expugnatione Petrinarum capitur, Burdinus in potestatem Calixti traditur. Jam attende, quanta clementia mitissimus Papa erga hunc suum rivalem, usus sit; Burdinum (non sine summa Celsitatis, et Papatus ignominia) crudis & sanguinolentis pelibus caprinis amictibus, per mediam Civitatis, via Regia, ut magis publicaretur educitur, & imperante Domino Papa Calixto, imponitur camelo, capite ad caudam verso, candamque manu tenentem, publicèque omnibus deridendum & conspuendum exponitur; tandemque monasterio eum tanquam in carcerem intrudit, & ad tanta ultionis memoria conservationem, in camera palatii sub pedibus Calixti conculcatum depinxerunt. Calixtus by these triumphant conquests of the Emperor and Antipope, made the Church of Rome to increase into a Great mountain, as Otto Frisingensis and others observe, unda de eo Romæ scriptum,

* Ecce Calixtus, honor patriæ, Decus Imperiale, Burdinum nequam damnat, pacemque reformat;

Yea

Yea he grew so insolent, as to write this blasphemous Decretal Epistle to all Bishops, *Non licet regulis Ecclesie Apostolica (id est Romana) ulatenus deviare, et sicut Dei filius venit facere voluntatem Patris sui, sic et vos implete voluntatem Matris vestre, quæ est Ecclesia, cujus caput est Romana*, which he decreed in a Council at Rome, Anno 1123. with this derogatory Canon to the Rights of Princes, and other Laymen, *Laici quamvis religiosi sint, nullam tamen de Ecclesiasticis rebus aliquid disponendi habeant facultatem; sed secundum Apostolorum Canones (to wit, of Pope Stephen) omnium ecclesiasticorum negotiorum curam Episcopus habeat, & ea velut Deo contemplante disponet. Si quis ergo Principum, vel aliorum Laicorum, dispositionem vel donationem rerum & possessionum Ecclesiasticarum sibi vendiderit, ut Sacrilegus judicetur.* To which he annexed Decrees and Canons against Priests wives, and marriages.

By these Canons, this Pope and his Successors since engrossed into their own hands the disposal of most Archbishopricks, Bishopricks, and other preferments, which they bestowed on their Creatures, or those who would give most money for them, without the guilt of *Sacrilege*, or *Simony*, to maintain their usurped Sovereignty against the Emperor and his Successors, and thereby monopolized into their hands the Government of the Empire, and all Christian Realms, all Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, dignities, and the whole Clergy being thenceforth solely dependant upon the Pope, not Emperor, Kings, Princes; who in that and subsequent ages were both Legats, sworn Vassals, Homagers to the Pope, and the Grand swaying Officers of State, Privy Counsellors, Chancellors, Treasurers, Secretaries, as well as Confessors to the Emperor, the Kings of England, France, Spain, Hungary, Poland, Denmark, Scotland, and other Princes; siding with the Pope against the Emperor, Kings, Princes, their Crowns and Interests, whenever they came in competition with the Popes usurped Supremacy and Jurisdiction, and betraying their secrets unto him.

Rupertus Tuitiensis Abbas, a learned Author flourishing under this Pope, l 9. in *Mat. c. 11*. writes thus against these usurpations. *Viro spiritualis propositi non conceditur evaginare gladium. Virga Discipulorum Christi, est virga Pastoralis Officii, super curam animarum sollicitè vigilantis; Illam namque virgam quæ Dominationis est non esse concessam Ministris Evangelii Pacis* (much lesse then the swords) *interdictio hic, & c. Christi Ministri sciunt Apostolatam non esse Dominium, sed summæ Humilitatis Ministerium, ut ponant animum pro fratribus suis.* And if this be not sufficient, he thus quite subverts the foundation of *Peters* and the Popes Supremacy. *Christus super seipsum, videlicet firmam petram, suam adificat Ecclesiam. Et mutato nomine, Petrus à petra denominatum, per quod significatum est, quia cunctis super illud fundamentum (quod est Christus) adificantur, juxta Prophetam vocandum sit nomen novum quod os Domini nuntiavit.* And what that name is, St. Peter himself defines, 1 Pet. 2. 4, 5. *Ad quem accedentes quasi ad lapidem vivum, & ipsi tanquam lapides vivi, (the same with Peter) superadificamini domus spiritualis, &c.*

This Antichristian Pontiff dying of a fever Anno Domini 1125. *Lampertus* Bishop of *Hofia*, ambitione quorundam potius quam bonorum consensu, arte magis & astutia Leonis Frangepanis potentissimi Civis, quam cordatorum hominum suffragiis, magna equidem contentione in Pontificem electus erat, à populo; the Cardinals electing, creating *Thobald* Cardinal of St. *Anastasia*, Pope, calling him *Celestine*; against whom *Lambert* prevailing by *Leo* his power, took upon him the name of *Honorius* the 2. cum potissimum in Curia Romana judicio tanto censeretur dignus honore, omnibus eius superbissimis regni titulis insignitus. His Papacy was more peaceable then his predecessors; Omnibus enim terribiles erant Romani Pontifices excommunicationis fulmina, qui sibi adversantes, ipsos etiam Imperatores, egregie compescere poterant: But yet though the Emperor having quitted the right of Investitures as aforesaid, durst not to claim or assert, yet the Kings of England and France did strenuously exercise, assert Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over Bishops and their Churches, and collated to all Ecclesiastical Dignities, notwithstanding *Calixtus* Decrees: as is evident by these memorable Passages in the Epistles of *Hilbertus Canomaniensis Episcopus* flourishing in that age: who thus complained of H. 1. King of England, Epist. 19. *Longum est enarrare quam constanti tyrannide Rex Angliæ in nos saevierit, qui (temperantia Regis abjecta) decrevit, non prius Pontifici parendum, quam Pontificem compelleret in sacrilegium, quia etenim turres Ecclesie nostræ deicere volumus, transmarinis subijciendi judi-*

f Simeon Dunelmensis Hist. Anno 1123. col. 248, 249. Gratian Dist. 12. cap. Non decet. Centur. Magd. 12. c. 9. col. 1269. Dr. Barnes & Balaxius in Calixto 2. Morney Histor. Paparus, p. 290.

g See Mr. Tyndals Practice et Porish Prelats, and Obedience of a Christian man, p. 114, 115, 137, to 155. 180, to 184.

Anno 1120.

a Rupertus in Math. l. 8.

b Idem l. 11. c. 13. in Johan.

c Idem l. 2. c. 2. in Johan.

d Platina, Steila, Onuphrius, Barnes, Balaxius, Byerlinke, Ciantzius in Honorio 2. Ulpergenf. Chion, Cassinense, l. 8. c. 85. Centur. Magd. 12. col. 1400.

e Hilberti Canomaniensis Episcopi Epistolæ Bibl. Patrum, Tom. 12. pars 1. p. 316. B.

* Being summoned to answer in England.

h Ibidem, p. 339. F, G.

i As. 5.

k Mat. 20.

l Ibid. p. 343: E.

m Cent. Magd. 12. col. 42, 43. Morney Hist. Papatus, p. 291.

n Bibliotheca Patrum, Tom. 12. pars 1. p. 346, 347.

* Appales to Rome from this side the Alpes, a Novelty then first introduced, and thus oppugned.

ciis, *coacti sumus injurias pelagi sustinere, singularem scilicet molestiam itineris, atque unicam totius humanae compaginis dissolutionem. Tanti igitur agitati turbinibus, ad Apostolorum limina decrevimus proficisci, magnum nova tribulationis arbitrati remedium, si Romanus Pontifex nobis & consilio subveniret & auxilio. After which he being made Archbishop of Towers, and taking upon him to dispose of the Deanery Archdeaconry, & Prebendaries thereof, without and against the King of France his assent, in obedience to Pope Paschals and Calixtus forecited Decrees; the King thereupon confiscated his Churches temporalities, whereof he thus complained in his^f 67. Epistle to this new Pope, Honorius the 2. *Quantis tribulationum turbinibus Turonensis agitur Ecclesia, vestram venerande Pater latere non credo sanctitatem. Adhuc enim Francorum Rex innocentiam meam tantum persequitur odio, ut traducar in gravamen Ecclesia, & quod constat esse Sanctuarii, fisco ascripsit. Totam quoque terram ipsius ita mihi, & his qui mecum sunt in Domino, suspecta est & clausa, ut nec ego, nec illorum aliquis in ea pedem ponere audeant. His aliisque premor angustiis, i quia zelo zelatus sum legem Domini Dei; quia non sum transgressus terminos quos patres nostri posuerunt: quia dignitates Ecclesiasticas, nec ex Regis precepto disposui, nec ei disponendi facultatem induli; Sciens enim, quia i Oportet magis Domino obedire, quam hominibus, personas elegi que in exequendis Ecclesia negotiis k Pondus dici portant & æstus. Alteri igitur, Archidiaconatum, alteri Decaniam dedi, &c. Hac idcirco vobis (Pater sancte) scripsi, quatenus si quis aliud Sanctitati vestra de prefato retulint negotio, vos ipsam cognoscatis veritatem, Not by way of Appeal. And in his^l 75 Epistle he complains, That not so much as one of his Friends defended his or his Churches cause with the King of France, to procure their peace. Silent amici, silent Sacerdotes Jesu Christi, denique silent & illi, quorum suffragio credidi Regem mecum in gratiam rediturum, &c. ne sagittas suas in sene compleret Sacerdote, ne sanctiones Canonicas evacuet, ne persequeretur cineres Ecclesia jam sepulta, &c.*

Although this Bishop complained thus of these Kings to this Pope and others, yet he declaimed more bitterly against the Corruptions of the Pope and Court of Rome, in one of his Epistles, omitted in the Jesuites Edition of their Bibliotheca Patrum, m *Romani sunt quos timent & qui timentur. Hi sunt quos hac peculiariter provincia manet, inferre calumnias, deferre personas, asferre minas, auferre substantias. Hi sunt quorum laudari audis in otio occupationes, in pace preda, inter arma fugas, inter vana victorias. Hi sunt qui causas morantur adhibiti, impediunt pratermissi, fastidiunt admoniti, obliviscuntur locupletati. Hi sunt, qui emunt lites, vendunt intercessionem, deputant arbitros, judicanda dicunt, dictata convellunt, attrahunt litigatos, protrahunt audiendos: trahunt addictos, retrahunt transigentes. Hi sunt, quod si petas, & nullo adulante beneficium promittunt, pudet negare, paniet prastitisse. Hi sunt, qui negant reverentiam Clericis, originem Nobilibus, confessum Prioribus, congressum aequalibus, cunctis iura. Nullum illis genus hominum, ordinum, temporum cordi est. In foro Scythæ, in cubiculo vipera, in convivio scurra, in exactionibus harpyæ, in collocationibus statua, in questionibus bestia, in tractatibus cochlea, in contrahibus trapezita. Ad intelligendum saxei, ad judicandum lignei, ad succensendum flammæ, ad ignoscendum ferrei, ad amicitias pardi, ad facettas Vrsi, ad fallendum Ulpes, ad superbiendum Tauri, ad consumendum Vinotauri. Spes firmas in rerum motibus habent, dubia tempora certius amant, & ignavia pariter conscientiaque trepidantes. Cum sint in prætoris Leones, in castris lepores, timent fœdera ne discutiantur, bella ne pignent. Quorum si naves afflaverit rubiginosi aura marsupii, confestim videbis illic, & oculos Argi, & manus Briarei, & ingenium Sphingis.*

In his 82 Epistle to Pope Honorius the 2. he thus declaims against Appales to Rome. n *Honorio Dei gratia Excellentissimo & Reverendissimo Patri suo Sanctæque Romanæ Ecclesiæ Summo Pontifici, H. humilis Turonum Minister, debita integritatem obedientiæ. Philosophus, ait, colere officiis, non exasperare, verbis oportet potestatem. Ideo cum latis precibus exoro, ne vos Reverende Pater, scriptum præfens exasperet, aut velitis de necessitate presumptionem figurare. Etenim necessitate scripsi, eodem quo sum laesus jaculo, ladi metuens Ecclesiæ sospitatem. Bonam spem in sinu meo vero, quia scribens pro justitia, gratiam Patris non avertam. Quaslibet igitur Appellationes in Romana vigere et suscipi Ecclesiæ, cis Alpes auditum non est, nec ex sacris traditum institutis. Quod si forte huiusmodi emerit * novitas, ut placeat omnem indifferenter admittere Appellationem, Pontificalis*

Pontificalis censura peribit et omnino conteretur Ecclesiastica ro-
bur disciplinæ. Quis enim raptor ad solam Anathematis comminati-
nem non statim Appellabit? Quis Clericus aut Presbyter, frustra-
toriæ Appellationis refugio non putrebit, aut etiam sepelietur in
stercore suo? Quis Episcopus habebit in promptu, non omnem dico,
sed aliquam ulcisci inobedientiam? Ejus virgam quævis Appellatio
quassabit, solbet constantiam, severitatem emolliet, adducens et illi
silentium, et reis impunitatem delictorum? sic fiet ut sacrilegia ac
rapinæ, fornicationes ac adulteria pernicioso inundent incremento,
cum Præsul ad superfluas Appellationes clausit ora, et desierit
persequi piorum persecutores locorum, cum viduarum injurias desie-
rit ulcisci et Orphanorum. Dilatatione nimirum censuræ facinora fo-
vebuntur, et venient in profundum iniquitatis impune delinquentes;
super quos Evangelicum illud implebitur præceptum, * Exi cito in plateas, & vicos Civi-
tatis, & pauperes ac debiles & cæcos, & claudos introduce huc. Quis vel cæcum vel
claudum intrare compellat, si cæcus, cum compelleretur, appellet? Denique pro delicto
Heli, nullus Pontificum punietur, quoniam Appellationis excusatione suam quisq. defen-
deret offensam. Exempla quadam censura semper vivent, amulatores autem ejus, qualibet
Appellatio sepeliet & vivos. Sane parva est materia, & exilis scientia, quæ si (juxta
* Job) Inter aquilas in præruptis lufitantes cum pullis earum sanguinem lambit, satis est.
Non erubescio meam & attendere & profiteri mensuram. Inter ceteros tamen Sacerdotes ad
me pervenit, quas Appellationes Cissalpina suscepit Ecclesia, quas et sine of-
fensione, sedis Apostolicæ renuit et abiecit. Accepi enim, & universitas Ecclesiæ præ-
dicat, quod gravatis iudicio, subventus Appellationis debeatur. Accepi,
quod suspectos habens iudices aut infestos, aut formidans vim temerariæ multitudinis,
eodem remedio possit & debeat relevari. Unde etiam in * Decretis Cornelii Pape, taliter
Ecclesiæ traditum est: Si quis Iudicem adversum sibi senserit, vocem Appellationis ex-
hibeat, quod nulli oportet negari. Item in eodem, Nullus Sacerdotum causam suam
alieno committat iudicio nisi ad sedem Apostolicam fuerit Appellatum, sed unusquis-
que comprovinciales Iudices & notos habeat, nisi aliquem vim temerariæ multitudinis
illic timuerit, aut infestos vel suspectos Iudices ibi habuerit; pro quibus causis ad ma-
joris autoritatis Iudices, & ad alias provincias appellare & venire concessum est. Au-
divi etiam alias quoque Appellationes esse, sed moratorias nec aliquando recipiendas, de
quibus in sacris legibus his legimus verbis. Quicumque non confidentia iustæ causæ,
sed causa afferendæ moræ ne contra eum sententia proferatur Appellaverit, & si de
facto suo confessus ne addicatur Appellare voluerit, hujusmodi Appellationes non re-
cipiuntur. Et quidem videri mihi plures talium Appellationum species, quas prudens Ju-
dex ita necesse est discernat, ut circa Iudicandos debitam in omnibus servat æquitatem.
Porro ea quæ Prærogativam obtinent, sicut parvitati meæ ministravit auctoritas, per-
frinxerit, quæ si plura sunt; etiam usque ad ipsius Cathedræ vestra sedem Apostolicam in-
currere vigilantia: confiteor non transgrediendos esse terminos quos posuerunt Patres nostri;
Moratorias autem Appellationes omnino a vestra relegandas esse
audientia, nec sustinendum in horto Domini plantari toxicum mor-
tis, toxicum quo subventus afflictorum morietur, quo iustitia in
nihilum reverteretur, incrementum suscipiat ubertas delictorum.
Vale.

This Bishop being violently taken and detained in prison by Earl *Hubert*, there-
upon writ this ^a Epistle to *H. Sagiensi* Episcopo, (not to the Pope) to excommuni-
cate him till he should release him. *Duos in cana fuisse gladios, hoc quoque & legis &*
intelligis. Unum quidem Petrus in Malchum vibravit, dum Malchus in Christum ma-
nus extenderet; alter verò eductus fuisse non legitur. Apud profecto inventus est uter-
que apud Discipulos Christi, quia adhuc uterque ostenditur in membris corporis Chri-
sti: Membrum enim Christi, Rex; membrum Christi, Sacerdos:
Scienti loquor, nosti gladium Regis, nosti gladium Sacerdotis.
Gladius Regis, censura Curie; Gladius Sacerdotis, Ecclesiasti-
cæ rigor disciplinæ. Hos Evangelistam signasse legisti, dicentem; b Domine, ecce gla-
dii

* Luke 14.

* Job 39.

* Gratian,
Caus. 2. qu. 6.

^a Epistola 46.
Bibliotheca Pa-
trum, Tom. 12.
pars 1. p. 325.

Gladius duplex,
Curie, & Ec-
clesiæ.

^b Luc. 22. 38.

dii duo hic; Si esset qui in gladio Regni liberaret me, non peteretur educi gladius Sacerdotii propter me. Caterum vides quia jam ^c Potestas sine causa gladium portat; in vagina reconditus est, p^ollibus mortuorum animalium tectus est, in Chrilum Malchus, in vasa Templi Balthasar impune manus extendit: Nemo est quem ^d Zelus Domus Domini comedat; nemo est qui cum Moyse minetur & dicat, ^e Inebriabo sagittas meas sanguine, & gladius meus devorabit carnes; ^f Bonum est ergo sperare in Domino, quam sperare in Principibus, &c. ^g In Angelis ejus reposita est spes mea, collocata anchora mea, ne mergatur procellis fragilis navicula mea. Angeli Domini, Pontifices ejus; Angeli Domini, Sacerdotes ejus, Mal. 2. Si ergo Angelus Domini es, imò quia Angelus ejus es, illum geris gladium, qui apud ^h Joannem de ore Angeli, bis acutus exiit. Hunc & tu (quod absit) sine causa portabis, nisi feces, & tradas Sathanæ filium mortis; ⁱ nisi claudas & obferes reliquis Adæ Paradisum Domini Dei tui. Hoc autem non dico, tanquam mortem peccatoris desiderans, sed ut ostendas peccatori canteriatam conscientiam suam, sed ut ei cum Propheta dicas, ^m Arguam te, et statuam contra faciem tuam. In which passage, it is remarkable; 1. That this famous Bishop and Archbishop, (one of the first who wrested the two swords in Luke 22. to typifie only the temporal and ecclesiastical Swords of Jurisdiction) directly resolves, the sword that Peter used in cutting off Malchus his ear, to be the Temporal sword, belonging to the King, not Spiritual, which was then hid amongst the other Apostles, but not drawn forth by Peter or Christ against those who laid violent hands upon, and crucified him. How then this later sword can belong to Peter, Popes, or Prelates alone, by divine right, let Pontificians resolve the world when they are able. 2ly. That he asserts, the King to be the Supream Member in the body of Christ, to whom St. Peters sword appertains; not the Pope, Bishops, or Priests, who have only that sheathed sword which Peter and the other Apostles did not then draw forth. 3ly. That so long as the Kings sword is drawn, exercised in and for the Church, or its Members, the Spiritual sword of Excommunication ought not to be drawn or used. 4ly. That the Ecclesiastical Sword equally belongs to every Bishop, Angel, Priest of God, as much as to St. Peter, or the Pope, who may lawfully draw it out, when ever there is occasion, without the Popes Commission, License, Permission. 5ly. You may hence observe, how much this Text hath been ⁿ perverted by Popes and their Advocates, to maintain the Popes title to the Supream Temporal and Spiritual swords of Authority & Jurisdiction in & over all Christian Kings, Kingdoms, which (as I have ^o formerly evidenced) make nothing at all for these two Metaphorical Swords, Juridictions, or St. Peters, or his pretended successors Title to them. For if we believe ^p St. Ambrose, and others, these two swords, which the Apostles then had, and Christ resolved to be enough, were only the Old and New Testament, which Saint Peter and the other Apostles were to draw forth, open, explain, and preach to all Nations for their instruction, the slaying of their finnes, errors, corruptions, pricking them at their hearts, arming them against all the assaults of the Devil, and for the edification, conversion, defence and salvation of their souls: Which exposition of theirs is warranted by Luke 24. 25, 26, 27. Rom. 1. 1, 2, 16, 17, c. 10. 6. to 21. c. 16. 25, 26. Eph. 2. 17, to 22. c. 3. 5, to 12. Mat. 28. 19, 20. Mark 16. 15, 16. compared with Eph. 6. 17, 19. Hebr. 4. 12, 13. Rev. 1. 16. c. 2. 12, 16. c. 19. 14, 15, 16, 21. Ps. 45. 3. Ps. 149. 6. Isay 49. 2. Mat. 10. 34. Duo Gladii, unus veteris, alter novi Testamenti, quibus adversus Diaboli armamur insidias, & dixit, Satis est, quia nihil deest ei quem utriusque Testamenti doctrina munierit. Gladius Sermo Domini Servatoris; ideo anceps, quoniam duo contineat Testamenta; is the general and genuine resolution of St. Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, Jerome, Beda, Cassiodor, Bruno, Lyra, Hugo de Sancto Victore, the Ordinary Glosse, most Orthodox Interpreters Old and New, on these Texts; This is the only sword proceeding out of Christs mouth, which he came to send into the world: which himself brandished or made use of whilst on earth, & committed to his Apostles, Ministers, Peter, (or the Roman Pontiffs, admitting them to be his genuine Successors) after his death and resurrection: not the Supream Spiritual or Temporal Coercive Sword of Jurisdiction in and over all Persons, Churches, Kingdoms, causes whatsoever, as Popes and Pontificians most blindly infer from hence, against the Letter, true scope of this Text, Exposition of the Fathers, and their own learned Expositors. 6ly. These words ^p But now, he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one, &c. And they said, Lord, Behold here are two swords; And he said, they are enough, are thus interpreted

c Rom. 13. 4.

d Ps. 64. 9. John 2. 17.

e Deut. 32. 41, 42.

f Psal. 118. 9.

g Mal. 2. 7.

h Rev. 19. 15, 21.

i 1 Tim. 1. 20.

k Gen. 3. 24.

l Ezech. 18. 3.

m Psal. 50. 21.

n See Baronius Annal. Ann. 1053. Sect. 10. Bellarmin de Romano Pont. l. 5. c. 5.

o Here, p. 63, to 67.

p In Luc. 1. 5. See Hil in Mar. Can. 32. In Luc. 1. 10.

Augustin, Cassiodorus, Bruno in Psal. 44. & 49.

Dr. Beard Antichrist the Pope of Rome, p. 197, 198.

Marlorat, in Luc. 22.

See Baronius Annal. Ann. 1053. Sect. 10. Bellarmin de Romano Pont. l. 5. c. 5.

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Dr. Beard Antichrist the Pope of Rome, p. 197, 198.

Marlorat, in Luc. 22.

pred by the Fathers. St. ⁹ *Ambrose* hath this Meditation on these words in St. *Peters* name; *O Domine, cur emere nos jubes gladium, qui ferrire me prohibes? Cur habere præcipis, cum vetas promi? nisi forte ut parata sis defensio, non ultio necessaria, & videar potuisse vindicari, sed noluisse. Lex tamen referre me non vetat: & ideo forsasse Petro duos gladios offerenti, fat est, dicit; quasi licuerit usque ad Evangelium; ut sit, in Lege equitatis eruditio, in Evangelio bonitatis perfectio. Multis hoc iniquum videtur, sed non iniquus Dominus, qui cum se possit ulcisci, maluit immolari.* ¹ St. *Chrysostom* hath the like; *Cum illi dixissent, Duos se gladios habere, Christus satis esse respondit: Cur igitur habere permisi? ut facilius crederent, quod traditur: Propterea dixit eis, emat gladium; non ut prodicionem per hoc declararet. Propterea Petrus gladio usus comminatione, & quidem vehementer reprehenditur: Which Beda, Theophylact, Hugo de Sancto Victore, Lyra, Erasmus, Aretius, Calvin, Beza, Marlorat, Heinsius, Waleus, and others on this Text recite, yea second; and Origen before them, Tract. 35. in Matth. gives the like interpretation thereof. The summe, scope of which words they resolve to be this; 1. To give a further check to the Disciples ambitious spirit and contest for precedency or worldly grandure (which he had reprehended immediately before) by minding them of the persecutions and hardships they should suffer after his passion, ascension, and thereby advising them to provide against them. 2ly. To instruct them, that in times of persecution, they might lawfully buy a sword to defend their persons against private violence; but not to resist the publicke Authority of persecuting Princes, or revenge themselves. 3ly. That the Disciples misapprehending Christs meaning, imagining he commanded each of them personally to buy a sword to defend him from the band of men armed with swords, staves, that should apprehend and put him to death, they in their simplicity thought two swords sufficient to effect it, when as not twelve, nor two hundred swords, much lesse two, would be sufficient for that purpose; Whereupon he replied, *It is enough*: either by way of Ironie, as some hold, *Dominus ironia dixit; Quia duo gladii sunt, omnino multi sunt, & sufficiunt nobis contra multitudinem que venit super nos*: Or else rather by way of diversion to some other discourse, as ^t *Theophylact* thinks: *Hæc enim opinor anigmatice propterea dicebat, ut postea recordantes & intelligentes, utilitate capiant, quoniam tunc adeo insipientes erant, ut dicunt: Domine hic duo gladii, at ipse quia vidit ipsos non intellexisse, inquit, Satis est: tametsi nequaquam sufficerent, si humano auxilio contra homicidas illos uti oportuisset; neque omnium gladii sufficerent: si autem hoc voluissent, & diviniore subsidio opus erat, superflui fuissent & duo. Veruntamen Dominus noluit eos arguere, utpote nihil intelligentes, sed dixit, satis est: & processit. Sic igitur etiam nos quando cum quodam conversantes vidimus cum non intellexisse quid diximus, dicimus; Bene, dimitte; quamvis non sit bonum; sed ne conturbaremus, remittimus. Facit hic Dominus quando videt discipulos non intelligere dictum; transiit, & eventum rerum explicare discipulis intelligentiam, &c.* 4ly. That Christ by this reply, *It is enough*, expressed his own willingnesse to suffer death, without the least resistance by his Apostles swords, or ^u any other human or angelical power, and that he would make use of neither of them to prevent his apprehension or crucifixion. *Duo gladii sufficiunt ad testimonium sponte passi Salvatoris: Unus qui & Apostolis audaciam pro Domino certandi, & avulsam sicut ejus auricula (Malchi) Domino etiam morituro pietatem virtutemque doceret inesse medicandi. Alter qui nequaquam vagina exemptus, ostenderet eos, ne totum quod potuere pro ejus defensione facere permisos; as our Venerable ^w *Beda* expounds these words, living about 750 years after Christ, and *Hugo Cardinalis*, *Stella*, besides others since: 5ly. ^x *Origen*, ^y *Ambrose*, ^z *St. Chrysostom*, with other Antients, *Erasmus* in his Paraphrase on *Luke* 22. & *Oecolampadius* in *Mat. c. 26* conclude from hence, and from Christs command to *Peter*, *Put up thy sword into its place, &c.* That it is unlawfull for Christians under the Gospel to wage warre; since two swords are enough for Christs disciples to defend themselves withall, even in times of persecution, without an offensive or defensive army, which requires thousands of swords, not two: Yea ^{*} *Sixtus Senensis* himself, who differs from them in opinion, confesseth, that *exordio nascentis Ecclesie, armorum usus minimè conveniret*. Whence Christ prohibited his Apostles so much as to take ^{*} two staves, much lesse two swords, to defend themselves, or offend others. Finally (1) *Maldonat*, and Cardinal (2) *Bellarmino* in this our age are forced to confesse, That these two swords and the Popes Title to them cannot be literally deduced from this Text; & Mr. *Calvin* concludes, (3) *Quod hinc eliciunt Canonista, cornutos suos Episcopos duplici Jurisdictione esse præditos, non solum pœdica est allegoria, sed protervum ludibrium quo verbo Dei insultant Antichristi mancipia*. Where-**

q In Lucæ E. vangel. l. 10.

^r Hom. 89. in Mar. Tom. 2. Opera.

^f Mar. 5. 39. c. 10, 17, to 32. Rom. 13. 1, to 7. 1 Pet. 2. 12. to 23.

^t Theophylacti in Lucam Enarratio, c. 22. p. 203, 204. Tho. Aquinas Catena in Locum cum u Compared with Mat. 26. 48, to 59. May 53. 7. Act. 8. 32.

^x In Evang. Lucæ, l. 6. c. 22. Tom. 5. p. 428. Chrysostom, Hom. 85. in Mat.

^y Hom. 7. in Mat. Lyra in Lucam l. 10. z Aquinas Catena in Locum.

^{*} Sixtus Senensis Bibl. l. 6. Annot. 156, to 158.

^{*} Luke 9. 2. Mat. 10. 10.

¹ In Lu. 22. v. 38. ² De Romano Pontifice l. 5. c. 5.

³ In Luc. 22. & Marlorat ibidem.

¹ Here p. 63.

¹² Petrus Blesensis Tract. de Hierosolymitana Peregrinatione acceleranda, Bibl. Patum, Tom. 12. pars 2. p. 231. D. h. Idem, Epistola 146. Cælestino Papæ. Ibid. p. 823. a. in the behalf of Queen Alianor Dutchesse of Normandy. n Trithemius in Chronico Hirsaug. Cent. Magd. 12. c. 3. col. 46. Morney Hist. Papatus, p. 293. Platina, Onuphrius, Balæus, in Honorio 2. Martinus Polonus in Chronico. Sabellus Anead. 8. l. 3. p. 528. d. Simoneta, l. 5. c. 7.

fore let ^a Popes and their Parasites for the future evince their pretended divine Right to the two Temporal and Spiritual swords of Supream Coercive Power over all Emperors, Kings, Princes, Churches, and Pope Hildebrand; and his Successors arming many thousands of souldiers with swords against Henry the 3, 4, 5. Frederick and other Christian Kings, Princes, and their slaughters of Millions of Christians to wrest these Swords out of their hands, and keep them in their own with meer armed force, by better arguments then any yet produced from this Text, or else for ever renounce their distinction of, and Title to these two swords, with these Thrafonical Paradoxes vented in that age by ^mPetrus Blesensis and others in their Writings to Pope Honorius and Cælestine the 2. Cum à Principibus Sacerdotum & a populo Judæorum Christus quereretur ad mortem, & de emendis gladiis ageretur, voluit duobus gladiis contentos esse duodecim. Arma Alexandri & Cæsaris hodie celebri opinione transcendit unicus ille gladius Petri quo servi auriculam amputavit. ^b Princeps Apostolorum adhuc in Apostolica sede regnat et imperat, et in medio constitutus est judicarius rigor, illudque restat ut ereratis in maleficos Pater, gladium Petri, quem ad hoc constituit super Sentes et Regna: Christi Crux, antecellit Cæsaris Aquilas; Gladius Petri, gladio Constantini; et Apostolica sedes præjudicat Imperatorie potestati. Nonne Deus Deorum locutus est vobis in Petro Apostolo dices; Quodcumque ligaveris super terram, &c. Quart ergo, &c. Ecclesia olim superborum et sublimium colla propria virtute calcabat, Legesq; Imperatorum sacros Canones sequebantur, &c.

^c Arnolphus a devout, zealous, famous Preacher, coming to Rome whilest Honorius the 2d sat there in his Pontificalibus, and observing the Roman Clergies vices, Presbyter Arnolphus, vir doctissimus, magne devotionis, & prædicator egregius, qui cum inter annunciandum verbum Dei, Clericorum lasciviam, libidinem, avaritiam, pompam, divitias, & nimium fastum reprehenderet, & paupertatem Christi & Apostolorum ejus, integerrimamque vitam ad imitationem omnibus proponeret, à Romana quidem Nobilitate, ut verus Christi discipulus laudatus est; sed Cardinalium et Clericorum odio nimium est habitus, à quibus & noctu captus, occultè est interfectus. Hoc suum Martyrium, antea cum adhuc esset in Eremito, divinitus sibi fuit revelatum, cum per Angelum, ad prædicandum Romam mitteretur. Unde & publicè dixit, Scio quod animam meam queritis, scio quod me brevi jam occidetis. Sed quare? Veritatem vobis dico; fastum, superbiam, avaritiam, luxuriam, nimiumq; studium quod comparandis divitiis miseri impenditis, reprehendo; propterea vobis non placeo. Ego testem invoco cælum & terram, quod annunciaverim vobis ea, quæ mihi Dominus præcepit: vos autem contemnitis & me, & Creatorem vestrum, qui vos per unigenitum suum filium redemit. Nec mirum si hominem me peccatorem, vobis veritatem annunciantem, morti traheuri estis: Cum etiam si Sanctus Petrus hodie resurgeret, & vitia vestra, quæ minus multiplicata uni reprehenderet, ei minime parceretis. Cum hac alta voce clamasset, subjunxit; Ego quidem morte subire pro veritate non timeo, vobis autem in verbo Domini prædico, quod omnipotens Deus non parcat impunitatibus vestris. Vos enim omni spurcitia pleni, plebem vos commissam præceditis ad infernum. Deus vindex est. Cumq; odium Cleri propter veritatem in eum favire capisset, eorū insidiis captus & submersus (or as others suspensus) est. Coccius Sabellus styles this **Fædum facinus a Clero perpetratum**: id flagitium totum ordinem infamia aspersit, culpa tamen paucorum, quàm plerique ex iis turpiter viverent, eoque licentia processissent, ut ne salubria quidem remedia pati possent. Arnolphum qui magna neminis celebritate, magnoque mortalium concursu divinam prædicabat legem, quia eorum vitam increpabat, impiè necarunt. He subjoynes, Tulit id facinus Honorius iniquo animo, **Cæterum** qua sione abstinent. Therefore doubtlesse he assented to it, qui tacet consentire videtur.

St. Bernard Abbot of Clarevall flourishing in that age, upon this occasion (as I suppose) thus declaimed against the Prelates persecution, Tyranny, * Videatur jam Ecclesia persecutionis tempus, sed ut palam factum est, nunquam deest persecutio Christianis, sed neque Christo: & nunc, quod gravius est, ipsum Christum persequuntur, qui ab eo utique Christiani dicuntur. Amici tui Deus & proximi adversum te appropinquaverunt & steterunt. **Conjurasse videtur contra te Universitas populi Christiani a minimo usque ad maximum; a planta pedis usque ad verticem, non est sanitas ulla: egressus est iniquitas a Senioribus, Judicibus et Uscaris tuis, qui videntur regere populum tuum. Non est jam dicere,**

ut

Anno 1130.
* De Conversione Pauli,
Sermo 1. t. 20.

ut populus, sic sacerdos, quia nec sic populus ut sacerdos. Heu, heu, Domine Deus quia ipsi sunt in persecutione tua primi, qui videntur in Ecclesia tua Primatum diligere, gerere Principatum. Arcem Syon apprehenderunt; munitiones & universam deinceps libere & potestate tradunt incendio Civitatem (He alludes to Pope Calixtus conquest of the Emperor, and wresting Investitures and Ecclesiastical preferment out of his hands, under pretext of Simony, that he and his successors might bestow them gratis on the best deserving Clergymen; but it fell out quite contrary, as his next words import) Misera eorum conversatio plebis tua miserabilis subversio est, atque utinam hac parte sola nocerent. Eset forte qui Dominica pramonitus & pramonitus exhortatione, daret operam ipsorum non exempla imitari, sed observare praecepta, juxta illud; Quae dicunt facite, & ad opera eorum nolite respicere. Nunc autem dati sunt sacri Gradus in occasionem turpis lucri, et quæstum æstimant pietatem. Copiosissimæ siquidem pietatis inveniantur in suscipienda, immo accipienda magis animarum Cura, sed hæc apud eos cura minor, et de animarum salute novissima cogitatio est; An vero Salvatori animarum gravior ulla esse poterat persecutio? Inique agunt & ceteri contra Christum; multique sunt nostris temporibus Antichristi. Merito tamen & crudeliorem eam censet persecutionem, pro acceptis beneficiis, & graviorem sentit pro potestate quam propriis sustinet à Ministris: licet alii quoque multi contra proximorum salutem multipharè multisque modis & variis occasionibus agere videantur: Agnoscite dilectissimi & expavescite consortia eorum qui suggestionem malignam, exemplo pernicioso, scandali occasione salutem impediunt animarum. Horrendum penitus * Sacrilgium, quod & ipsum videtur excedere facinus quo Domino Majestatis manus Sacriligos iniecerunt. Hæc videt Christus, & flet: Hæc Salvator patitur, & dissimulat, Propterea dissimulemus nos quoque necesse est & fileamus interim, maximeque de Prelatis nostris magistris Ecclesiarum. Sic nimirum, sic placet, et impiis ut evadant nunc humana judicia, veniatque semel judicium grave his qui præsumunt, et potentes patiantur tormenta potenter.

Mat. 24.

* This is the worst Sacrilage, which the Popes, Bishops, Priests were most guilty of.

How corrupt, unjust, and dishonourable this Pope Honorius and the Court of Rome were in their proceedings, St. Bernard thus informed both himself and the world in several of his Epistles to him and Haimericus Chancellor of the Roman See. Summo Pontifici Honorio, pauperum Christi Abbates, Hugo de Pontiniaco, & Bernardus de Claravalle, quicquid potest peccatorum oratio. Lachrymabilem Episcoporum, imo totius Ecclesie querimoniam, nos quoque ejus filii, si tamen digni, dissimulare non possumus. Quæ vidimus, loquimur: magna siquidem nos necessitas de claustris ad publicum traxit, ubi & quod loquimur vidimus. Tristes vidimus, tristes eloquimur; honorem Ecclesie Honorii tempore non minime læsum. Jam Regis flexerat iram humilitas, vel potius constantia Episcoporum, cum ecce a Summo Pontifice summa superveniens auctoritas, heu deiecit constantiam, superbiam statuit. Scimus quidem id vobis per mendacium fuisse surreptum, quod ex vestris literis palam datur adverti, ut everti tam justum, tamque necessarium interdictum juberetis. Sed nunquid non vel tandem deprehensio mendacio, mentium se sentiret iniquitas sibi, & non tanta utique Majestati? Est autem quod miramur; qua nam ratione judicatum sit de parte, abjudicatum absenti. Quod tamen non temeraria præsumptione reprehendimus, sed filiali amore, paterno cordi suggerimus, quantum ex hoc et superbit impius, et incenditur pauper. Ceterum quamdiu illum pati, quantumve huic compati debeatis, non est nostrum præscribere vobis. Vos vestra hinc potius dulcissime Pater viscera consulite, Valet. The cause of which complaint is thus related in his next Epistle to this Pope, written ^b ex persona Gaufridi Carnotensis; King Lewis of France, for some pretended misdemeanor, or just cause had seized the Temporalities of the Bishop of Paris, who complaining thereof to the Archbishop of Sienna, and his Suffragans; excepta siquidem tam modesta prædicti Episcopi querimonia, Senonensis Diocesis universi Episcopi, una cum venerabili Metropolitano nostro, ascitis etiam nobiscum quibusdam aliis Religiosis personis, Regem super gravi injuria per nos ipsos humiliter, prout debemus, convenimus, ut Episcopo, nil quidem tale merito,

a Epistola 46.

b Epistola 47.

sua quæ tulerat restitueret, rogavimus, nec impetravimus. **S**entiens tandem nos ad arma Ecclesiæ pro Ecclesia velle confugere, (they interdicting his Land, and threatening to excommunicate him) timuit, annuitque (se omnia redditurum. **S**ed in eadem forte hora supervenientibus Literis vestris, quibus ejus terram ab interdicto absolvi præcepistis, male in malum confortatus, quod bene promiserat minime executus est. Die tamen nominata qua id se rursus promisit executurum, ejus nobis conspectui præsentant, sustinimus pacem, & non venit, quasivimus bona, & ecce turbatio. Hoc denique literis vestris factum est, ut male ablata pejus teneantur, et reliqua passim indices rapiantur, eo utique secure quo impune illa retinentur; Soluta nempe ad vestrum imperium Episcopi iusto (ut putamus) interdicto, nostroque, quando parabamus, & quo sperabamus pacem consequi, vestro æque timore suspeso, interim facti sumus opprobrium vicinis nostris. Quousque, vestra viderit pietatis compassio.

c^o Epistola 48.
51.

Isa. 5
1 Tim. 3.

Psal. 38.

Isay 26.

In two other Epistles he complains how much he was slandered, misrepresented to this Pope and his Court at *Rome*, yea persecuted for writing truth to them and doing well; *Etiame pauperi & inopi veritas odium parit, & ne ipsa quidem miseria declinare invidiam potest? Sed hoc viderint fratres vestri, qui contra legem, maledicunt furdo; & maledictum propheticum non verentes, dicunt bonum malum, & malum bonum: Quid in me o boni viri displicuit Paternitati vestre? &c. Quousque durat illa sententia, Omnes qui pie volunt vivere in Christo, persecutionem patiuntur? Quousque reliquitur virga peccatoris super sortem justorum? Utinam nuper non essem, ubi vidissem adversum Ecclesiam Apostolica (proh dolo?) auctoritate violentam armari tyzannidem, quasi non satis per se insanisset. Tum demum leni juxta Prophetam adhærescere linguam meam palato meo, cum subito pondus superjectum est nostris cervicibus, atque irrefragabilis auctoritas literarum: Obmutui & humiliatus sum, & dolor meus renovatus est, quoniam vidi repente ad illas literas, impleri facies innocentium ignominia, et lætari amplius impios quod male fecerint, et exultare in his rebus pessimis: Misertum est impio, ut juxta dictum propheticum, non disceret facere justitiam; & qua in terra sanctorum injusta gessit, ipsius terra iustissimo quo tenebatur absoluta est interdicto, &c. Non tamen me latente et tacente cessare puto murmur Ecclesiarum, si non cesset Romana Curia pro voluntate assistentium facere præjudicium in absentes. Valete.*

Which he further prosecutes *Epist. 49, 50, 51, 52.*

This holy zealous Abbot *St. Bernard*, writ, preached, declaimed more frequently and largely against the Usurpations, Temporal, Spiritual Domination, Ambition, Pomp, Pride, Simony, Sacrilege, Laziness, Uncleanness, Sodomy, Bribery, Corruptions of the Popes, Prelates, Clergy, Court and Church of *Rome*, then *Arnulphus* whom they slew, both in his * forecited Passages, (on which you may reflect) and in his *Homilia 4. Super missus est, De Conversatione ad Clericos, parvi Sermones; Super Cantica Sermo 10, 23, 24, 32, 33, 76, 77. Epistola 42. ad Henricum Senonensem Archiepiscopum, Epist. 48, 51, 78, 87, 91, 125, 126, 132, 152, 164, 168, 169, 176, 178, 185, 189, 210, 219, 234, 235, 236, 299,* in his Bookes *De Consideratione* to Pope *Eugenius*; in his *Sermo ad Clerum in Concilio Rhemensi, ad Pastores Sermo*, in *Synodo*, and other his works. I shall transcribe some Passages of his, that all the world may thereby discover the sad effects of Popes wresting Investitures out of the Emperors and Laymens hands, to engross the disposition of all Ecclesiastical dignities, preferments into their own & Clergies, and their inhibiting Priests marriages, produced; and what ill Bishops, Clergymen they preferred. * *Si reddenda est ratio de his quod quisque gessit in corpore suo: heu quid fiet de his quæ quisque gessit in corpore Christi. quod est Ecclesia; Ecclesia Dei vobis commissa est, et dicimini Pastores, cum sitis Raptores. Et paucos habemus heu Pastores, multos autem Excommunicatores. Et utinam sufficeret vobis lana et lac, sititis enim sanguinem. Quatuor tamen in his qui præsumunt in Ecclesia Dei necessaria esse præ omnibus reor: Adhuc ut per ostium intrent, ut in humilitate se contineant, avaritiam declinent: mundiciam tam corde quam corpore servare studeant. Sed quid prodest si canonicè eligantur (quod est per ostium intrare) & non canonicè vivant? Dixit dominus,*

* Sermo 10. &
77, super Can-
tice; & in Con-
cilio Rhemensi.
In Psal. c. 1.
Sermo 6, & 7.
Quatuor his
qui præsumunt ne-
cessaria.

Joh. 6.

ad

ad duodecim, Nonne ego vos duodecim eligi, & unus ex vobis Diabolus est? *Domine Jesu cum esset electio illa in manu tua, & non haberes aliquem contradicentem, & reclamantem tibi, Quare eligisti Diabolum Episcopum? Cur bone Jesu non eligisti bonum, & justum, & sanctum, sicut Petrus bonus, justus, & sanctus fuit? Vel si eligisti Diabolum, cur te iactas eligisse?* Fratres, sic facit Jesus hodie, eligens sibi multos Diabolos Episcopos. Ubi proh dolo! reperiemus Episcopos qui post adeptam dignitatem in humilitate se contineant? Nempe superbia eis occasio est ut ad tantam dignitatem aspirent, ut in obile Christi impudenter irrumpant: cum tamen per Psalmistam Dominus dicat, Non habitabit in medio domus meæ qui facit superbiam. *Jesu autem in medio est, non in angulo. Unde ipse in Evangelio; Ubi duo, inquit, vel tres congregati fuerint in nomine meo, in medio eorum sum. Et iterum, Jesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat. Et in Libro Sapientia, In medio, inquit, Ecclesiæ aperuit os ejus. Et rursus in Evangelio dicitur, Stetit Jesus in medio Discipulorum suorum. Ve mihi Domine Jesu si tecum ero in domo tua, & non in medio domus tue.* At isti non sic, sunt quidam cum Jesu; sed non in medio domus ejus, quia amant & faciunt superbiam; Parentes suos extolles, Pauperes autem negligentes, & deprimentes. Male vivunt, et subjectos male vivere volunt. Et idcirco comparantur Apostoli Angelo qui dixit in corde suo, Ponam sedem meam ad aquilonem, &c. Tales fuerunt Scribæ & Pharisei, contra quos ait Dominus, Væ vobis Scribæ & Pharisei qui clauditis regnum celorum ante homines, vos enim non intratis & introentes non finitis introire. Porro Episcopi hujus temporis avaritiam quomodo declinent? Quod enim sine miserabili gemitu dicendum non est, Christi opprobria, sputa, flagella, clavos, lanceam, crucem, hæc omnia fornace avaritiæ constant, et prodigant in acquisitionem turpis quæstus, et precium Universitatis suæ maculosis includere festinant, hoc solo sane à Juda Ischariote differentes, quod ille horum omne emolumentum denariorum numero compensavit: isti voraciori ingluvie lucrozum infinitas erigunt pecunias. His insatiabili desiderio inhiant, pro his ne amittant, timent, & cum amittunt dolent. Hæc in amore quantum quiescent duntaxat librum est eis arbitrii accervandi vel augmentandi, cura. Animarum nec datus reputatur, nec salus: non sunt profecto matres, qui cum sint de crucifixi Patrimonia nimium incrassati, impinguati, dilatati, non compatiuntur super contritione Joseph. Archipresbyter circum obediuntiam sibi creditam & ut impleat saccum suum, tradit sanguinem justum. Uendit nempe homicidia, adulteria, incestus, fornicationes, sacrilegia, perjuriam, et usque ad summum implet manticam suam. Fama igitur volente innotescit Episcopo, salus quaestus, & accersio Archipresbytero, Da mihi (inquit) partem meam. At illi nihil dabo tibi: è contra Episcopus; si non dederis mihi (inquit) partem meam, auferam tibi omnia. Fitque altercatio maxima, & propter avaritiam sic discordia. Postea vero Archipresbyter revolvens secum, quod Authoritate Episcopi fungatur potestate ista; & quod sine gratia ipsius nihil possit (perverse conversus) pœnitet inquit me, accipe partem tuam, & insuper de mea quod beneplacitum fuerit, & reconciliantur. Heu sicut Herodes & Pilatus reconciliati sunt; et Christus crucifixus est: sic nihilominus isti reconciliantur, & pauperes Christi spoliati sunt. Entempora ista planè facta a negotio perambulante in tenebris: Quapropter Væ generationi huic a fermento Phariseorum, quod est Hypocrisis: si tamen hypocrisis dici debet, quæ iam latere præ abundantia non valet, & præ impudentia non querit. Et sic serpit hodie putrida tabes per omne corpus Ecclesiæ, quo latius, eo desperatius: eoque periculosius quo intestinus. Nam si insurgeret apertus Hæreticus, mitteretur foras & arceretur, si violentus inimicus, absconderet se quis forsitan ab eo. Nunc quomodo ejiciet, aut quomodo abscondet se? Omnes amici & Inimici omnes necessarii, omnes domestici & nulli pacifici. Et quæ sua sunt querunt omnes. Ministri Christi sunt, et servunt Antichristo: honorati incedunt de bonis Domini, cui honorem non deferunt. Unde hic est eis quem quotidie videmus meretricis nitor, histrionicus habitus, regius apparatus. Inde aurum in franis, aurum in sellis, & in calcaribus: plus nitent calcaria quam altaria. Inde mensa splendida, & Cibus & Cyphus, Inde commensationes & ebrietas, Inde Cithara & lyra & tibia: redundantia torcularia, & promptuaria plena, erustantia ex hoc in illud. Inde dolia pigmentaria, inde referta marisupia. Hujusmodi sunt et

Psal. 100.

Math. 18

Luc. 4.
Eccl. 15.
Luc. 24.

Esa. 14.

Mat. 23.

Luc. 22.

Phil. 2. 25.

Psal. 143.

Esa. 21.

Esa. 21.

Psal. 39.

Isa. 1.

Job 40.

2 Thess. 2.

Phil. 3.

Tsal. 51.

Psal. 78.

Ole 4.

* Here, p. 296,
291, 292, 293.

* Epistola 42.

et volunt esse, Ecclesiarum Præpositi, Decani, Episcopi, et Archiepiscopi. Nec enim hac merito cedunt, sed negotio illi, quod perambulat in tenebris. Olim prædictum est, & nunc tempus impletionis advenit, Ecce in pace amaritudo mea amarissima, Amara prius in nece Martyrum, amarior post in conflictu Hæreticorum, amarissima nunc in moribus Domesticorum. Non fugari, non exterminari possunt, ita invaluerunt, ita multiplicati sunt super numerum. Intestina, & insanabilis enim plaga Ecclesie, & ideo in pace amaritudo mea amarissima. Sed in qua pace? Pax est, & non est Pax: Pax a Paganis, Pax ab Hæreticis, sed non profecto a filiis. Vox plangentis in tempore Israel, Filios enutrivit & exaltavi, ipsi autem spreverunt me. Spreverunt et invaluerunt a turpi vita, a turpi quæstu, a turpi commercio, a negotio perambulante in tenebris: Superest ut jam de medio fiat demonium meridianum ad seducendos si qui in Christo residui sunt, adhuc persistentes in simplicitate sua, siquidem ab orbuit fluvios sapientum, & torrentes potentum, Et habet fiduciam quod influat Jordanis in os ejus, i. humiles & simplices qui sunt in Ecclesia, Ipse enim est Antichristus, qui non solum se diem, sed & meridiem mentitur, & extollitur supra id quod colitur, ut Deus, quem dominus Jesus interficiet Spiritu oris sui, & destruet illum illustratione adventus sui. Ecce diximus quales habemus Pastores in via hac qua ambulamus, non quales habere opus. Non sunt omnes amici sponsi, qui hodie sponsi sunt Ecclesie. Hinc inde offit re cernuntur, & vulgo aiunt eam quasi adduxerunt videntur. Pauci admodum sunt qui quæ sua sunt, non quarunt, ex omnibus Charis ejus. Diligunt munera, nec possunt pariter diligere Christum, quia manus dederunt Hammoni, Intra re quomodo incedunt, nudi & ornati, circumamicti varietate tanquam sponsa procedens de thalamo suo. Nonne si quempiam alium repente eminus procedentem asseris, sponsam potius putabis quam sponse custodem? Unde vero hanc illis, exuberare aestimes rerum affluentiam, vestium splendorem, mensarum luxuriam, congeriem vasorum argenteorum & aureorum, nisi de bonis sponsi? Inter hæc est quod illa pauper, et inops, et nuda relinquitur facie miseranda, inculta, hispida et exanguis: non est custodire, sed perdere; non est defendere, sed exponere; non est instruere, sed prostituere; non est pascere gregem Domini, sed mactare, et devorare; dicente Domino de illis, qui devorant plebem meam ut cibum panis: & iterum, quia comederunt Jacob & locum ejus defolaverunt, peccata populi comederunt, quasi dicat, peccatorum precia exigunt, et peccantibus sollicitudinem non impendunt. Quem dabis mihi de numero Episcoporum, qui non plus indigilet subditorum ebandis marsupis, quam vitis extipandis? Ubi est qui flectat iram? Ubi est qui prædicet annum placabilem domino? Propterea reliquamus istos, qui non sunt Pastores sed Traditores, et imitemur illos qui viventes in Carne, plantaverunt Ecclesiam sanguine suo. Et quidem isti sortiti sunt Ministerii locum, sed non Zelum; successores omnes capiunt esse, imitatores pauci; utinam tam vigilantes reperirentur ad Curiam, quam alacres currunt ad Cathedralam; vigilarent utique sollicitè servantes sibi creditam Ecclesiam. Immo vero vigilarent pro semetipsis nec sinerent de se dici, amici mei & proximi mei adversum me appropinquare & steterunt. Iusta omnino querimonia, nec ad ullum justius quam ad nostram referenda ætatem; Parum est nostris Pastoribus quod non servant nos, nisi et perdant: Graviter quippe dimeris oblivionis somnio ad nullum dominice comminationis tonitruum expergiscuntur, ut vel summum ipsorum periculum expavescant: inde est quod non parcant suis, qui non parcant sibi perimenter pariter & pereuntes. After which he relates their unclean, Sodomitical practises, which I * formerly touched, and shall not here repeat.

In another place he thus complains of the ambition, avarice, depravation of the Clergy, & Court of Rome in that age. * Nunc verò quia sola attenditur gloria, & non pœna, parum esse clericum erubescit in Ecclesia, seque viles aestimant & inglorii, qui quocunque eminentiori in loco non fuerint sublimari: Scholares pueri, & impuberes adolescentuli ob sanguinis dignitatem, & de sub ferula transferuntur ad principandum Presbyteris, latiores interim quod virgas evaserint, quam quod mernerint principatum, nec tam illis

illis blanditur adeptum, quam adeptum Magisterium: Et hoc quidem in initio. Pro-
cessu vero temporis paulatim insolentes, docti sunt in brevi vindicare altaria, subdito-
rum marsupia vacuare, Magistris nimirum in hac disciplina utentes idoneis, ambi-
tione et avaritia. Verum quantavis industria tua tibi lucra conquirere cantulus vi-
dearis, quantalibet vigilantiam possis servare tuam, quantocunque studio Regum tibi ac
Principum gratiam captare cures, dicimus tamen, Vx terræ cujus Rex est puer, & cu-
jus Principes mane comedunt: Caterum curritur in Clero, passim ab omni ætate & or-
dine, à doctis pariter & indoctis, ad Ecclesiasticas Curas, tanquam sine curis jam
quisque victurus sit, cum ad curas pervenerit. Nec mirum de his qui necdum
in semetipsis experti sunt. Videntes quippe illos qui jam proprios humeros cupitæ sarcinæ
summisserunt, non solum non gemere tanquam sub onere, sed insuper appetere plus onerari,
non deterrentur periculis, qui cupiditate cæcati non vident, sed favoribus amplius quos
illis invident provocantur. ¶ Infinita semper Ambitio, et insatiabilis avaritia!
Cum primos honorum gradus meruerint in Ecclesia, meruerint, autem vel vitæ me-
rito vel pecuniæ, sive etiam carnis et sanguinis, quæ regnum Dei non posside-
bunt, prærogativa, non ideo Corda quiescunt, duplici semper æstu-
antia desiderio, quo utique magis ac magis et dilatentur * in plu-
ra, et ad celsiora sublimentur. Verbi gratia, cum factus quis fue-
rit in quacunque Ecclesia Decanus, Præpositus, Archidiaconus,
aut aliquid hujusmodi, non contentus uno in una, plures sibi immo
quotquot valet conquirere honores satagit, tam in una quam in plu-
ribus. Quibus tamen omnibus si locus evenierit, libenter unius
præferet Episcopi dignitatem; Sed nunquid sic satiabitur? Factus
Episcopus, Archiepiscopus esse desiderat. Quo fortè adepto, rursus
nescio quid aliud somnians, laboriosis itineribus, et sumptuosis fami-
liaritatibus Romanum statuit frequentare palatium, questuosas
sibi quasdam erinde comparans amicitias. Si Lucris Spiritualis gratia
hac faciunt, laudandus est zelus, sed præsumptio corrigenda. Nonnulli cum ista non
possint, vertunt se ad aliud ambiendi genus, in quo nihilominus aperiant eam quam ha-
bent dominandi libidinem. Nam cum præsideant Urbibus valde populosis, &
totas, ut ita dicam patrias propriæ Diocesis ambitu circumcludunt, occasione inventa,
ex quocunque veteri privilegio, satis agunt, ut et vicinas sibi subjiciant.
Civitates, quatenus duæ, quibus duo vir præfules sufficiebant, sub
uno redigantur Antistite. R. g. quæ hæc tam odiosa præsumptio? Quis
hic tantus ardor dominandi super terram? quæ principandi, tam
effrenis cupiditas? Certè cum primum tractus es ad Cathedram, flebas, refugio-
bas, vim querebaris: multum ad te, & omnino suprate esse dicens, miserum clamitans
& indignum, qui non esses idoneus tam Sancto Ministerio, tuis non sufficeret curis:
Quid igitur nunc verecunda depulsa formidine, sponte ambis ad
ampliora, immo irreverenti audacia, propriis non contentus in va-
dis aliena? Cur hoc? Fortè ut plures populos salves? Sed in alienam messem tuam
mittere falcem injuriosum est. Ut tuæ præstes Ecclesiæ? Sed Ecclesia-
rum sponso non placet tale unius incrementum quod sit detrimen-
tum alterius. Crudelis ambitio, & incredibilis, si fidem oculi non astruerent: Vix
tenent manus quin illud ad literam impleant, quod loquitur in Propheta, Secuerunt pre-
gnantes Galaad, ad dilatandum terminos suos. Ubi est illa terrificæ comminatio, Vx
qui conjungitis domum ad domum, & agrum agro copulatis: Nunquid in his dun-
taxat exiguis, væ istud metuendum est, non autem cum Urbes Urbibus,
aut Provinciæ Provinciis continuantur? Immo, etiam respondeant si
imitari Dominum Christum; facientes & ipsi utraque unum adducentes, & ipsi ex di-
versis pascuis greges, Ut fiat unus pastor, & unum ovile. Hujus rei gratia, non pigri-
tantur crebro terere limina Apostolorum, inventuri et ibi quod ma-
gis dolendum est, qui suæ saveant improbæ voluntati: non quod
valde Romani curent, quo fine res terminetur; sed quia valde
diligunt munera, sequuntur retributiones. Nude nuda loquor, nec re-
tego verecunda, sed inverecunda confuto. Utinam privatim & in Cameris hæc fierent,
Utinam

Ecci. 10.

* Is not this
their Genius,
Præfule ever
since, & now?

Esa. 5.

Eph. 2.
Joann. 10. 16

Utinam soli viderimus & audierimus, Utinam nec loquentibus crederetur, Utinam nobis reliquerint moderni Nox unde à Nobis possent aliquatenus operiri. Nunc vero cernente Dbe mundi fabulam soli tacebimus?

In Psal. 91.
Sermo 6.

He elsewhere thus seconds this complaint, ^a Ipsa quoque Ecclesiastica dignitatis officia in turpem quæstum & tenebrarum negotium transire, nec in his salus animarum, sed lusus quæritur divitiarum. Propter hoc tendunt, propter hoc frequentant Ecclesias, Missas celebrant, Psalmos decantant. Pro Episcopatus et Archidiaconatibus et Abbatibus, aliisque dignitatibus hodie impudenter decertatur, ut Ecclesiarum redditus in superfluitatis et vanitatis usus dissipentur.

b = Theff. 2.

c Epistola 42.
ad Henticum
Senonensem
Archiepiscopum
1 Tim. 2.

Superest ut reveletur homo peccati, filius perditionis, demonium non modo diurnum sed & meridianum; quod non solum transfigeretur in Angelorum lucis, ^b sed extollitur super omne quod dicitur Deus, aut quod colitur. Nimirum insatietur crudelius calcaneo matris Ecclesia, à qua dolet caput suum esse contritum. Hic planè gravissimus erit incursus, sed ob hoc quoque Ecclesiam Electorum veritas liberabit propter eos brevians dies. ^c Cernitur in nonnullis Sacerdotibus vestium cultus plurimus, virtutum aut nullus, aut exiguus. Quibus ego si rememorarem illud Apostolicum, non in veste preciosa, vereor ne indignantur: dum nimirum indignum ducant in se assumptam sententiam, quam prius in viliorum sexum & ordinem prolata fuisse, recognoverint. Quasi vero non eodem utantur medico ferro secandis regibus quo & popularibus hominibus, aut capiti fiat injuria, si ipsis forcipibus capilli excrecentes detondeantur, quibus & unguium fuerint rescata superflua. Attamen si dedignantur pari cum mulierculis, non quidem à me, sed ab Apostolo feriri sententia; dedignantur & cum ipsis eadem involvi culpa. Despiciant jam texturicum sive pellicum, & non propriis operibus gloriari. Horreant et murum rubricatas pelliculas, quas gulas vocant, manibus circumdare sacratis, & sacramentibus tremenda mysteria. Respuant & apponere pectori quod decentius ornat gemma sapientia, pudeat & Collo circumtexere quod honestius atque suavius Christi iugo submittitur: Non Christi stigmata sunt hæc, quæ isti Martyrum exemplo circumferant in corpore suo. Muliebria potius esse noscuntur insignia: quæ utique curiosius, & sumptuosius ille sibi præparare consueverunt, cogitantes nimirum, quæ sunt mundi, quomodo placeant viris. Certe tu Sacerdos Dei altissimi, cui ex his placere gestis, mundo, an Deo? Si mundo, cur Sacerdos?

d Mat. 6. 24.
e Jacob. 4.
f Psal. 52.
g Gal. 1.

Si Deo, cur qualis populus talis et Sacerdos? Nam si placere vis mundo, quid tibi prodest Sacerdotium? ^a Nec enim potes duobus Dominis servire. ^e Qui autem vult amicus esse huius mundi, inimicus Dei constituitur. Et Propheta^f Deus (inquit) dissipabit ossa eorum qui hominibus placent, confusi sunt quoniam Deus sprevit eos. Et Apostolus, ^g Si hominibus placerem, Christi servus non essem. Volens itaque placere hominibus, Deo non places. Sinon places, non placeas. Cur ergo, ut dixi, Sacerdos? Sin vero quod addidi, placere intendis non mundo sed Deo, cur qualis populus & Sacerdos? Enimvero si Sacerdos Pastor est, & populus Oves, dignum est ut in nullo appareat Ovis Pastor dissimilis, si instar mei qui ovium sum, Pastor meus & ipse incurvus graditur, vultum gerens deorsum, & terram semper respiciens, & soli ventri mente jejunos pabula queritans, in quo discernimur? Væ si

h Johan. 10.

h venerit lupus, non erit qui prævideat, qui occurrat, qui eripiat. Decetne pastorem more pecorum, sensibus incubare corporeis, hæere infimis, inhiare terrenis, et non potius erectum stare ut hominem, cælum mente suscipere, ⁱ quæ sursum sunt & quærere, & sapere, non quæ super terram?

i Col. 3. 1.

Ceterum mihi indignatur, si vel nutum facere audeam, iubetque ori meum apponere, ^{*} dicens, Monachum qui non habeam iudicare de Episcopis. Utinam & oculos mihi claudas, ut nec cernere possem, quæ contradicere prohibes. Magna verò præsumptio si ovium cum sim, in ipsum Pastorem meum Lupus sevissimas, vanitatem & curiositatem irrumpere cernens, infremuero, quo ad meum forte balatum carentis bestiis à quopiam occurratur, & succurratur perituro. Quid facient de me qui ovicula sum, quæ in ipsum pastorem tanta feritate insilunt? Et quidem si non vult ut clamem pro se, nunquid non et pro me balare licebit? Sed si ego sileo ne ponere videar in cælum os meum, clamatur tamen in Ecclesia, ^k non in veste preciosa. Clamat autem specialiter ad feminas, ut erubescat in se deprehendi Episcopus quod in fragilliori quoque sexu audierit reprehendi.

k 1 Pet. 2.

An forte nulla timeatur confusio si ego solus submissitare desero? Nunquid etsi Ego non loquor, sua cuique non loquitur Conscientia? Quid si alius audacior me, non quidem de Apostolo, ut ego, non de Evangelio, non de Propheta, non denique quip-

* And hath not
this been their
language ever
since?

quipiam Ecclesiasticum, sed illud tamen gentilicum ingerat, **Dicite Pontifices, non quidem in sancto, sed ex quo facit aurum?** Quoniam tolerabilis in Sancto, quam in freno. Hac me etiam tacente; & si non Curia Regum, tamen penuria pauperum clamat. Sileat licet fama, sed non fames. Fama quidem silenti, quod non potest mundus odisse vos; Nam quomodo arguet mundus peccatum à quo potius¹ laudatur peccator in desideris animæ suæ, & iniquus benedicit? Clamant vero nudi, clamant famelici conqueruntur & dicunt; Dicite Pontifices, in freno quid facit aurum? Nunquid aurum à freno, repellit frigus siue esuriem? Nobis frigore & fame laborantibus, quid conferunt tot mutatoria vel extensa in partibus, vel plicata in mantibus? Nostrium est quod effunditis, nobis crudeliter subtrahitur, quod inaniter expenditis, Et nos enim Dei plasmatio, & nos sanguine Christi Redempti sumus. Nos ergo fratres vestri, Videte quale sit de fraterna portione pascere oculos vestros. Visa nostra cedit vobis in superfluas copias, nostris necessitatibus detrahuntur quicquid accedit vanitatibus vestris. Dico denique mala de una prodeunt radice cupiditatis, dum & vos vanitando peritis, & nos spolians perimitis. Fumenta gradiuntur onusta gemmis, & nostra non curatis crura nuda caligulis. Annuli, Catenula, tintinnabula & clavata quedam corrigia, multaque talia tam speciosa coloribus quam ponderibus preciosa, mulorum dependent cervicibus, fratrurn autem lateribus nec similitudine miserantes apponitis. Huc accedit, quod hac omnia, nec negotiationis studio, nec proprio manuum exercitio vobis elaborastis, sed nec iure Hereditario possidetis, nisi forte & vos in corde vestro dixeritis, ^a Hereditate possideamus sanctuarium Dei. Et hec pauceres modo quidam coram Deo tantum, cui corda loquuntur; nec enim audent aperire causari adversum vos, quibus interim pro sua vita necesse habet potius supplicare. Ceterum in futuro stabunt in magna constantia adversus eos qui se angustiauerunt, stante quippe pro eis prece Orphanorum, & iuxta Viduarum. Ipsi enim tunc vox erit; ^o Quamdiu non fecistis uni de his minimis meis, nec mihi fecistis. Epist. 152. he thus complained to Pope Innocent the 4th. as he had done to his Predecessors; Insolentia Clericorum, cuius mater est negligentia Episcoporum, ubique terrarum turbat et molestat Ecclesiam: Dant Episcopi Sanctum canibus, & margaritam porcis, & illi conversi conculcant eos. Quales fervent, tales sustinent. Quos dicant Ecclesia bonis, non corrigunt eorum mala, malosque gravati portant. Alienis nimirum laboribus locupletantur Clerici, comedunt fructum terra absque pecunia, & prodit quasi ex adipe iniquitas eorum, quos proprie hodieque respicit vetus illa Scriptura, ^{*} Sedit populus manducare & bibere, & surrexerunt ludere. Mens quippe assueta deliciis, nec exculta discipline sarculo, multas contrahit sordes. Porro inveteratam rubiginem si tentes abradere, nec summis saltem digitis contingi patietur, sed sicut scriptum est, incrassatus est dilectus & recalcitravit. Insurrexerunt testes iniqui homines, quos delectat vitam semper alienam rodere; negligere suam. And Epist. 177. Ad Dominum Papam Innocentium in persona Alberonis, Treverensis Archiepiscopi, he complains, Suffraganeos accepi juvenes & nobiles: adjutores esse deberent, et utinam non adverterentur. Sed supersedeo: Dico tamen Ius, fas, honestas, religio in nostris Episcopatibus perierunt; to wit, among the Bishops and Clergy, of whom he thus complained to the Pope, without any hopes of redresse. I pretermit his ^{*} other passages against the Corruption, Simony, Sacrilege, Ambition, Pomp, Pride, Laziness, Uncharitableness, Luxury, Uncleanliness, Bribery, and Atheistical lives of the Roman Court, Prelates, Clergy in that age, when Popes and Popish Prelates had the sole election, preferment, correction of them; yet would not suffer Monks or Laymen so much as to reprehend, much lesse to correct their persons or vices.

After the death of Pope Honorius (to whom St. Bernard writ several ^{*} Epistles) Anno Dom. 1130. there arose a Great Schisme in the Church about the election of a New Pope; some of the Cardinals electing Gregory Cardinal of St. Angelo, who assumed the name of Innocent the 2. against the Romans consents: who presently taking up arms against Rogerius Duke of Sicily and Normandy (stiling^b himself King of Sicily) to suppress him, was together with his Cardinals taken and detained Prisoner by him, till he granted him all his demands, except only the Title of King of Sicily: In the mean time the Romans chose the sonne of Peter Leo Pope, and stiled him Anacletus. He to establish himself in St. Peters Chair, seized upon the gold or silver Crowns, Crosses, Crucifixes, Vessels, Ornaments of the Church, & melting

c. 74. Platina, Stella, Crantzius, Barnes, Balauus, Volaterranus, Opmeerus, Fasciculus Temporum in Centur. Magd. 12. c. 9. 10. Sigonius de Regno Ital. l. 11. Morney Hist. Papatus, p. 394, &c.

¹ Psal. 9.

^m Act. 30.

ⁿ Psal. 82.

^o Mar. 25.

^{*} He means Holy Orders.

^{*} Psal. 73. Exod. 32.

^{*} See Epist. 158, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168.

^{*} Epist. 13, 14, 46, 47, 49, 50.

^b Sigeberti Continuator Otto Frisingensis, l. 7. c. 27 28. Chronicon Bambergense Simoneta l. 5. Innocentio 2.

them into coyn distributed the money among the *Romans*, wherby he so obliged them to him, that *Innocent* after his release out of prison, thought it not safe to stay at *Rome*, but taking ship with his *Cardinals* passed over to *Pisa*, and there excommunicated *Anacletus*. From thence sending a *Legate* to *Ludovicus Crassus* King of *France*, to relate the equity of his cause, desired he might be there received as *Pope*; the French Bishops being doubtfull, to which of these *Popes* they should adhere, some of them siding with *Anacletus* against *Innocent*; thereupon a *Council* was held at *Stamps*, where (by *St. Bernards* means, who stickled for *Innocent*, and writ many **Epistles* to Kings, Princes, Bishops in his behalf) *Innocent* was received as *Pope*. After which he posted into *Germany* to *Lotharius*, where a *Council* of Bishops was called at *Leodium*, which received him as *Pope*; engaging *Lotharius* the Emperor by Oath to restore him, if he would crown him Emperor. After which returning into *France*, having by *St. Bernards* *Epistles*, travel, mediation, engaged the Kings of *Germany*, *England*, *Scotland*, *Spain*, *Jerusalem*, to receive him as lawfull *Pope*, he held several *Councils* at *Rhemes*, *Placentia*, *Pisa*, and *Claremount*, wherein he **solemnly excommunicated, anathematized Anacletus and all his adherents with horrible execrations.*

* Bernardi Epist. 124, to 133, 139, 140, 150, 76.
Bernardi Vita l. 2. c. 1, 2.

* Cent. Magd. 12. col. 1031.

Psal. 118.
* Antichrist may possesse S. Peters chair.
Psal. 2.

St. Bernard in his 125. *Epistle* renders this account of these two *Popes* elections and proceedings, ad *Magistrum Galfridum de Loratorio*; Tu tibi quiescis, & mater tua Ecclesia graviter conturbatur: habuit sua tempora quies, & sanctum osium habetenus sua negotia licenter, libenterque exercuit: Tempus faciendi nunc, quia dissipaverunt legem: Bestia illa de *Apocalypsi*, cui datum est os loquens blasphemias, & bellum gerere cum Sanctis, **Petri Cathedram occupat, tanquam Leo paratus ad pradam*: (he means *Anacletus*) Altera quoque bestia penes vos subsistat, sicut canis in abditis. Illa ferocior, ista callidior pariter convenerunt in unum adversus Dominum & Christum ejus: Demus operam cito dirumpere vincula eorum, & projicere à nobis jugum ipsorum. Nos in nostris partibus una cum aliis Dei servis, divino igne accensis, Deo cooperante laboramus in conveniendo populo in unum & Reges, ad diripiendum pravorum consensum, ad destruendam omnem altitudinem extolentem se adversus scientiam Dei. Nec infructuose. Alemannia, Francia, Anglia, Scotia, Hispaniarum & Hierosolymorum Reges, cum universo Clero & populo favent & adherent Domino Innocentio, tanquam filii patri, tanquam capiti membra, solliciti fervare unitatem Spiritus in vinculo pacis. Merito autem illum recepit Ecclesia; cujus & opinio clarior, & electio sanior inventa est, nimirum eligentium & numero vincens, & merito. At tu frater quid adhuc negligis? quousque vicino serpenti tua malè secunda dormitat industria. Scimus quidem te filium pacis nulla posse ratione induci deferre unitatem; sed profectò non sufficit, nisi & defensare, atque ipsius quoque turbatores totis viribus debellare studueris. Nec quietis timeas detrimentum, quod non parvo tua gloria incremento compensabitur, si fera illa vicina vobis tuo studio mansuescat, vel obmutescat, & tantam Ecclesia pradam (Comitem dico *Pictaviensem*) in manu tua Dei pietas de ore Leonis eripiat. In his *Epistola* 124. ad *Hildebertum Senonensem Archiepiscopum*, qui nondum acceperat *Papam Innocentium*. *Epistola* 126. ad *Episcopos Aquitania* contra *Gerardum Engolismensem Episcopum*, *Epistola* 127, & 128. ex persona *Ducis Burgundie* *Guillermo egregio Comiti Pictavorum, & Duci Aquitanorum*. & *Epist.* 129. to 140. he pleads *Pope Innocents* cause and election against *Anacletus*, commending those who assisted *Innocent*, exhorting them to persevere therein, and menacing those who would not embrace him, or adhered to *Anacletus*: wherein he hath some strange, Hyperbolical expressions: Quidam juxta *Esaïam* vidi scædus percussisse cum morte, & cum inferno fecisse pactum. Ecce namque Christus Domini Innocentius positus est in ruinam & in resurrectionem multorum: Nam qui Dei sunt libenter junguntur ei, qui autem ex adverso stat, aut Antichristi est, aut Antichristus: Cernitur abominatio stare in loco sancto, quam ut obtineat incendit igni sanguinem Dei. Persequitur *Innocentium*, & cum eo omnem innocentiam. **Fugit ille nimirum a facie Leonis: sicut dicit Propheta, Leo rugiet, quis non timebit? Fugit secundum præceptum Domini dicentis, Si vos persecuti fuerint in una Civitate, fugite in aliam. Fugit & in hoc verè virum se Apostolicum probans: quod Apostolica sese forma insignierit. Nec enim Paulus erubuit in sporta dimitti per murum, & sic effugere manus querentium animam suam: subfugit autem non parcens vitæ suæ, sed dans locum iræ; non ut mortem evaderet, sed ut vitam acquireret. Merito Ecclesia Innocentio concedit ipsius vicem, quem per eandem vestigia gradientem cernit. Nec sanè otiosa fuga Innocentii. Laborat quidem, sed honestatur in laboribus suis*

* Epist. 124.

Lut. 2.

* See Epist. 176

Amos 3.

Matth. 10.

suus pulvis urbe, ab orbe suscipitur, & sinibus terra occurritur cum panibus fugienti, Et si furor Semei Gerardi Engolimentis nondum ex toto quiescat maledicere David, Velit nolit pictor qui videt & irascitur: magnificatur in conspectu Regum, portans coronam Gloria. Nunquid non omnes Principes cognoverunt; quod ipse est verè Dei electus * Francorum, Anglorum, Hispanorum, & postremo Romanorum Rex, Innocentium in Papam suscipiunt, & recognoscunt singularem Episcopum animarum suarum. Solus adhuc ignorat Achitophel suum jam patefactum ac dissipatum consilium. Frustra molitur miser super populum Dei malignare consilium & cogitare adversus Sanctos, sancto firmissime adherentes, & continentes curvare genua ante Baal. Nulla fraude prevalebit parricida suo obtinere regnum super Israel, & super Civitatem sanctam, quæ est Ecclesia Dei, viventis columna fidei, & firmamentum veritatis. Funiculus triplex difficile rumpitur. Electio meliorum, approbatio plurimum, & quod his efficacius, est morum attestatio, Innocentium apud omnes commendat: summum confirmant Pontificem. Ad quod sane & vestra Pater expectatur sicut pluvia in vellus, vel sera sententia. Non improbamus tarditatem quia gravitatem redolet, levitatis abolet notam. Nam & Maria non statim respondit Angelo salutanti: prius cogitans qualis esset illa saluatio. Et Timotheo precipitur, nemini cuius manum imponere. Dico tamen ego vobis notus Pontifici, ne quid nimis dico ut familiaris, & notus non plus sapere quàm oportet sapere. Pudet fateor, quod Serpens vetustissimus nova audacia relictis insipientibus mulieribus, etiam robur pectoris vestri visus est attemptare, & tantam Ecclesia columnam ausus concutere. Confidimus autem, quod etsi concussit, non dejecit: quoniam amicus sponsi stat & gaudet ad vocem sponsi, vocem exultationis & salutis, vocem unitatis & pacis.

* See Bernardi Vita, l. 2. c. 1.

His * Epistle ad Lotharium Imperatorem, in this Popes behalf, is very observable; Lothario Dei Gratia Romano Imperatori Augusto, B. Abbas Claravalle, si quid potest peccatoris oratio. Benedictus Deus qui vos elegit, et erexit cornu salutis nobis, ad laudem et gloriam nominis sui, et reparandum Imperii decus: ad subveniendum Ecclesie suæ in tempore malo: postremo ad operandum etiam nunc salutem in medio terre. Ipsi est enim opus quod Corona Glorix vestra ita indies ampliatur, & sublimatur, mirabiliter crescens ac proficiens in omni decore, & magnificentia apud Deum & homines. Ipsi profectò nuper opus & virtus fuit, quod iter satis laboriosum & meticulosum pro pace Regni, & Ecclesie liberatione susceptum in tanta prosperitate peregitis. Roma liquidem Imperialis culminis plenitudinem gloriosissime assecutus. Idque quod majus fuit in manu non magna, ut animi fideique magnitudo clarius emeretur. Quod si ante tantillum exercitum terra tremit & quievit: quantus patamur horror hostium corda invadere habeat, cum cæperit Rex procedere in magnitudine brachii sui? Animabit insuper honestas causa, immo duplex provocabit necessitas. Non est meum hortari ad pugnam, est tamen (securus dico) advocati Ecclesie, ab Ecclesie infestatione schismaticorum rabiem, est Cæsaris proprium vindicare Coronam ab usurpatore Siculo. Ut enim constat Judaicam sobolem sedem Petri in Christi occupasse injuriam; sic proculdubio omnis qui in Sicilia Regem se facit, contradicit Cæsari. Si autem utrumque incumbit Cæsari, restituere scilicet Cæsari quæ sunt Cæsaris, & quæ sunt Dei Deo; (Therefore by St. Bernards Verdict, Sicily is the Emperors, not St. Peters or the Popes Patrimony.) Cur apud Tullum res Dei minuitur, cum Cæsar nihil ibi lucretur? Verendum est ne minimorum neglectus, impedimentum sit maximorum. Hoc est quod dico, Ecclesia Sancti Gregusii graviter injusteque (ut dicitur) in illa Civitate opprimitur, & aiunt vestra prudentia nescio qua fraude subreptum, ut Domino Papæ per justitiam subvenire paranti vestra interventu precis obviaretis, obsecro & consulo consultius agi, noxiam revocari precem, dari locum justitiæ, antequam Ecclesia illa funditus destruat. Pauper sum ego, fidelis tamen vester. Et si video Importunus, fortassis inde est.

* Epistola 139.

The History of Pope Innocents and Avacletus schismes, elections, contests, proceedings, wars against each other is thus related at large to Posterity by Carolus Sigonius, more exactly than by any other Historian.

Mortuo Honorio postredie Cardinales cum Clero convenerunt, ac relatione de novo substituendo Pontifice facta, alii alio sua studia contulerunt. Major pars, eaque integrior, Gregorium Johannis Vidonis filium ex Canonico regulari Cardinalem, vitæ, ætatis, ut prudentiæ gravitate, illo honore dignissimum legit, eumque Inno-

Carolus Sigonius de Regno Italix, l. 11. p. 261, 262, 263. See Bernardi Vita, l. 2. c. 1, 21

Nota.

centium secundum vocavit; minor eaque corruptior *Petrum*, *Petri Leonis* filium, ex Clerico Cardinalem, omnibus his laudibus omnium iudicio inferiorem renunciavit, ac Superioribus frustra renitentibus, festinanter atque astute consecratum, *Anacleti* secundi nomine insignivit. *Innocentius* per *Ostioensem* Episcopum legitime consecratus ac moderatè à suis per omnia loca, in quibus ex antiquo instituto Sessiones ipsi habent Pontifices, circumductus, demum, legitimam Laterani sedem inivit. Uterque Civis Romanus erat; verum Nobilitas in *Petro* major & spes pramiorum uberior, multo plures ad eum venerandum illexit. Itaque *Petri* sive *Anacleti* parte in urbe furente, atque *Innocentio*, & fautoribus ejus terrorem ac periculum intentante, *Innocentius* timuit, atque unà cum Cardinalibus suis ad *Frangipanes* amicos accessit, homines tum in urbe insigni potentia ac nobilitate florentes, & in eorum turribus salutem tueri suam contendit. *Anacletus* ad pecuniam, quam ex Patrimoni magnitudine, & negotiis Domini Ecclesiæ gestis coacervatam habebat, simul etiam quoque nefarie comparavit; Siquidem occupata *Vaticana D. Petri Basilica* coronas, calices & crucifixos aureos, ac ciborium, quod *Leo* construxerat, sustulit, itemque alia opulenta urbis Tempia donatis pretiosissimis spoliavit, atque auro conflato ingentem in pecuniæ summam redegit, quam cum plebi distribuisset, facilè quod reliquum populi erat, ab *Innocentio* avocavit. Itaque Populus Romanus pravis illebris *Anacleti* corruptus, *Innocentium* ac Cardinales partemque ejus non solum probris & convitiis petere, sed etiam manu, telisque incessere institit. Quibus malis cum resistere se non posse *Innocentius* cerneret, sibi urbe cedendum existimavit, ac relicto in Laterano *Conrado Sabinensi* Episcopo, paratis occultè navigiis secundo *Tiberi* cum Cardinalibus suis ad mare, atque inde duabus *Pisanorum* triremibus *Pisas* accessit. Exceptus à *Pisanis* tantis studiis, quantis verum excipi Pontificem decuit. Ibi proximorum Episcoporum conventu habito *Anacletum* partemque ejus *dehovit*, atque *Henricum* Patriarcham Gradersem designatum consecravit, ac pallio insignivit. Interim Legati ab eo in *Franciam* missi *Ludovicum* Regem, ac populos *Francorum* de justis ipsius Comitibus docuerunt, eosque ad complectendum *Innocentium* adhortati sunt. Harrente autem consilio, *Ludovicus*, & Episcopi, Concilium *Stampis* habuere, atque eo præcipuè *Bernardum* Abbatem *Cluravallensem* maximè tunc propter creditam sanctitatem autoritatis hominem accivèrè. Ibi utriusque Pontificis comitia accuratissimè sunt discussa. *Bernardo* verò *Innocentii* causam graviter ac copiosè agente, haud agrè & Rex, & Episcopi omnes *Innocentio* subscripsèrè, ac missis ad *Innocentium* nunciis ipsum in *Franciam* vocavèrè. Ita *Innocentius* rebus suis in Etruria constitutis, gratiis *Pisanis* actis *Franciam* versus accessit. Exitinere cum Genuam attigisset à Civitate honorifice exceptus *Syrum* Novum urbis Episcopum consecravit, atque inter eos & *Pisanos* inducias usque ad suam reversionem composuit. Profectus inde Genua ad littus Provinciae accessit, & per Decembrem mensem alterum *Claramonte* conventum habuit, atque iterum *Anacletum* et fautores ejus damnabit. Dum hæc ab *Innocenti* administrantur, *Anacletus*, qui solus in urbe remanserat, et ipse partem adversam indigendis Anathematis institit premere, et ad causam suam amicos quam plurimos potuit aggregare. Præcipuè autem *Anselmus Mediolanensis* Archiepiscopus, ab *Honorio Conradi* causa devotus, ei se tradidit, atque una secum populum *Mediolanensem*, ac plerosque *Lombardia* Episcopos traxit. Quin etiam *Rogerius Sicilia Comes*, atque *Apulia* & *Calabria*, cum *Roberto Principe Capuano* ad *Innocentium* *Pisas* profecto, per arma Principatum eripuisset omnes ditionis suæ Procures ad *Anacletum* traduxit. Ejus verò facti hæc ratio fuit. *Rogerius* cum *Sicilia*, *Calabria*, *Apulia*que potitus, se opibus ad tuendam regis Majestatis titulum satis instructum videret, nec tam latè patentem potentiam, exiguitate nominis coarctandam existimaret, ultrò se Regem *Sicilia* nuper appellare nulla Pontificia autoritate inceperat. Quod cum vulgo improbari sentiret, occasionem idoneam nactus ad *Anacletum* accessit, & se cum suis Episcopis complexurum, si se Regem appellaret, ostendit. *Anacletus* optatissimam occasionem adeptus, avidè arripuit, ac re composita, *Beneventum* profectus 5. Calendas Octob. ipsum præsentem *Silicia* Regem, *Apulia*, *Calabria*que Ducem, *Capua*que Principem declaravit, ac feudatarium, sive hominem, ut vocabant, ligium Ecclesiæ confirmavit. Ab illo die Episcopi Abbatesque ulterioris *Italia*, * in primisque Seniorietus Abbas *Cassinus*, *Anacletum*, ut justum Pontificem coluerunt. Qua ex re maxima Ecclesiæ *Italia* incommoda perceperunt. Being divided against each other in Civil wars by reason of the Schisme between these Popes, and subjected to the forces and invasions of *Lotharius* the Emperor who assisted Pope *Innocent*.

* See Chronicon Cassinense, l. 4. c. 105, 106. Centur. Magd. 12. c. 8. col. 1149, to 1166.

Anno Domini 1131. *Innocentius Claremonte* profectus per Burgundiam Aurelianam venit ab Episcopis, & *Ludovico* Rege obviam progressus exceptus, ac legitime cultus; Inde à *Gaufrido Carnotensi* Episcopo *Carnotum* adductus *Henricum Anglorum* Regem, cum maximo Episcoporum, Principumque suorum Comitatu obviam habuit. **Co vero inbitis Episcopis suis Innocentium recipere non audente, Bernardus** qui aderat, Quid hæcitas? inquit, anne Deo displiceas, & piaculum contrahas? cogita de aliis peccatis tuis quid ei respondeas. Istud vero fac mihi relinquo. Atque ita illum ad colendum *Innocentium* impulit. Reversus inde *Gerardus* Cardinalis à *Lothario* Rege *Germanie*, quem Natalicia *Ganderheim* celebrantem, *Innocentius* jussu convenerat, bonum ejus erga *Innocentium* animum retulit, ac præsto ad *Leodium* fore nunciavit. Quo nuncio erectior ipse factus, haud tamen in præsens *Leodium* voluit adire, verum *Franciam* ante, postulantibus ita populis, perlustrare. Itaque præsentem *Ludovico* 14 Kalend. *Novembris* Concilium *Remis* frequentissimum habuit in quo **Anacletum de integro condemnabit, ac Ludovicum** juvenem *Ludovici* filium, Regia *Francia* Corona 7 Kalendas ornavit. Sequenti Anno *Innocentius* *Leodium* produit. Atque eodem quoque *Lotharius* cum omnibus Sacris, & profanis Regni sui proceribus, & universa *Germanie* nobilitate occurrit. Ibi *Innocentius* à Rege, cæterisque eximii cultus Conventum celeberrimum habuit; in quo **sacras adversus Anacletum detestationes redintegrabit, ac Lotharium** ad se Ecclesiamque tuendam honesto *Othonis Magni*, & posterorum ejus exemplo hortatus est. *Lotharius* se nullo ei tempore defuturum respondit, si ipse sibi antiquum jus conferendorum sacerdotiorum, cui nuper *Henricus* renunciarat, concederet; Nam Imperium plurimum eo vectigali subtrahendo ad gravia pro Ecclesia sustinenda bella detrimenti capisse. Qua voce audita graviter percussus Cardinalium animi sunt, ut qui se tristiores in *Germania* ipsis Ecclesie rebus fortunam reperisse viderentur, quam *Rome* reliquissent, si eo sibi iure cedendum esset, quod ipsi nuper tanto sudore ac sanguine vir tandem Ecclesie peperissent. Tum *Bernardus* qui ab *Innocentio* latere nunquam discessit, Petitionem ejus iniquam, atque alienam esse docere, neque ipsum petisse sed * extorsisse tempore iniquioris fortunæ captato, judicaturos homines esse oportere eum, ut genere, sic studio à *Gebelinis* differre, qui pravam exemplum ut vendendorum sacerdotiorum, sic oppugnandæ Ecclesie induxissent, eundem dissidii inter Imperium, atque Ecclesiam tollere occasionem debere, ne diuturna concertandi consuetudo Christianorum in duas factiones studia distrahat. Quod si quando eveniat profectio non sine ingenti pernicie omnium eventurum. Hæc ipsa non aliter atque si ex oraculo edita essent, facile prudentem piumque Regem de sententia deturbarunt, pollicitusque est, se *Innocentium* Romam cum exercitu reducatum, atque *Anacletum* exacto incolumem in *Laterano* collocaturum, si ipse sibi Imperatorum diadema sponderet. Quod cum *Innocentius* promississet, & rei perficiendæ consilium satis, ut in præsentia, constitisset, *Leodio* abiit, ac Monasterio *Bernardi Claravallæ* lustrato sese in Italiam retulit, ac Genuam reversus ibi *Lotharii* adventum sibi expectandum esse constituit. Eodem Anno *Mediolanenses* (in defence of *Anacletus* his title against *Innocent*) iterum adversus *Papienses* moverunt, ac *Prælio* magno ad *Martinengum* facto eos ita fuderunt, ut propè ad internecionem affligerint. Agro inde rursus longe lateque vastato, domum est reditum. *Imolenses* castri *Sancti Cassiani*, quod ex *Diæceli* sua cum *Bononiensibus* sentiebat, iruerunt. Erat tum in *Germania* *Conradus* ex *Italia* nuper post varios excitatos tumultus reversus. Is licet magna pecunia rerumque omnium difficultate oppressus, tamen partium studio multos adhuc causæ suæ studiosos habebat. Ea res fecit, ut manentibus adhuc seditionibus *Lotharius* exercitum conficere haud magnum potuerit. Cum iis igitur quas parare potuit, copiis sequenti anno in *Italiam* per vallem *Tridentinam*, *Othone* & *Sigeberto* authoribus, transiit, atque à *Bononiensibus*, & *Emiliensibus* cum *Conradi* studio, tum copiarum exiguitate contemptus, recta ad *Appenninum* accessit, ac *Pisas* ad fumendum *Innocentium* properavit. Cæterum *Innocentius* à Genuensibus comiter & honorifice jam bis acceptus, hanc eis gratiam retulit, quod Episcopum eorum, obedientia Archiepiscopi *Mediolanensis* exemptum Archiepiscopum fecit, atque ei dimidiam Episcoporum *Corfica* partem subjecit. Syrus primus ea dignitate est usus. Genua inde *Placentiam* terrestri itinere profectus novo *Anacletum*, & fautores ejus concilio jugulavit. Via inde *Emilia* ingressus 17 Kalendar Junias *Bononi-*
am

Anno 1131.
* See Vita
Bernardi, l. 2.
c. 1, 2.

Anno 1132.

* Was not this
true of the
Popes Prede-
cessors, who
had wrested it
from the Em-
perors by force?

am venit, mox superato *Apennino Pisas* progressus, pacem inter *Pisanos* & *Genueses* composuit, eorumque Ecclesiam perinde ac *Genuesem* Metropolitanam effecit, parte altera Episcoporum *Corfica*, contributa, quæ res adhuc discordiam inter eas Civitates aluerat. Hæc vero illo, cum ad vetera earum Civitatum erga se beneficia perfolvenda, tum ad nova duris his temporibus provocanda studiose agente, *Lotharius* supervenit, atque ipso ut dixi assumpto *Viterbiam*, atque inde Romam perrexit. Ibi castris ad portam *S. Agnetis* locatis, *Genueses* & *Pisanos* Classes suas littoribus adinovere Romanis iussit, ac, tantum *Anacleto*, & fautoribus ejus qui urbem tenebant, terroris injecit, ut in editas se turres salutis suæ tuendæ causa referrent. Quare animadversa ab amicis receptus, ipse cum *Innocentio* Urbem pacato agmine inivit: cumque illum in *Laterano* reposuisset, ipse *Aventinum* insedit. Rebus in hunc modum habentibus duo inde sibi expedienda putavit, unum, ut præsentem controversiam cum *Anacleto* aliqua ratione finiret; alteram, ut Coronam ab *Innocentio* Augustalem acciperet. Ubi vero se dissidium tollere non posse sensit, quod *Anacletus* ad id neque Colloquii neque Prælii facere Copiam vellet, omne studium ad insignia recipienda convertit. Huic rei cum illud obstarer, quod *Anacletus* basilicam Vaticanam operibus, præsidioque firmatam tenebat, in qua moris fuerat Diadema Imperatorum tradi, *Innocentius*, ne qua ei solemniori injiceretur, *Lotharium* in *Lateranum* vocavit, atque ibi pridie Nonas Junias ipsi Coronam imposuit, ac protenus ad prodendam rei novo exemplo actæ memoriam, hujus facti seriem regis in pariete pingi, atque hos Versus subscribi mandavit:

*Rex venit ante fores, iucans prius Urbis honores,
Post homo fit Papis, sumit quo dante Coronam.*

This Emperour *Lotharius* departing soon after from *Rome* into *Germany*, Eo urbe profecto *Anacleti* factio è turribus exiit, ac per urbem volitans eadem amicis *Innocentii* intentare, ac novo omnia tumultu permiscere instituit. * Quare *Innocentius* intelligens mansionem suam in urbe rationibus Ecclesiæ parum conducere, ne præsentia suarabiem, ac furorem adversariorum accenderet, *Pisas*, Civium erga se benignitatem expertus repetiit, eoque novum Concilium ex toto Occidente indixit. Quod ubi *Bernardus Claravallensis* audivit * Epistolam, quæ extat, ad *Pisanos* scripsit, adhortans eos ut singulari studio Pontificem cum Cardinalibus custodirent, atque honoris accepti magnitudinem assiduitate Officii compensarent. Assumitur, inquit, *Pisa in locum* * *Romæ*, et de cunctis urbibus terræ ad Apostolicæ sedis culmen eligitur, nec sortuitu sive humano istud contigit Consilio, sed celesti providentia, et Dei benigno favore fit, qui diligentes se diligit, qui dixit Christo suo *Innocentio* *Pisam* inhabitata, et ego benedicens benedicamei, hic habitabo, quoniam eligi eam Me auctore. Tyranni *Siculi* malitiæ *Pisana* constantia non cedit, nec minis concutitur, nec donis corrumpitur, nec circumvenitur dolis. O *Pisani*, *Pisani*, magnificavit Dominus facere vobiscum, facti sumus lætantes. Quæ Civitas non invidet? Serva depositum urbs fidelis, agnosce gratiam, stude Prærogativæ non inveniri ingrata. Honora tuum, & Universitatis Patrem, honora * mundo Principes, qui in te sunt, & Judices terræ, quorum te præsentia reddit illustrem, gloriosam, famosam. Alioquin si ignoras te, O pulchra inter Civitates, ingredires post greges fidelium tuorum pascere hædos tuos. At the same time * St. Bernard writ an Epistle to the Clergy and People of *Millain*, (whose Archbishop *Anselmus*, *Innocentius* had degraded, and erected two Archbishopricks in lieu thereof, for siding with *Anacletus*,) informing them by his intercession, mediation, that Pope *Innocent* was ready to receive them into his favour, to confirm their new-elected Bishop *Robaldus*, restore their Archbishoprick to them, and send them a Pall without delay, if they would consent and adhere to *Innocent* and *Lotharius*, and desert *Anacletus*. Benè vobiscum facit Deus, Benè vobiscum facit Romana Ecclesia. Facit ille quod Pater, facit illa quod Mater. Et revera quid vobis debuit facere & non fecit? Si postulastis mitti vobis de Curia honorabiles personas ad honorem Dei & vestrum, factum est: si postulastis confirmari quod unanimitas vestra venerabilis Patris vestri electione firmaverat, factum est. Si voluistis licuisse vobis quod illicitum, nisi pro magna quidem necessitate Sacri Canones judicant, translationem Episcopi scilicet in Archiepiscopum, concessum est. Si roga-

* Vita Bernardi, l. 2. c. 2.

* Bernardi Epistola 130.

* Therefore the Popes Claim to Saint Peters Chair at Rome was totally annihilated by divine providence, and translated to Pisa.

* Mundi.

* Epistola 131.

fitis erui Cives vestros de Vinculis Placentinorum quod utique ego pratermittere nec volo, nec valeo, Et hoc factum est. In quo postremo quocunque rationabili petitiō filiar, non dico repulsam, sed vel moram passa est, apud piam matrem? En ad complementum pallium præsto est, plenitudo honoris. Nunc vero audi me inelyta plebs, Gens Nobilis, Civitas gloriosa, Audi inquam, me (veritatem dico; non mentior) dilectorem tui, zelatorem salutis tuæ. Romana Ecclesia valde clemens est, sed nihilominus potens. Fidele Consilium, & omni acceptione dignum, noli abuti clementia, ne potentia opprimaris. Sed dicit aliquis debitam ei reverentiam exhibebo, & nihil amplius. Elto, fac quod dicis, quod si exhibeas debitam, & omnimodam; **Plenitudo siquidem potestatis super universas Orbis Ecclesias, singulari Prærogativa Apostolicæ Sedi donata est. Qui igitur huic potestati resistit, Dei ordinationi resistit.** * Potest eos qui sunt altos deprimere, alios sublimare prout ratio sibi dictaverit, ita ut de Episcopis creare Archiepiscopos liceat, & è converso si necesse visum fuerit. Potest à finibus terræ sublimes quascunque personas Ecclesiasticas evocare, & cogere ad suam præsentiam non semel aut bis, sed quotiens expedire videbit. Porro in promptu est ei omnem ultisci inobedientiam si quis fortè reluctari conatus fuerit. Denique, probasti & tu, quid enim contulit tibi, vetus tua rebellio, & recalcitratio malè suasa à pseudo-Prophetis tuis? Quem fructum habuisti, in quibus nunc erubescis? Agnosce potius in qua potestate, Gloria & Honore suffraganeorum tuorum tam diu privata extitisti. Quis pro te valuit obviare Apostolicæ autoritatis justissimæ severitati, cum provocata tuis excessibus, decrevit te tuis illis antiquis ac præclaris ornamentis nudare, mutilare membris; & hodie confusa & truncata jaceres, si non benignius quàm potentius tecum actum fuisset. Quis eam prohibere valebit etiam à gravioribus, si rursus (quod ablit) ad jece- ris provocare? Vide ne patiaris recidivum quia pro certo (nisi fallor) non tam facile denuo poterit inveniri remedium. Si quis itaque dixerit tibi, partim oportet obedire cum in te experta sis plenitudinem Apostolicæ potestatis, autoritatis integritatem; nonne hujusmodi aut seductus, aut seducere vult? Sed fac quod dico, nam ego te non seduco, &c.

* And cannot the Emperor and every King do as much without the Pope? but the Pope could not justly do this without their assent.

Not long after this *Epistle St. Bernard* and *Pope Innocent's* Legate repairing to *Mil-lain*, they submitted themselves to *Pope Innocent* and renounced *Anacletus*. After which by *Pope Innocent's* command, *S. Bernard* was sent to *Papia* and *Cremona* to reconcile them by a Parly; but those of *Cremona* would by no means receive him. *Lotharius* having pacified *Germany*, at the Popes Importunity, Anno 1136. entred into *Italy* with two great Armies to restore *Pope Innocent*, expell *Anacletus* out of *Rome*, and reduce all parts of *Italy* adhering to him. Having reduced *Mil-lain*, *Cremona* and other Cities to his obedience; *Henry Duke of Bavaria* the Emperors General with part of his Army conducted *Innocent* to *Rome*: Ibi tertio nonas Maii Conventus omnium Episcoporum Abbatumque qui adesse potuerunt est habitus, ac **turcius Anacletus Rogeriusque devotus**: Eo post triduum *Henricus* urbe cum *Innocentio* egressus, *Albam*, quæ cum *Anacleto* sentiebat, invasit, ac suburbis disiectis infestum inde in *Campaniam* ducere exercitum instituit. Ac statim *Richardum* Monachum qui idem *Innocentii* erat Sacerdos ad *Cassinæ* Monasterium misit, qui moneret *Rinaldum* (whom they had elected Abbot, adhering to the contrary party) se si *Innocentio* obtemperare, & *Lotharium* recipere in animum induxisset, Monasterium ab omni maleficio, atque injuria servaturum. Qua re audita, *Rinaldus* Monachos advocavit, atque ut in fide *Anacleti*, *Rogeriique* peristerent obsecravit, se enim Monasterium quod ab eis acceperit, in eorum retinere potestate consutuisse, subitoque auxilia nova accivit, quibus se Monasterium tueri posse confidit. Quæ ubi *Richardus* vidit, ex loco decessit ac Civitatem quæ Monasterio continens est, Sacramen-tum dicere *Innocentio* jussit. Diebus inde undecim interiectis *Henricus Rinaldum* ad se vocavit, acceproque aureo calice, & quadraginta libris, contraque obsidibus aliquot datis, Abbatiam illi nomine Imperatoris firmavit, si in ejus fide mansisset, & vexillum Imperatoris in arce quæ ædi *S. Benedicti*, imminet, statuit. After many Sieges and Battles all or most of the Cities in *Capua*, *Campania*, and *Apulia* being taken by *Lotharius* his forces, and reduced to *Pope Innocent*, (recorded at large by *Sigonius*) he thus proceeds in the Story of *Rinaldus* and his Monks, and *Pope Inno-cent's* deportment towards them, and *Lotharius*. * Jampridem ab *Italiam* ingrediens *Seniorem* Abbatem *Cassinensem* monuerat, ut si ejus metu *Romana* Ecclesia de-fecisset

Anno 1136.

Anno 1137.

Sigonius, l. 2.

* Sigonius, l. 11. p. 167, &c. See Chronicon Casinense, l. 4. c. 104, 105, &c. Centur. Magd. 12. col. 1119, to 1166. where this is more largely related.

fecisset, se auctore in fidem ejus redire studeret, quem universa Ecclesia Patrem agnosceret, se Monasterii jura exemplo superiorum Imperatorum conservare paratum esse: eadem etiam à Richiza ad Monachos scripta erant. Senioreto inde mortuo eadem renunciari, Rinaldo jussit, adjiciens, ut quoniam infesto Sancti Petri Conventum Melfiam edixisset, ipse quoque Monachis secum prudentissimis ductis eo veniret, omniaque Monasterii privilegia secum ferret. Quibus Literis Rinaldus sibi obtemperandum ratus, Melfiam ad lacum pensilem, ubi universus Lotharii exercitus cum Innocentio Pontifice confidebat, accessit. Adventanti ei Innocentius nuncios obviam missis mandavit, ut prius, quam castra iniret, ipse cum Monachis suis sibi nudis pedibus satisfaceret, ac pro obedientia Anacleto exhibita placulum quod imponeretur, acciperet, ac jurejurando omnia sua se mandata facturum, et Anacleto repudiaturum, sanciret: Rinaldus subita re perturbatus * Lotharium appellavit, & se ex ejus sententia deliberaturum respondit, atque ita castra ingressus Lotharii jussu tabernaculum suum propè illius tabernaculum posuit. Ea res animum haud mediocriter Innocentii perculit. Itaque missis Cardinalibus, à Lothario postulavit, ut Rinaldum cum Monachis Anacleti obedientiam renunciare, et sibi dicere sacramentum juberet, Monachis autem sibi per Majorum suorum instituta, iurare fas esse negantibus, iussit, ut ab eorum qui absentes essent, consuetudine abstineret. Qua re motus Lotharius diem 7 Idus Julias ad causam cognoscendam, constituit, atque utriusque partis patronos in consilio, ad illam diem adesse præcepit. Ea ubi dies venit ipse cum peregrino Patriarcha Aquileiense, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, & Abbatibus plurimis assidens ad Consilium, retulit, num Monachi Cassinates, quod Anacleto recipissent, in prænam Anathematis incurrissent: et num salvis legibus cogi ad iurandum Innocentio obsequium possent? Res per multos dies magna altercatione peracta est.

I shall at large relate the History of this contest, and Councils proceedings, more clearly discovering the Arrogance, Obstinacy, Ingratitude, & uncharitableness of this proud Pope to the Emperor, who with so much pains and expence had twice restored him to his See, from whence he twice fled and was ejected by Anacletum, and likewise the Emperors Jurisdiction to be paramount the Popes, in calling, presiding, ruling judging in Councils, even in Appeals, cases between the Pope, Church of Rome, and other Ecclesiastical persons and Churches.

In nomine Domini Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, Anno ab incarnatione ejus 1138. indictione prima, septimo Idus Julii, Anno Imperii Domini Lotharii Caesaris septimo, residente eodem invictissimo Principe ad aquas Pensiles, sedente etiam Peregrino Patriarcha Aquilegiensi, cum Archiepiscopis, Abbatibus quampluribus, Causidicus pro Romana Ecclesia directus est Gerardus Cardinalis, titulo Sancta Crucis, & Guido Cardinalis, qui ambo postea Romani fuere Pontifices: Aimericus Cancellarius, & Diaconus Cardinalis Presbyter, Baldwinus Cardinalis, qui post Pisanus Archiepiscopus fuit, & Bernardus Clarevallensis Abbas, & alii plurimi Romanæ Urbis Nobiles. Ex parte Cassinensis Ecclesiæ auditores fuere Henricus Dux, Imperatoris gener, Conradus Dux, qui post imperii Sceptra tenuit, Otto Imperatoris consobrinus, Fredericus Marchio Anconitanus, Mala Spina Marchio Liguriæ, Henricus Episcopus Ratisonensis, Hanno Episcopus Basiliensis, Hanno Abbas Luneburgensis, Galfridus Palatinus, Romani Imperii Judex.

Facto itaque silentio Imperator dixit: Non modo præsentium, et temporalium, verum futurarum æternarum rerum in hoc conventu discussio erit. Constat enim, Sanctos Patres, dum unius rei gratia Concilia sæpe celebrarent, plurima unius occasione definivisse. Ita et hęc Romanæ quidem et Cassinensis Ecclesiæ causa cum specialiter agi videatur, variæ tamen agente Deo, solventur quæstiones, fietque unius Ecclesiæ causa salus omnium per orbem constitutarum. Nos quoque vestigia Prædecessorum nostrorum sequentes, dignum duximus huic interesse Concilio, et eorum quæ dicentur libere monumenta. Defensores utriusque disceptantium partis magnificos a nostro latere dedimus viros, qui violentiam omnem prohibeant. Igitur in Domini nomine sedent, quibus Romana non displicent leges, taciteque rerum exitum expectent, ne dum omnes confusi vel dicunt, vel obstreperunt, veritas obnubilatur. Hac & alia plurimum

* An Appeal from the Pope to the Emperor himself.

* Chronicon Cassinense, l. 4. c. 105, to 116. Centur. Magd. 12. c. 8. col. 1150, to 1166.

* Misprinted Robertus.

dum prafatus eſſet Auguſtus, Conradus ab Imperatore deſenſor datus, inquit, Copia Imperialium verborum me fecit ſandi inopem, cum tam profundè, tam plenè, tantaque ratione Imperialis ſit prafata Maieſtas, ut non humano opere, ſed Divino produſſe videantur. Ducibus tamen atque Comitibus, mecum deſenſoribus datis, viſum eſt primo apparatu hodiernæ Seſſionis proferri, quæ ſint pro utraque parte diſceptaturæ perſonæ, vel ſi cui permittitur diſceptandi licentia, niſi his tantum quibus fuerit conceſſa. Omnis enim, maximeque divina conventus cauſa, ordinate fieri ac rationabiliter debet, quippe cum nil perfectè definiri poſſit, ubi confunditur ordo loquendi. Placuit omnibus ſententia Ducis, & quis pro utraque parte reſponderet inquirunt, quinam item inter pretes, & quis eſſet diſputantibus locus. Eligunt Gerardus Cardinalis Sanctæ Crucis, qui pro Romana, & Petrus Diaconus, qui pro Caſinenſi reſponderet Eccleſia. Interpretes dati ſunt Bertulfus Imperatoris Cancellarius, Anſredus Veſtarius, & Bertulphus Maſionarius. Traditur autem Gerardo locus ante Imperatoris ſedem. Ad prædes vero ejus conſtituitur Petrus Diaconus. Renuit Girardus Monachum ad ſuos ſedere pedes, dicens, nequaquam oportere ſive licere excommunicatum cum filio ſedere Eccleſiæ. At Imperator ſine litigio imponens, Petrum Diaconum extunc & princeps ſedere ad pedes ſuos juſſit. Tum taliter Gerardus Cardinalis loquorſus eſt. Sancta & univerſalis Eccleſia, inviſiſſime Imperator, quæ & vos & prædeceſſores veſtros orbis totius dominatores effecit, nurari non deſinit, cur excommunicatos, & à huiusmodi Eccleſiæ ſeparatos receperitis. Ad hæc Imperator, Imperii quidem noſtri nos ab Apoſtolica ſede gaudemus accepiſſe coronam, excommunicatos nullo pacto ſuſcepſiſſe putamus; hoc tamen ex conſpectu veſtro conſtabit. Pandulphus Theanenſis Episcopus Caſinenſis Monachus dixit, Quomodo Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalis Caſinenſes Monachos excommunicatos aſſerat, videre non poſſumus. Girardus Cardinalis dixit, Quid mihi & tibi bone Vir? Alienus nobis eſt. Omirum, O novum inauditumque prodigium, ut truncus ramis præciſis, & à radicibus evulſus novas contra Eccleſiam erigat Machinas. Ad hæc Imperator; Ceſſet, inquit, omnis violentia: hic enim non inferendæ vel referendæ injuriæ, ſed ferendæ potius æquanimiter ſunt. Quocirca ſtatuiſmus, ut neutra pars utatur in alteram contumeliis, ne quod ad laudem Domini, et poſteriorum utilitatem ſtatuantur, in litigium ritamque vertatur. Tunc Girardus reſumpto ſermone, ſic ait, Decrevit Sancta & univerſalis Eccleſia, ut Caſinenſis Conventus Monachi voluntatem Domini noſtri Innocentii pii & univerſalis Pape, ſe in omnibus impleturos Sacramento conſentiant. Jam enim Innocentius ipſe hos Caſinenſes Monachos diſſerere per diverſa loca ſtatuerat, niſi Lotharius Clementiſſimus Imperator, nolens Caſinenſem Eccleſiam deſtrui pro ipſa Eccleſia contra Pape voluntatem ſe objeciſſet. Cum itaque Girardus Cardinalis de Sacramento Monachorum ſermonem feciſſet, Petrus Diaconus reſpondit, Non parum miramur, cur Dominus Cardinalis Monachos Sacramento velit aſtringi, cum Dominus in Evangelio, * Jusiurandum omnino interdixerit; Girardus Cardinalis dixit, Quoi Monachus ait, probemus; ſed Romana Eccleſia Caſinenſes Monachos ſive Sacramento recipienſes non eſſe decernit. Petrus Diaconus ait, In regula Sanctiſſimi Patris noſtri Benedicti jurare omnino interdicitur Monachis. Quod non modo divina, verum humanæ quoque prohibent leges. Quippe inter Imperatorum præcepta Caroli, Ludovici, Hugonis, Lotharii, Berengarii, Alberti, trium Oſthonn, quinque Heinricorum et Conradi, ſic invenitur: ſtatuiſmus, ut Monachi ad Sacramentum non compellantur. Et hæc dicens, præcepta ipſorum Imperatorum, Caſinenſi collata Monasterio, auro, plumbo, ceraque ſignata, Imperatori ceteriſque monſtravit. Ea Imperator præcepta excipiens deoſculatus eſt, morque in hæc verba prorupit: Magnorum Sanctorumque Principum hæc eſſe præcepta, ex ſigillis agnovimus: Convenit Maieſtati noſtræ, cuncta prædeceſſorum noſtrorum ſervare præcepta. Quare Dominum Apoſtolicum vos qui hic illius aſſeſſis vice, & nobis * orate, ut ſanctiſſimorum Imperatorum præcepta nobiſcum protegere, ſuaque authoritate confirmare dignentur: Quis enim jam Imperatorem obſervaret ſi ab Apoſtolico condemnatur? Omnia membra ſequuntur caput, neque ab eo niſi magno ſuo detrimento ſeparari

* The Emperor rules and moderates in this Council.

* See here, Book 4. ch. 2. P. 706, 707, 708.

* Regum Preces ſunt Imperatoris.

parari queunt. Certes itaque pro membris caput, pro natis Pater, pro ovibus Pastor: quia nullo modo Lupi rabies praevaleret, ubi cura sollicita pastoris inrigilaret. Sit igitur hodierno consensui finis, et hospitium sua singuli repetant. Cardinales vota nostra Pontifici referant, Calinenſeque Canonicum ut necum foveat nostra vice precentur, Monachi Electo suo quæ dicta sunt referant, et crastina die quid respondere objectis debeant, parent. Tertia diei hora hic adesse singuli current, hodiernusque tractatus, adhibitis notariis, literis mandetur, ne oblivioni tradantur, quæ posteris quoque profutura prævidimus. His dictis in sua quique discessere. Imperator ad ea quæ sibi imminabant, negotia tractanda refedit.

Postera die utraq; conveniunt disceptantium partes. At ubi ingressis data copia est fandi, Girardus Cardinalis dixit, Mandata pietatis vestra, Sanctissime Imperator, retulimus summæ Sedis Antistiti: Sed hæc nullo modo implere se posse respondit, asserens, facilius se Pontificalia vestimenta deponere, ac pedibus subjecta calcare, quam quæ abs te rogantur efficere. Ad hæc Imperator paulisper obtulit, De tunc reliquas disputationes hesternas concludere iussit. Girardus dixit, Memini nos die hesterno de Sacramento Calinenſium Monachorum tractavisse, nihilque inde fuisse definitum: De eadem igitur denuò tractaturi, denuò proponere debemus ex parte Domini nostri, quæ heri quoque proposuimus, fidem scilicet Apostolico à Calinenſibus Sacramento promittendam, perpetuamque obedientiam, alioquin nunquam illos partietur Domini corporis ac sanguinis participes fieri. Ad hæc Petrus, Constat inquit Dominum Cardinalem hesterni tractatus renovasse conflictum, nostrosque terminos ad redi-via reparasse circumina. Nobis contra satis superque videtur huic sententia Dominicis obvisse præceptis, quibus *omnino jurare prohibemur: fidem autem à nobis Sacramento exigere profecto otiosum est, cum hanc sponte sinus exhibere consuevi. Girardus inquit, Non est veritus Monachus coram invictissimo Principe mendosa proferre, dicens Calinenſes Monachos Romane Ecclesie semper servasse fidem, cum constet omnibus, eos habere schismaticos esse, Abbatemque à schismatico ordinatum prefecisse. Petrus Prudentius inquit, Viri est, non ante quempiam falsitatis arguere, quam ipsum omnibus mendacium in confectum dederit, & cum nihil contra possit opponi à conscientia sua, qui mentitus est, ipse accusetur. Inique igitur & oblique me petit Dominus Cardinalis, qui tacito mendacio me falsitatis insinuat, proponatur causa, aperiantur mendacia: tunc me fallacem asserat, tunc mendacii arguat. Girardus, facile id quidem probare est. Nam cum relicto Innocentio, schismatico adestis, quid nisi infideles fuistis? Petrus, Deum oro, inquit, illum nos, an potius nos ille demisit? Girardus, Ecclesia, inquit, à schismaticis capta, piissimus de sua sede est pulsus Episcopus: sicque Italia relicta, properavit ad Gallias. Petrus; Nonne Pastor bonus Christus Jesu cum diversitatem, in unitatem in se unitam ostenderet: Bonus pastor, inquit, animam suam dat pro ovibus suis? Girardus, Hæc, inquit, non solum verbis, verum & factis ostendit. Petrus, Rurſus ipse Dominus, cum descripsisset optimi facta Pastoris, Mercenarii quoque mores adiunxit, dicens, Mercenarius, & qui non est Pastor, cujus non sunt oves propriæ, videt lupum venientem, & dimittit oves, et fugit. Agnosce profecto Evangelii verba. Girardus; Ita sane. Petrus, Hocne Romanum agere Pontificem decet? Girardus; Tamen, inquit, magis ubi Apostolica sedis sunt observanda Pontifice, quanto peculiaris suscepit aliis prædicanda. Petrus, Quid igitur? Ovibus ne imputabitur, si quid pastor amisit? Girardus, minime, inquit. Petrus, Ergo Monachis imputandum non est, si Pastore destituti, morsibus lupi patuerunt. Debit enim Apostolicus (ut ait Dominus) oves suas non modo non dimittere, verum pro eis quoque mortem libenter amplecti. Ad hæc Imperator, Patet, inquit ex assertionem, Monachi si quid peccaverunt, Pastoris culpa contigisse, non ovium. Unde rogant adhuc est Domini Apostolici pietas, ut nobiscum, quæ contra nos gessere, dimittat. Quare hodiernæ quaestioni finem placeat imponi. Occupati enim Reipublice curis, diutius his interesse non possumus; quisque igitur revertatur ad propria. Cras idem certamen rursus ineundum est. Hoc dicto cum omnium favore discessum est.

Alterâ die, cum piissimus Imperator, memoratique Procures, audituri quæ residua erant, confediscent, hæc voce incipit; Cum exercitui,

Note his Papal
Pride, Obstina-
cy, malice.

*See here Book
4. c. 2. p. 706,
707.

Joan. 10.

citui, tum omnibus qui intra Romanum orbem sunt, notissimum credimus, quanta in reverentia & oblatione *Casinese* Ecclesiam, ut suam scilicet peculiarem *Cammeram*, majores nostri habuerunt, & super omnia *Monasteria* Imperii *Romani* dilexerunt, honoribusque & privilegiis eximius exaltarunt. Deceret itaque dominum quoque Apostolicum mecum eandem fovere Ecclesiam quod auxiliante Domino in posterum fiet. Non est autem ista que agitur controversia, dicenda his, cum constet, membra secum litigare non posse, neque Caput dicere manus, Necessearium te non habeo; neque oculus pedi; viliora sepe nostra utiliora sunt. Nullus igitur, nos indecens aliquid existimet facere, quod *Casinese* *Monasterium* quasi tueri videtur. Nam neque cum vel mater filiam, vel conjugem vir, aut filium pater ira stimulantem ceciderit, si quis se inter sevientem patrem & paventem filium obiciat medium, natumque ab immoderata cade patris eripiat, cum mansueverit, pater homini illi indignabitur, sed contra maximas habebit gratias, quod filium e suis subtraxerit manibus: ita et universalis mater Ecclesia cum posita ira requieverit, gratias aget Imperio nostro, quod ipsius irae subdurimus. Agantur ergo quae agenda restant: quia nunquam desistam, quin compleam desiderium meum. His dictis, Girardus Cardinalis dixit, Vestra magnitudinis verba, sacratissime Imperator, & semper Auguste, precesque Domino Innocentio Papa retulimus, sed nullo pacto, sine sacramento *Casinen*ses ut recipiat, induci potest. Petrus Diaconus dixit, Satis nos fecisse his, & ex praecepto Domini, & ex Imperialibus edictis existimamus. Alia si qua habes, edicito. Girardus, Ignoras, Invicissime Imperator, hos quos vestra magnitudo defendit, cum Rogerio Siculorum Comite, contra Romanam Ecclesiam vestrumque conjurasse Imperium, neque non solum conjurasse, verum anathematizasse & damnasse? O Rem inauditam, ut ligati & ligent solutos, & solvant ligatos! Adhuc Caesar indicto silentio dixit, Quod in me *Casinen*ses admiscere libens tolero, gratiaeque remitto. Exemplo itaque nostro, quod in Romanum Pontificem commiserunt, et ipse dimittat. Girardus, Et si Domini nostri Innocentii pii universalis Pape agimus vices, hujusmodi tamen sine illo definire non possumus. His dictis sabente Imperatore discessum est. Nocte insecuta cum Imperator duraret pervigil, Petrus Diaconus genu flexo ante illum ita pro *Casinesi* orabat Ecclesia, Cum omnes mortales vobis militent, ut Domino eorum atque Principi, Vos autem ipsi Imperatori Celesti pacis, pietatis atque justitiae auctori, humilissimi: Alii enim utriusque vitae salus tuta esse non poterit, nisi talibus ministratoribus gubernetur. Itaque, Imperator invicte, cum Majestatem vestram cunctas per orbem tueri Ecclesias deceat, *Casinesi* tamen Ecclesiae ideo magis te exhibere convenit, quia magis opus habet, cum nobis et loqui licitum non sit, et indulta ab Imperatoribus privilegia pro nihilo habeantur. Nam Romano Pontifici obtemperandum et ipse censeo: sed Deum illi quoque praefendum, libera voce profiteor, neque enim illi interrogatur injuria si sibi praefatur Deus. Totus in *Casinen*sis Ecclesia dejectione Monasticus ordo vacillat. Te ergo Imperatore, Monachis sua jura tollentur? Te Imperatore a Monachis Sacramentum extorquebitur? Te tamque clementiam deprecamur, Imperator invicte, ne hoc decernas, ne statuas, ne hujusce decreto subscribas. Indignum profecto est, ut te agente abrogetur *Casinen*sis Ecclesiae dignitas, ut Cardinalibus proveniat mala voluntatis affectus. Nihil majus est religione, nihil sanctius ordine Monastico, nihilque sublimius Patre Benedicto. Quid respondebit Carolomannus pius Imperator Augustus? Nonne tibi dicet, Imperium me dimisisse non credidi, quia Lotharium justum & sanctum Imperatorem habebam, Imperium me deposuisse non dolui, quia Imperia mea praesertim de religione Monastica inconvulsa perpetuo manere credebam. Titulos ego pietatis, justitiae atque mansuetudinis in Casino crexeram, has de mundi pressuris manubias referebam. Quid mihi plus potuit mens hostis auferre? modo inquam, modo abrogantur decreta mea. Nunc gravius telum excipio corpore cum a Romano Pontifice mea decreta damnantur. Nunc mihi abrogatur Imperium, et quod est gravius, a Pontificibus Romanis, et hoc praesente fratre meo Imperatore Lothario. Cui enim magis quam sibi praestat Imperator, si instituta majorum, si *Casinen*sis Coenobii

1 Cor. 12.

jura conſezbat? Nulli ergo grave videtur, ſi defendimus religionis Monafteria ſta-
tum. Eſte à beato Benedicte ad Innocentium Papam, 113 Romani Pontifices nume-
rantur, ii omnes Caſinenſe Cœnobium dilexerunt, coluerunt, auſerunt, nullus Religio-
nem violavit. Jam verò ſi quid meretur veneranda canities, beatum Benedictum in-
troducimus loquentem; Optime Imperator, Pater Patriæ, Caſar Auguſte, reverere ca-
nos meos, in quos ætas me longa provexit. Utantur licite filii mei legibus ſuis, à me
ſibi ſalubriter traditis. Decet enim ut vivant meo more. Per hos occiduum Orbem
in mea redegi jura, per hos Anglia, multaſque Nationes ad Chriſtum converſæ
ſunt. Mea eſt horum ſalus, tutela, juvamen. Cum hac & his ſimilia Petrus orafſet,
ad Bertulii Cancellarii tentorium, Imperatore ſubente, reſreſſus eſt. Cum igitur evo-
cati Cardinales ad Imperatorem egreſſi eſſent, Girardus ait, **Quæ heri veſtra
ſublimitas juſſit Domino noſtro retulimus: benigne veſtra poſtu-
lata ſuſcepit. Cauſam tamen permoleſtam ſibi a vobis injungi
conqueſtus eſt. Jus enim Episcopale, quod ſui habuerunt majores,
nullo ſe pacto, nulla ratione poſſe dimittere.** Lotharius ad hac: Nos,
inquit, Caſinenſem Eccleſiam eo magis honorare decet, quo maioribus noſtris in honore
ac reverentia habitam ſcimus atque ditam. Nam ſciat Dominus Apoſtoli-
cus, caſtra, prædia, villas, omnemq; Monafterii poſſeſſionem juris
noſtri eſſe. Episcopale autem jus ſuum in nullo violamus. Ber-
tulfus Cancellarius dixit: Nil juris ſui Apoſtolicus in Caſinenſe debet
habere Cœnobium, quod Romani Imperii ſpecialis Camera eſſe
decernitur, niſi Abbatis conſecrationem, quam Heinricho Impera-
tore concedente, habuiſſe, dignoſcitur. Girardus, Placeat ergo conſilium
meum veſtro Im erio. Caſar invidet, ut vobis quibus ſecularium, Apoſto-
lico vero ſpiritualium rerum fidem ſacramento conſerment. Lotha-
rius; Noſtro valde inhoneſtum videtur Imperio, Majorum noſtro-
rum non ſervare mandata, eorumque Sanctiſſimis non obedire
præceptis. Nam ſi nos illa negligimus atque nolumus, quis ea
ſervabit? Quo pacto alios hæc ſervare compellimus, ſi nos ea con-
vellimus? Lex itaque Imperatorum non plus aliis, quam Impe-
ratoribus ipsis conſtituitur. Imo illos hanc magis ſervare conve-
nit, ne a ſeipſis deſcribiſſe videantur. Girardus Cardinalis dixit, Non pa-
rum quoque Dominus Papa miratur, cum te Eccleſia in Caſa-
rem orbis dominatorem conſecraverit, cur contra eum niti pro Caſinen-
ſi Eccleſia *Adearis*, quam non ad te. ut aſſeris, ſed ad ſe, ut cæteras
Eccleſias, pertinere teſtatur. Cum Imperator iratus: Immo
(inquit) nos valde miramur, cur noſtris præcibus annuere nolit,
cum nos ipſius gratia annum jam dimidium in Papilionibus com-
morati cum Romano exercitu, pecunias in ulus publicos deputa-
tas, in ipſius obſequium converterimus, omneſque ultramonta-
nos populos illi obtemperare fecerimus. Quid ergo mirum, ſi
Caſinenſem tuemur Eccleſiam, cum conſtet, id a majoribus noſtris
gloſtoſe actum? & illi quidem eam tanti fecerunt, ut ibi magis quam domi ſepeliri
delegerint. Quid de Sanctiſſimo & omni honore nominando Auguſto Carolo dicam,
qui reſicto Imperii ſceptro, Monafterium ibi tranſegit vitam? Quid de ipſius Caroli
fratre Pipino loquar, qui deſunctum apud ſe Monachum fratrem Caſinum, ibi tumulan-
dum, cum honore remiſit? Raches quoque Longobardorum Rex, reſicto regno, ad ip-
ſum venerabile Monafterium venit, monafteriumque ibi exercuit vitam. Quid de Impe-
ratoribus Juſtiniano, Juſtino, Theodorico, Pipino, Carolo, Pipino, Carolo Magno,
binis Ludovicis, Hugone, duobus Lothariis, Alberto, tribus Othonibus, quinque
Heinricis? Quid de Conſtantinopolitano & Alexio referam? **Qui omnes Ce-
ſinenſem Eccleſiam et ſummo affectu dilexerunt, et magnis illuſtra-
bere munibus.** Adid Caſinenſis Eccleſia Imperatoribus extitit grata, ut ad e-
jus liberationem Romani Imperatores cum omni exercitu venerint. Heinrichus enim
prius, invictiſſimus, Chriſtiſſimusque Imperator ad eam tuendam cum Centum Otto-

ginta millibus Militum Italiam ingressus est, eaque à Capuani principis ditione sublatam pristina restituit dignitati. Conradus autem Imperator Augustus, & Henricus ipsius filius cum Centum Sexaginta Millibus pugnatorum **en, defensurus Ecclesiam venit**, cum Pandulphi nequissimi, non aicam Principis sed à tyranni jugo premeretur. O-mittimus nova & nostra gesta memoria. Antiquiora repetamus locique sui, cuius propriè fuerit videamus. Varro nempe (ut legimus) Romanorum nobilissimus ac doctissimus hanc sibi sedem eligisse, extruxisse, multisque illustrem monumentis reddidisse, cognoscitur. Ipsum Calinatem fundum (ut M. Tullius in Philippicis refert) Cæsar Antonio tradidit. At fortassis objicitur, Benedictum Patrem Romanæ Ecclesiæ alumnus, illud instruxisse Cœnobium. Quis id nesciat? Sed Romanorum nobilium sustul-tus auxilio id eum fecisse cognoscimus. Beatissimo namque Papa Gregorio referente di-cimus, Beatum Benedictum una cum Mauro Senatoris equitii Placidodius Tertulli patricii filio, ad Monasterium Casinense construendum dirigitus fuisse directum. Alibi quoque expressimus, Casinum cum finibus suis à Tertullo paricio iure suo hereditario præcisum, Patrique Benedicto traditum legimus. Quid plura? aut Romana Ec-clesia Romani Imperii Cameram Casinense Cœnobium decenter ac-cipiat, aut ab ea Romanum Imperium irrevocabiliter separabitur. Girardus Cardinalis ait, Nequaquam, invictissime Cæsar, vestra indignetur mansue-tudo, nec super Domini Apostolici indignetur mandatis, neque Domini Innocentii pii & universalis Pape mandata videantur injusta. Verùm siquid in his displicet, ad eum refe-ratur. His dictis, quarti diei est solutus conventus.

Manè factò, cum utraque partes ante Imperatoris præsentiam constitissent, Girardus qui vicem Romanæ gerebat Ecclesiæ, dixit. Noverit vestra Celsitudo, Cæsar invictè, hæc Dominum Apostolicum vestris ita annuisse mandatis, ut vestri causa, fidelitate om-issa, Sacramentum solummodo obedientiamque requiratur. Interim quoque de electione Abbatis nobis injunxit disputandum; qua ratione Excommunicatum, et quod gravius est, Schismaticum (Rinaldum) Ecclesiæ Christi prætulerunt? In which debate Petrus Diaconus proved the right of electing the Abbot to belong only to the Monks by several instances, without the Popes concurrence; justified their election of Rinaldus to be lawfull, answering all Girardus his objections to the contrary, who insisted principally on the Excommunication and schism of Rinaldus. Ad hæc Imperator respondit, Et quæ injus è hæcenus gère Casinenses Monachi, eis per omnia impetranda censuimus: hac petitionis mea summa, quam à Domino Apostolico rogo, ut eis quæ usque in præsens incautus admisserunt, remittantur: Sit ergo finis hodierni confictus. Nostra iterum rogata ad Papam referantur & post diem quintam quid iubeat audiemus. Hæc autem indicias idcirco damus; ut definire melius ac statuere possit. His dictis quique ad sua redière, Petrus verò Diaconus in Curia remansit Imperatoris. Cardinales itaque ad Apostoli-cum redeuntes, quæ dicta fuerunt ei retulère, dicentes, quendam Romanum esse Ca-sinensis Ecclesiæ, qui solus pro suo Monasterio contra Romanam disceptaret Ec-clesiam. Hunc si quo constrinxeris vinculo, alios omnes pro nihilo reputabis. His In-nocentius auditis, interrogat, quod illi genus patriæ sit? Et illi, Pater (inquit) ejus Gregorii filius fuit, Romanorum Ducis & Consul. Tunc Papa, auxiliante Deo, et illum, et alios tali præpedibit compede ut contra ipsum mutire non auderent: vehementiq; ira concitatus, cum post quartam diem refer-ri Imperatozi verba præcepit, Dominium Casinensis Ecclesiæ non ad illum, sed ad se pertinere, sicuti et Ecclesiarum reliquarum. Decre-veramus, inquit, vestra interventione infidelitatem dimittere Monachis, verum quia in-tuntur contra nos, et hæc, et alia ab eis inquirenda consulimus. Mandat deinde Pontifex per Benedictum Capellanum suum Petro Diacono, ut ab Im-peratoris famulatu recedens, à Casinensium quoque fratrum societate se separaret: indignum esse ut Romano genere exortus, exteros præferat contribulibus, Romanam Ec-clesiam linquens: Proinde si Casinensibus dimissis, illos impugnare omnibus modis mal-let, se illum inter Capellanos suos habiturum. Ad quem ille talem remisit responsum, Gratiâ agens, quod se tanti æstimasset, ut obsequio suo dignum judicaret. Care-rum non posse se Socios in tali articulo constitutos deferere. Post peractum negoti-um, se in servitio Sedis Apostolicæ & Romani in fide Pontificis, quoad vixerit, si ille veller, permanfurum. Post hæc decernit Papa per omnia loca Casinensi Ecclesiæ subdi-ta liceras mittere, ut Casinensi Abbati & Monachis non obedirent, omniaque Cœno-bia

bia quæ sub præpositis erant, sibi Abbates eligerent. *Sed omnipotens Deus consilium Pontificis, voluntatemque, impedivit.* After this a Cistercian Monk scoffing at the Monks for adhering to *Anacletus*, and asserting their election of *Rainerus* to be voyd, forged and reprobate: *Ad hæc Lotharius, De omnibus (inquit) quæ contra nostram Cameram Casinensem Ecclesiam Cistellensis objecerat, Petrus Diaconus lucide satis apertèque respondit. Sed hujus altercationis iste sit finis. Singuli ad hospitium redeant, mane rursus ad consiliū redituri.*

Die altera, ubi lux est reddita terris, *Imperator accersitis Magnatibus suis in Consistorio resedit, & utraque disceptantium partes coram se ingredi iussit: Et dum venisset Cistellensis, hujusmodi disputationis initium dedit, &c.*

Die altera *Girardus* Cardinalis ex parte Sedis Apostolicæ veniens, *Imperatore* pro tribunali residente, ait; *Romana Ecclesia, sacratissime Imperator, & semper Auguste, non ab hominibus, neque per hominem, sed per Iesum Christum fundata est, qui Petrum Apostolorum Principem illuc direxit, cui etiam claves regni colorum tradidit: & idcirco nullum illius gratia violari debere Apostolicus censet.* Petro autem respondente, Nunquam Romanum Pontificem à *Casinensibus* Monachis Sacramentum exegisse. *Girardus* ait, Idcirco eos non hæc quassisse, quia usque ad illa tempora in Ecclesiæ unitate mansissent; sed postquam schisma incurrisset, absque Sacramento recipiendos non esse: protulitque iussu Papæ *Innocentii*, Capitulum *Niceni Concilii*, ut revertentes a schismate absque Sacramento non reciperebantur. *Lotharius* Imperator dixit, Non vos idcirco congregavi, ut Canonum jura serbetis, sed ut benigne, ut leniter cum Ecclesia *Casinensi* ageretur; *Meminisse debetis, quæ in Romana Ecclesia beneficia ipse contulerim, quot et quanta pericula pro vobis cum exercitu perpeffus sim, qualiter annum integrum, ac menses duos in tentoriis egerim, quot propinquos et amicissimos inter bellozum amiserim fremitus. Non enim Casinenses fratres, ad inimicum Pontificis, sed ad Romanum Imperatorem Ecclesiæ propugnatozem confugere. Postremo, si me ea spe frustratum esse vultis, contestor hodie, schisma inter me et Pontificem futurum, et pro amico obsequentissimo infestissimum fore inimicum. Cumque ad hanc Imperatoris vocem exercitus omnis acclamasset, rectaque prosecutum, fremens diceret: Primo, per omnes Episcopos; Secundo, per Archiepiscopos; Tertio, per Aquilegiensem Patriarcham; Quarto, per Abbates; Quinto, per Comites; Sexto, per Marchiones & Principes; Septimo, per *Richizam* Augustam; Octavo, per seipsum Imperator Pontificem hac de causa rogavit. Mandat dehinc Pontifex Imperatori, de *Casinensi* Ecclesia consilium ejus voluntatemque se facturum. Caesar hoc nuncio latior factus, rursus per seipsum Pontificem adiit. Supplicanti itidem pro *Casinensi* Monasterio: *Miror, ait Pontifex, cur tanta pro illis oras instantia, qui te ac me anathematizarunt; qui Petri Leonis filium pro Papa receperunt; qui Corona alteri obtemperarunt, hætenusque in priori nequitia durarunt.* Tunc Imperator Clementissimus totus solutus in lachrymas, dixit; Scio equidem illos hæc omnia ideo egisse, ut integer ad nos Ecclesia ipsius status perveniret. Nam si secus egissent, Ecclesia illa ab hostibus nostris eversa jaceret. Unde oro, ut censuram, qua plerumque illi erant, in me retorqueatis. Si cadendi sunt, ego pro eis dorsum submitto; si deponendi, deponi pro eis volo. Tunc Papa, Canonica severitatis rigorem vestri causa temperamus. Jure enim deponendi erant, qui participarunt excommunicatis, qui Pontificem suum Anathematizarunt. Sed nos lenitate usi atque clementia, vestri amoris gratia (not for Christ's sake, or command) cuncta dimittimus. Itatenus, ut Filium Petri Leonis ejusque complices anathematizent, mihi ac successoribus meis obedientiam promittant. Ista dum Imperatori placuissent, beatæ Martyris *Simphorosa* die misit Imperator *Rainerum* cum electo & fratribus *Historicum* Ducem generum suum, *Covradum* Ducem, nepotem *Henrici* 5. Imperatoris, *Ottonem* Consobrinum suum, omnesque Archiepiscopos, Episcopos, Comites, Duces, ac Romani Imperii Proceres. Cumque Papæ tentorium appropinquassent, Cardinales occurrentes interrogabant, Si filium Petri Leonis tenuere paratus esset? Quo cum ille annuisset, protinus electum in hac verba jurare fecerunt. Ego *Rainerus**

naldus refuto et anathematizo Schisma omne, et omnem Hæresim extollentem se aduersus Sanctam et Apostolicam Ecclesiam. Anathematizo etiam filium Petri Leonis, et Rogerium Sicilie Comitem, omnesque illozum complices, et obediens ero Domino Pape Innocentio, et Successoribus suis canonice intrantibus. Cumque Rainaldus in hæc verba iurasset, reliquos (Monachos) similiter iurare cogebant. Illi autem Patri Benedicto ejusque successoribus se iurasse, atque ideo Sacramentum se exhibere non posse dicebant. Tunc Rainaldus, ex parte Patris Benedicti, ac sua præcepit, ut obedienciam, quam B. Benedicto ejusque successoribus sibi exhibuerant, in manu Papæ promitterent. Sicque constricti fratres, quod electus a Evangelis, hoc illi iuxta tenorem Chartule in manu Episcopi Holtientis iurauerunt, adjectoque hoc insuper, Quod si Calientis à Romana Ecclesia diuisa fuerit, ego in Monasterio non remanebo, neque Abbatem obediens, salva Romani Imperii fidelitate. Hæc ubi ad Papæ libellum impleta sunt, ab excommunicationis nexu absoluti, nudis pedibus ad Papæ vestigia, deinde ad osculum recepti sunt. Petrum vero Diaconum Innocentius ad se evocans dixit: Præcipio tibi in virtute Spiritus Sancti, & per Sacramentum, quod hodie mihi & successoribus meis præstitisti, te adiuro, ut quacunque hora literas vel nuncium meum acceperis, non habes licentias ultra remorandi: sed quamprimum præcis vestigiis sedis Apostolicæ & Pontificis, qui pro tempore fuerit, te representare studeas. Nolo enim ut pia Romana Ecclesia inquietetur. Post hæc Rainaldus ad Imperatorem deductus, & ab eo magno cum honore susceptus, cum fratribus inter Imperii Capellanos constitutus est. Nam usque ad eam diem Imperatoris obtutibus præsentatus non fuerat. An aliis talis tamen postea in suspicionem adductus, singulari Papæ libore depositus est. Such was this Popes Christian candor, charity, fidelity towards him, after this solemn reconciliation, notwithstanding the Emperors mediation. And to demonstrate his unparalleled ingratitude to the Emperor, who with extraordinary expence and travel had twice by force of Armes suppressed his Competitor, and restored him to his Papal Authority, *Cum se Salernitani Imperatori victorioso Lothario dederent, Papæ indigne tulit, quod Imperator eos suos esse assereret, Papæ enim contendebat, eos sui juris esse; Which the Emperor would not admit: As for his antient Right of Investitures, and bestowing Bishopricks in Germany, he strenuously maintained it, as this president amongst others demonstrates. *Circa initium Imperii Lotharii, Magdeburgensis sedes vacans, tres simul inter Canonicos habuit procos. Quilibet enim istius Sponse amore ardebat. Lotharius tres istos reiecit, ac Norbertum qui in Burgundia Novum Præmonstratensium ordinem excogitaverat, ei loco præfexit. After his death, †Norbertus Innocentii Papæ Catholici æquissimus fautor, Petri vero Scismatici iustissimus execrator, dying in Italy, de exiliis Norberti postea inter Clericos majoris Ecclesiæ & fratres Sanctæ Mariæ contentio gravis exoritur (non de Doctrina, de qua nihil erant solliciti) quam quidem solus Imperator Lotharius potuit dirimere: Res ad Imperatorem delata est, et ejus præcepto, cadaver fratribus Sanctæ Mariæ attribuitur, quia Monachus extiterit; & cum filiis & fratribus quos in Christo genuerat, in Ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ (quam Christo adificaverat) sepultus est.

How corrupt, unjust, this Pope, his Cardinals, and the Court of Rome were, & how ingratfull they proved even to St. Bernard himself, after all his travel and pains for them; his Epistles to them thus relate to posterity. *Thomas Prior S. Victoris in France; Vir religiosus, in itinere quod induxerat pietas, in opere sancto, in sanctorum Comitatu, in Dominico die, certe in sinu Episcopi Parisiensis, & inter manus ejus, crudeliter ab impiis excerebratus est, by the instigation of another Clergyman of Noble extraction; who to secure himself from legal proceedings in France for this murder, appealed to Pope Innocent, and there found favour and protection; Of which St. Bernard thus complained to this Pope; In quantam misera devenit amentiam, ut fera pessima quæ devoravit Joseph, vaga & profuga, & tremens super terram, illuc potissimum fugam inerat, ubi plus timere oportuit? Sceleratissime, tu summæ æquitatis sedem, putas esse speluncam latronum, aut cubile leonum, &c. Si inquam impune ferat, quod utique mira impudentia de vestra Apostolica Autoritate præsumit, quanta putamus impunitas ista in Ecclesia parturiet puniendi! unum de duobus fore, necesse est, aut nullos ex nobilibus sive potentibus secundum hoc seculum

* Chronicon Calientis, l. 4. c. 118. Cent. Magd. 12. c. 2. col. 1166.

* Ciantz. Metrop. i. 6. c. 12. Cent. Magd. 12. c. 8. col. 1167

† Sieberti Chronicon, An. 1134. p. 130. Cent. Magd. 12. col. 1162.

* Bernardi Epist. 158, 159. ad Dominum Papam Innocentium.

seculum, admitti deinceps ad honores Ecclesiasticos; aut passim ad omne illicitum permitti libere Clericos sacris abuti officiis, ne forte si quispiam Zelo Dei accensus prohibere tentaverit, ferro illico militari reus justitiæ trucidetur. Atque ita quid spirituali gladio, quid censuræ Ecclesiasticæ, quid Christianæ legis & disciplinæ, quid reverentiæ sacerdotali, quid denique divino timori relinquitur, si metu potentia secularis nullius mutire jam audeat contra insolentiam Clericorum? Quid enim insolentius, quidve indignius in Ecclesia esse potest, quam ut sibi quisque Ecclesiasticas vendicat dignitates feritate armorum, non morum probitate? Quamobrem Domine Pater, aliquid ut videtis prorsus decernendum in hominem quod Ecclesiæ profit, ut salus facta hoc tempore per vos transfundatur in posteros, & cognoscat generatio altera non solum quod fuit præsumptum, sed & qualiter ultum? Alioquin si serpat venenum, nec sequatur pariter antidotum, multos (quod absit) habeat perimere. Yet his 160, 161, 162, & 163 Epistles prove, that **contra jus et fas** this murderer found protection at Rome, and so escaped unpunished.

In his Epist. 166. *ad Dominum Papam Innocentium* (to whom he had complained at large in his 164. Epistle, of the fraud, rashness, injustice of the election and consecration of the unworthy Bishop of *Ligon*, against the Archbishops, Deans and Canons promises to him, and this Popes command, without the least redresse upon several Appeals to him against his election) he writes thus; Iterum clamo, iterum pulso, & si non clamorosis vocibus, certe lachrymosis gemitibus; cogit iterare clamores, iterata in nos injuria perditorum & prolongantium iniquitatem suam. Confortati sunt ad dentes prævaricationem. Apponunt iniquitatem super iniquitatem, & superbia eorum ascendit semper. Invaluit furor, pudor evanuit, & timor Dei. Quem contra tuam, Pater, castam justamque dispositionem non timuerunt eligere, etiam post Appellationem tui nominis ausi sunt execrare. Et hoc præsumperunt *Lugdunensis, Eduensis, Alatisconensis*, ac amici *Cluniacensis*. In fraude & temeritate istorum heu quam ingens multitudo sanctorum turbabitur, si angariati fuerint tali portare jugum taliterque impositum. **Ioh nescias, hoc ita accepturi sunt**, ac si cogantur genua curvare *Baal*, aut certe juxta prophetam, *passum facere cum morte, & cum inferno fedus inire*. Rogo ubi jus, ubi lex, ubi sacrorum auctoritas Canonum, ubi denique reverentia Majestati? **Illa, illa, quæ nulli negatur oppresso, soli mihi non profuit Appellatio**, Ubi nimirum imperabat aurum, judicabat argentum, leges Canonesque silebant, locum ratio et æquitas non habebant. **Eissem telis (quod intollerabilius est) arcem quoque Apostolici culminis oppugnare minantur**. Id vero ridiculum, *Fundata est enim supra firmam Petram*. Sed quid ago? Excessi fateor; non est meum accusare quemquam aut reprehendere, sufficit mihi ut plangam dolorem meum **Post longam moram multosque labores quos pro servitio Romanæ Ecclesiæ pertuli, cum tandem placuit** Serenitati vestræ reditum annuere ad fratres meos, etli fractus viribus Corporis tanquam male operans, latus tamen ob manipulos pacis, quos reportabam, ad Monasterium cum prosperitate perveni, Credidi me de labore evasisse ad requiem, licere mihi utcumque refarcire spiritualium damna studiorum, ac sanctæ quietis detrimenta quæ foris incurreram; **et ecce tribulatio et angustia invenerunt me: En lectulo recubantem plus Cordis quam corporis dolor excruciat**. Nec enim Ego deploro temporale incommodum ullum; Anima mea in manibus meis, salus ejus in causa est. **Placet vobis, ut illi homini credam animam meam, qui perdidit suam?** Scio quod non placet. Quamobrem dixi animæ meæ, expedire magis inire fugam quam & mærore consumere residuum dierum meorum, & nihilominus in periculum solertis incidere. At Deus vobis potius inspiret, quod potius est, reducere (viz.) ad memoriam (si dignum judicatis) qualiter vobiscum egerim, & ponere oculos pietatis super puerum vestrum, & liberare afflictum de angustia; quin potius non oblivisci, quanta Deus ipse fecerit vobis, & in quantulecunque vicem recompensationis, ad ipsius gloriam, quod tam perperam factum est, revocare. This business he again pressed to this Pope, *Epist. 167.* concluding it thus, Nisi isti à tam scelerato, tamque temerario ausu deficiant (ut meipsum nunc sentio) deficiet in dolore vita mea, & anni mei in gemitibus: Which he thus backed with an * Epistle *Ad Episcopos & Cardinales Romanæ Curia*; Vos scitis, si dignum ducitis recordari, quali-
ter

Epist. 28.

* Epist. 167.

ter vobiscum in tempore malo conversatus sim, egrediens & regrediens, & pergens ad imperium Regis: persistens ac permanens vobiscum in tentationibus vestris, ita ut consumptis penè viribus corporis, vix post redditam cælitus pacem Ecclesiæ repatriare potuerim. Et recolo hoc non glorians, aut improprians, sed provocans & efflagitans, monens & reposcens *debitum vestra miserationis affectum*. Urget necessitas modo omnes repetere debitores. Ego vero si feci quod facere debui, haud aliud me ex eo quàm servum inutilem reputo, juxta sermonem Domini. Veruntamen si feci quod oportuit, aut quod faciendum fuit, nunquid merui vapulare? **Et ecce rediens a vobis tribulationem et dolorem invenit, et nomen Domini** (to wit, *Innocentii Papa*) **invocabi, sed non profuit. Invocabi et vestrum, et non valuit.** Siquidem Dii tortes terræ vehementer elevati sunt, *Langdunensis* scilicet Archiepiscopus, & *Cluniacensis* Abbas. Hi confidentes in virtute sua, & in multitudine divitiarum suarum gloriantes, adversum me appropinquaverunt & steterunt: Et non adversum me tantum, sed adversum magnam multitudinem servorum Dei, adversum vos, quoque adversum seipsos, **contra Deum, contra omnem æquitatem et honestatem.** Denique imposuerunt hominem super capita nostra, quem, prohi pudor! & boni horrent, & mali rident. Quo ordine, imò quàm extraordinariè, videat Deus & judicet: **Alideat, et doleat Romana Curia: Alideat, misereatur et accingatur ad vindictam malefactorum, laudem vero honorum.** Quid enim? Placet tibi, domina mundi universitati constituta est, vindex in iram, iudex in miseriam, placet inquam, tibi quod dum superbit impius, incenditur pauper, & ille pauper qui pro tuo servitio, cum non haberet Censum quam effunderet, sanguini non pepercit? Dignum ne tibi videtur tua perfrui pace, & nostram non curare, nec recipere in fortem consolationis quos habuisti consortes laboris? Si inveni gratiam in oculis vestris, eripite inopem de manu fortiorum ejus, egenum & pauperem, ab eripientibus eum. Alioquin ego quidem ut potero laborabo in gemitu meo, & erunt mihi lachrymæ meæ panes die ac nocte, vobis autem legem illum vericulum, *Qui tollit ab amico miseriam, timorem Domini derelinquit.* Et illud, *omnes necessarii mei recesserunt à me.* Illud quoque, *Qui juxta me erant de longe steterunt, & vim faciebant, qui quærebant animam meam.*

Pf. 114.

Pf. 49. 6.

Pf. 35: 10.

Job 6.

Plal. 37.

In his 178 Epistle ad Dominum Papam Innocentium, pro Alberone Treverensi Archiepiscopo, he writes thus; *Querimonia Domini Treverensis non est ejus solius, sed communis multorum, eorumque præcipuè qui sinceriori affectu vos diligunt; Nec una omnium qui fideli apud nos cura populis præsumt, justiciam in Ecclesia deperire; Annullari Ecclesiæ Claves; Episcopalem omnino vilescere auctoritatem, dum nemo Episcoporum in promptu habeat ulcisci injurias Dei; nulli liceat illicita quævis, ne in propria quidem Parochia castigare. Causam referunt in vos, Curiamque Romanam. Recte gesta ab ipsis, (ut aiunt) destruitis: jussu destructa, statuitis; Quique flagitiosi et contentiosi de populo, si-ve de Clero, aut etiam ex Monasteriis pulsati currunt ad vos, redeuntes jactant et gessiunt se obtinuisse tutores, quos magis ultores sensisse debuerunt; An non gladius Phinees promptissimè atq; justissimè eductus fuerat, ad condemnandum incestuosum concubitarum Drogonis & Milis? sed confusus atque retusus abiit retrorsum: Scuto nimirum Apostolicæ defensionis opposito. Prohi pudor! quos Cachinnos res ista movit, et movet Ecclesiæ inimicis, eisque etiam ipsis quorum fortasse metu aut favore a recto tramite abducti sumus? Amici confunduntur, fidelibus insultatur, Episcopi ubique in opprobrium veniunt et contemptum, quorum dum recta judicia contemnuntur, vestra quoque plurimum derogatur Auctoritati.* Ipsi sunt enim qui honorem vestrum zelant, qui vestra pro pace, & exaltatione laborant fideliter quidem, sed vereor ne inefficiter. Quid vobis vires minuit? quid robur vestrum deprimit? Quousque retunditis arma fidelia militantia vobis, humiliatis cornua erecta vestra virtutis, & salutis? Plorans plorat desolationem suam apud Tullum Ecclesia Sancti Gengulsi, nec est qui confoletur eam. Quis enim se opponat brachio excelsso, torrentis impetui, summæ arbitrio potestatis? *Which he thus aggravates in his 179 Epistle to him.* Quomodo malicia via-

cit sapientiam? Nosti pie Domine, nosti *Triverensem* Archiepiscopum? Scio quod nosti. Nosti & illum Sancti Maximini non sanctum Abbatem? Puto quia non nosti. Quis dignior honore illo priori? Sic nemo confusione dignior isto sequenti, & *tamen iste honoratus est, ille opprobrio datus.* Quid peccavit Archiepiscopus, pradam Ecclesiæ suæ recuperavit, captivam Ecclesiam de manu Laica liberavit, &c.

In his 180 Epistle to him, he shewes how Popes and the Court of Rome did oft times erre in their determinations by misinformations. *Iterum supplicatio, iterum preces, & decies repetita te non desinent. Non desistimus, quia non diffidimus. Bonam causam habemus, et æquum judicem qui non cunctabitur evacuare quod subzeptum est, cum apparebit quod verum est: nec poterit inde ridere qui voluit irridere, sed ut scriptum est, Ventita est iniquitas sibi.* Hoc solet habere præcipuum Apostolica sedes, ut non pigeat revocare quod a se forte deprehenderit fraude elicitum, non veritate promeritum. *Res plena aequitate, & laude digna, ut de mendacio nemo lucratur, præsertim apud Sanctam & summam Sedem.* But notwithstanding all St. Bernards importunate successive Letters, Merits, Piety, the Justice of his own and others causes he recommended to this Pope Innocent, his Cardinals and Chancellor, the heavier purse overballanced them, and carried the cause, though never so unjust or irregular, during this Popes domination, as well as his predecessors, as these Epistles and other Testimonies evidence.

In his 213 Epistle ad Dominum Papam Innocentium, he thus expostulates with him for his Injustice, in styling him a Traitor to him; *Quis mihi faciat Justitiam de vobis? Si haberem judicem ad quem vos trahere possem, jam nunc ostenderem vobis quid meremini: Exstat quidem Tribunal Christi; sed absit, ut ad illud appellem vos, quia illic si vobis necessarium, & mihi possibile esset, vellem magis totis viribus stare, & respondere pro vobis.* Itaque recurro ad eum cui in presenti datum est judicare de Universis; hoc est, ad vos: Vos appello ad vos; vos judicate inter me & vos. In quo quæso puer vester tam malè meruit de vestra Paternitate, ut eum incurrere et insignire placeret nota et nomine proditoris? &c. Quisnam ergò constantie vestre, (no consilio, vel magis suo dolo subripuit, indulta repetere, & que processere de labiis vestris facere irrita? Epist. 216, 217. he writes to this Pope, Scriptum est, Quod Deus conjunxit, homo ne separet. Surrexerunt viri audaces qui non timuerunt conjunctos à Deo contra Deum disjungere: Neque id solum, insuper & adjecerunt conjungere non conjungendos, addentes pravaricationem. Lacerantur sacra Ecclesiæ, & induuntur pro dolo vestres Jesu Christi, idque ad cumulum dolois ab his à quibus resarciri debuerint: Amici tui Deus, & proximi tui adversum te appropinquaverunt & steterunt, &c. Comitem Radulphum & uxorem ejus, Deus conjunxerat per Ministros Ecclesiæ, & Ecclesia per Deum, qui dedit talem potestatem hominibus: Quomodo quos Deus conjunxit, disjuncta camera? In quo factò illud solum convenienter provisum est quod in tenebris facta sunt opera tenebrarum. Qui enim malè agit odit lucem, & non venit ad lucem, ut non arguantur opera ejus à luce. Quid meruit Comes Theobaldus? Quid peccavit homo ille? Si peccatum est, quod diligit justitiam, & odit iniquitatem, non potest excusari. Si peccatum est, quod reddit Regi quæ Regis sunt, & quæ sunt Dei, Deo; non potest excusari. Si * Archiepiscopum Bituricensensem suscepit ad Imperium vestrum, hoc est maximum & primum peccatum: En sanguis iste de manu ejus exquiritur, &c. Tribulatio & angustia invenerunt nos: Ipsa religio venit in opprobrium & contemptum. Probro ducitur apud nos saltem mentionem facere pacis: Nusquam fides, nusquam innocentia tuta. Amator innocentie, pietatis cultor Comes Theobaldus penè traditus in animam inimicorum ejus: And in his excusatory last Epistle to this Pope he thus complains he was fallen quite out of his favour (only for his just reprehensions of his Injustice, abuses, and disobeying his unjust commands.) Domino & Patri

Mat. 19.

Psal. 37,

Jorn. 3. 20]

* See here, p. 28.

* Epistola 218.

re-

referring the Pope to his forecited Epistle written to his four Cardinals : In fine, he thus complains of * Henry the Archbishop of Sienna his proceedings, just like the Popes and Court of Rome, *Multiplicatis vobis accusatores, defensores subtrahitis; Provocatis adversarios, patronos offenditis: Ubique apud vos pro ratione voluntas; totum pro imperio, nihil pro timore Dei.* Qui de vobis non ridet inimici, non conqueruntur amici? Quomodo debestis hominem, non dico iudicio non convictum, sed nec verbo conventum? *Quantus hoc verbum scandalizabit? quot ora ad subsannandum? quot corda ad succendendum movebit? Itane putatis perisse iustitiam de toto orbe, sicut de vestro corde, et homo sic ablatum perdat Archidiaconatum? &c.* Hac vobis mordacius audaciusque quam velleis audire scripsi, sed non ad insipientiam vobis si velleis corrigere.

That the Kings of France maintained, exercised their ancient right of Investing of Bishops and Abbots by a Ring and Pastoral Staff, and usually gave their Royal assents to and confirmed their elections, under Pope Innocent and his Predecessors, notwithstanding all their Canons to the contrary, is evident by these Passages in St. Bernard, (no Friend to Investitures) who informs us in general :

* *Multa siquidem facta propter se tantum; alia vero propter alia designanda, & ipsa dicuntur signa, & sunt, ut enim de usualibus sumamus exemplum datur annulus absolute propter annulum, & nulla est significatio: datur ad investiendum de hereditate aliqua, & signum est, ita ut iam dicere possit quid accepit: Annulus non valet quicquam, sed hereditas est quam querebam. Varia sunt investitura secundum ea de quibus investimur: Verbi gratia: investitur Canonicus per Librum; Abbas per Baculum, Episcopus per Annulum & Baculum. In his 164. Epistle to Pope Innocent concerning the Cause of the Bishoprick of Lingon pending by Appeal before him; he informs him, that the Bishop of Lingon being elected, against the consent of the Dean and others, yea against the Popes Order & Electors promise to him, the Archbp. of Lyons upon St. Bernards importunity refusing to consecrate him: he thereupon privily procured an Investiture from the King, and then was ordered to be consecrated at another day and place: *Interim nempe homo qui & consecrationem fugerat & electionem refusat, festinabit ad Regem; Regalium investituram obtinuit, quibus meritis ipse viderit: Hoc directis Epistolis, & locus qui assignatus fuerat, est mutatus, & dies anticipatus, ut loci temporisque opportunitate substracta, & copia agendi pariter, subtrahatur contradic-turis, & consecrationis dies subripiatur appellaturis. Ceterum non est consilium contra consilium Domini, cuius providentia factum est ut nec contradictores defuerint nec appellatores. Appellatum est a Falcone Decano Lugdunensis Ecclesia, &c. and others to the Pope against his Consecration. St. Bernard, as he writ several Epistles to the Pope in favour of the Appellants, so he sent an ^b Epistle ad Ludovicum juniorem Francorum Regem, desiring him to revoke his Investiture granted to this Bishop being unduly elected, and unfit for that Charge, and to invest the Bishop duly elected by the contrary Party; Which begins thus: *Si totus orbis adversum me conjuraret, ut quippiam moliter adberius Regiam maiestatem, ego tamen Deum timerem, ac ordinatum ab eo Regem offendere temere non auderem: Nec enim ignaro ubi legerim; qui potestati resistit, Dei ordinationi resistit, &c. Non imminuetur honor Regis, regni- que utilitas per nos: Nam in quo alto regia maiestas: recte in eo quod factum est imminuta dicatur? Electio rite celebrata est; electus fidelis est; Non esset fidelis si vestra autem et non per vos habere vellet. Necdum ad vestra manum extendit, necdum civitatem vestram ingressus est, necdum prorsus se intrusit de aliquo, quanquam invitatio Cleri & Populi, & oppressorum afflictio, & vota bonorum id ab eo vehementissimè flagitarint, &c. Quæ cum ita sint, opus est, ut videtis, maturatione consilii, non minus vestro honori, quam nostra necessitati: & nisi per presen-tes nuncios expectanti populo, qui vester est, Serenitas vestra pro voto responderit, multo- rum religiosorum adversum vos (quod non expedit) devota vobis nunc corda turbabitis, et regalibus vestris ipsis, quæ ad Ecclesiam pertinent, non parvum, ut veremur, incommodum acquirere.***

In another Epistle Ludovico Regi Francorum pro electo Antisiodorensi, he writes thus of the usual Elections of Bps. in France, the Kings Prerogative to grant Licenses and approve elections when made, & differences likely to arise between the King and Pope in case of a Provision by the Pope without the King. *Volui ego unquam in aliquo imminu-*

* Epistola 182.

* In cæna Domini, De Baptismo, &c. Serm. 2. f. 31. L. M.

^b Epist. 170.

^c Rom. 19.

* Epistola 282.

honorē Regis, dignitatem regnū: Deus scit, nec vestra ut confido conscientia id vobis respondet. Videte ne illi magis contra vos faciant qui electiones disturbant, ne sint in Ecclesiis qui seruiant Regi, sed ipsis de Ecclesiarum redditibus seruiatur. Ego, ego electioni Antiodorensi interfui: concors fuit: quia Clerici qui ante hac in partes dissilierant, siue contradictione nunc tandem, Deo miserante conuenerunt. Et enim bene novimus, testimonium ei perhibemus, quoniam bonus est. Neminem prorsus arbitror affuisse illi celebritati qui de assensu vestro dubitaret, cum iam idem assensus vestris literis teneretur. Quis enim hoc vel cogitare posset, repetendum alterum assensum, nec sufficere unum; præsertim ubi nulla extunc interuenit altera electio? Nunquid quociens dissenserint Clerici, totiens erit requirendus favor Regis? Nec ratio, nec consuetudo hoc habet. Denique nuper si recordamini, in Sueffordensi Ecclesia quociens ad eligendum Clerici conuenerunt, quociens dissenserunt, & infesto negotio discesserunt, nec tamen existimo totiens repetisse assensum vestrum quem semel promeruerant. Ita est Dominus Rex, non est quod debeatis reprobare factas electiones quibus ut fierent semel vos assensisse constiterit. Sed sunt aliqui qui vos conturbant, & conturbare nituntur Ecclesias, sua lucra sectantes; quodque grauius est, summi Pontificis et Serenissimi Regis mutuam gratiam et amorem Diabolico studio dirumpere molientes. Absit hoc: iudicium portabunt quicunque sunt illi, et Rex semper faciet quod bonus Rex sicut hactenus fecit. Itaque citò mandentur iocundiora, ne diutius sedeat in tristitia Ecclesia tamdiu iam vexata & afflicta. De persona nulla subeat suspicio, aut ego nimium fallor, aut fidelis erit, et Regi beneplacitum super ea. Confido in Domino quod non contristabitis multitudinem Sanctorum qui sunt in illo Episcopatu, nec me seruum vestrum, qui, ut verum fatear, nihil aequè unquam à vobis molestum pertuli, quàm si in hoc consilio quod non eueniat, præstiteritis.

* Anno 1241.
b. 139. b. &
An. 1243. f.
140. Centur.
Magd. 12. c.
10. col. 1248.

* See Bernardi
Epist. 216, 217.
219, 220, 221,
& here, p. 378.
† Hist. Angl.
Ann. 1146.
p. 77. Philip de
Mornay, Hist.
Papatus, p. 300

Rex Francorum
Lodowicus à
l'apa Eugenio
excommunicatus.

The Continuator of Sigeberts Chronicle (*Robertus de Morte*) informs us; that Anno 1241. there arose a great difference between this Pope and the King of France, by reason of his making and consecrating one *Peter* Archbishop of Bituris by his Provision, without the Kings consent. *Orta dissensione inter Papam Romanum, & Francorum Regem Ludovicum Ecclesia Gallicana turbatur. Defuncto enim Alberico Bituricensi Archiepiscopo, missus est Petrus a Papa Innocentio eidem Ecclesie Pastor consecratus, sed a Rege Ludovico repudiatus; eo quod sine ejus assensu fuerit ordinatus, in Civitatem minime recipitur; cujus partes quia propter reuerentiam seu voluntatem Papæ Comes Theobaldus socrere videbatur, simultas quæ sepius perturbabatur inter Regem et ipsum cœpit repullulare:* The King besieging his Castles, and raising War against him as a Traytor, for receiving and assisting this Pseudo-Archbishop *Peter*, by the Popes command, burning a Church & no lesse then 1300 souls therein in his Castle of *Vitriacum*, which he took by force; for which he was sharply reprehended by St. * *Bernard*, & excommunicated by Pope *Innocent*. After this (as * *Mat. Paris* informs us) An. 1146. *Eodem Anno Papa Eugenius Parisiis veniens, consecravit Petrum quendam Aimerici Ecclesie Romanæ Cancellarii nepotem, in Archiepiscopum Bituricensem. contra Lodowici Regis Franciæ voluntatem. Quod Rex injuria suæ dignitatis factum vehementer indignans, propositis publice sacrosanctis reliquiis, in præsentia multorum juravit, quod Archiepiscopus præfatus, quamdiu ipse viveret, Civitatem Bituricam non intraret. Sic per triennium Regis persona subjacuit interdito. In quamcunque civitatem, vicum vel castellum intrabat, suspendebatur celebratio divinozū.* (Such was the atheism of these Popes to prefer every punctilio of their own absolute wills and usurpations, before the Sacred publike Worship of God himself, and the peoples salvation) *Tandem Bernardi Abbate Claravallensi persuadente ad hoc, est Cor Regis inclinatum, ut Archiepiscopum reciperet, et pro transgressione perjurii, Hierosolymam se promitteret profecturum. Igitur per totam Galliam, fit exactio generalis, nec genus, vel ordo, aut dignitas, quempiam excusabit, quin*

quin auxilium Regi conferret. Unde factum est, ut ejus peregrinatio multis imprecationibus persequeretur. A remedy far worse then the disease, and an over-dear compensation for his perjury in departing with an ancient royal indisputable prerogative, against his solemn Oath.

The Letter of St Bernard to the Church of Rome in the behalf of this young King, is very remarkable; wherein he excuseth the rashness and temerity of his forecited Oath, by the custom, generosity of the French Nation, the youth and courage of the King; thereby in a manner betraying the rights of the Crown of France, to the usurpations of this tyrannizing Pope. *Quantum malum schisma in Ecclesia, & quam sit detestandum, & omnimolis devitandum, evidenter quondam ostendit famosa & horrenda mors virorum illorum quos ob istiusmodi pestem terra deglutiens, vivos transmisit ad inferos; ostendit & illa persecutio Guibertina, sive Burdini temeritas qua nostra jam tempora experta sunt, inter Regnum & Sacerdotium dividens, plaga pene incurabili, & castigatione crudeli. Ostendit & illa qua nuper adhuc post multam & multifariam Ecclesie vexationem, & vastationem, tandem Deo misicante pœnem accepit, rabies Leonina. Merito proinde Salvator in Evangelio, Vx (inquit) homini illi, per quem scandalum venit; Va vobis qui vivimus plangere qua perculimus, dolere qua sentimus, timere qua expectamus. Et quod pejus est, ad tam malum habitum humana res deveniunt, ut nec rei humiliari velint, nec Judices misereri. Dicimus, inquit, nolite inique agere, & delinquentibus, Nolite exaltare cornu, & non audiunt nos quia domus erasperans est. Supplicamus his quorum est peccata arguere, peccantes servare, Ne calamum quassatum conterant, & linum fumigans non extinguant, & magis in Spiritu vehementi conterunt Naves Charlis. Si denunciamus filiis cum Apostolo, ut obediant patribus per omnia, quasi aerem verberamus. Si Patribus loquimur, ne ad indignationem provocent filios, in nos potius eorum indignationem provocamus. Nec delinquentes satisfacere, nec Rectores seu correctores condescendere ullatenus acquiescunt. Omnes suum stomachum sequuntur & totis viribus funem in diversa trahentes, rumpunt. Hec nec dum recenti Ecclesie plaga cicatrix occalluit, & rursum scindere parant, rursus Corpus Christi affigere cruci, rursus fodere latus innoxium, rursus vestimenta dividere atque ipsam quod in ipsis est tunicam inconsutilem (quamvis frustra) dirumpere satagunt. Si qua in vobis sunt viscera pietatis, tantis vos opponite malis, ne in illa precipue terra scissura fiat in qua solent sicut optime nostis scissura alia resurcisci. Nam si author scandali, ore singulariter iudicis tremendo addicitur maledictio, quibus putamus benedictionibus dignos huius nequitia fugatores & propugnatores? De duobus non excusamus Regem, nam et iuravit illicite, et perseverat injuste. Aerum id non voluntate, sed verecundia. Nam propro ducitur, sicut optime nostis, apud Francigenas iuramentum solvere quamlibet male publice iuratum sit, quamvis nemo sapiens dubitet illicita iuramenta non esse tenenda. Aeruntamen ne in hoc quidem excusari posse fatemur, neque enim excusare nos, sed veniam postulare suscepimus. Vos videte an excusare aliquatinus eum possit ita, etas, et Majestas. Poterit sine dubio, si misericordiam iudicio superexaltandam decernatis, quatinus videlicet, talis aliqua consideratio in Rege et puero habeatur, ut hac ei vice tali quidem tenore parcat, quo tale aliquid de cetero non presumat. Parcat sane dixerim, si fieri possit (salva in omnibus Ecclesie libertate) simul & Archiepiscopo debita veneratione servata, qua manus Apostolica consecravit. Hoc ipse Rex humiliter petit, hoc nostra universa citramontana nimium jam afflicta Ecclesia suppliciter deprecatur. Alioquin damus manus morti, tabescentes & arescentes præ timore & expectatione qua supervenerunt universo Orbi. Siquidem deprecatio mea super hoc ab anno priore, & peccatis meis exigentibus deprecationem meam non exaudivit, sed indignatio, indignationem autem desolatio pene universæ terræ secuta est. Si quid Zelo urgente erupit, quod non fuit, aut secus quam fuit dicendum, sit quæso apud vos quasi non dictum. Ubi vero dixi, quod oportuit, & ubi oportuit dici, sit non frustra dictum.*

As for Kings Supremacy over Archbishops, Bishops, Clergy-men, their due Subjection, and paying Tribute to them, as well as Abbots Subjection to their Diocesan Bishop in that age, St. Bernard thus notably proves it from Christs own Precept, President, and the Centurions in the Gospel; *Nolite illorum acquiescere consiliis, qui cum sint Christiani, Christi tamen vel sequi facta vel obsequi dictis opprobrio ducunt. Ipsi sunt qui vobis dicere solent, Servate vestra sedis honorem. Decebat quidem ex vobis,*

Epist. Bernardi
219. fol. 220.
Num. 16.

Mat. 18. 7.

Psal. 74.

Luke 17.

Isay 43.

Ephes. 6.

* Bernardi Ep.
42. ad Henricum
Senonensem
Archiepiscopum;

Marc. 22.
Mat. 17. 25, 28.

Rom. 13.

Joh. 13.

Lu. 7. 8.

Anno 1143.
Carolus Sigo-
nius de Regno
Italix, l. 11.
p. 275.

bis, vobis commissam Ecclesiam crescere, nunc vero saltem in illa quam suscepistis maneat dignitate. Si non crescit per vos, non decreseat per vos. **Christus aliter iussit, et gessit;** Reddite, ait, quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, & quæ sunt Dei Deo. Quod ore locutus est, mox opere implere curavit: **Conditos Cæsaris, Cæsari non cunctatus est reddere censum, exemplum enim dedit vobis, ut et vos ita faciatis.** Quomodo verò Di Sacerdotibus debitum negaret v. reverentiam, qui hanc secularibus quoque potestatibus exhibere curavit? Porro vos si Cæsaris successor, i. e. Regi, se tulit in suis Curii, consiliis, negotiis, exercitiis, adeissis, indignum erit vobis cuicumque Christi Vicario taliter exhibere, qualiter ab antiquo inter Ecclesias ordinatum est? Sed quæ sunt (inquit Apostolus) potestates, à Deo ordinatæ sunt. Viderint ergo hujus ignominia dissuasores, quale sit Dei ordinationi resistere. Valde ignominiosum servo si sit sicut Dominus ejus. aut discipulo si sit sicut magister ejus. Plurimum se vobis deferre putant, cum vos Christo præferre conantur, ipso reclamante ac dicente, Non est servus major Domino suo, neque Apostolus eo qui misit eum. **Quod non dedignatus est Magister et Dominus, talisque et Magister et Dominus, indignum sibi judicabit servus bonus devotusque discipulus?** Quam pulchrè locutus est beatus ille Centurio, cujus fidei nulla par inventa est in Israel; Et ego (inquit) homo sum sub potestate, habens sub me Milites. Non jactabat potestatem quam nec solam proutit, nec priorem. Dicturus quippe, habens sub me Milites, præmisit, homo sum, & homo sub potestate. Præmissa siquidem est humilitas, ne altitudo præcipitet. **Dedit prius honorem præpositis, ut iam a subjectis iuste reciperet, sciens se à superioribus accipere quod impenderet inferioribus,** & quia melius propria subjectionis assiceret experimento sua ipse moderari imperia, &c. Miror quodam in nostro ordine Monasteriorum Abbates hanc humilitatis regulam odiosa contentione infringere, & sub humilis (quod pejus est) habitu & consura, tam superbè sapere, ut cum ne unum quidem verbulum de suis imperiis subditos prætergredi patiantur, ipsi propriis obedire contemnunt Episcopis: (yea Regibus & Principibus suis, of which he formerly discoursed;) ipsoliant Ecclesias: & emancipentur; redimunt se ne obediant. **Non ita Christus:** Ille siquidem dedit vitam ne perderet obedientiam; quam illi, ut careant, totum ferè suum, suorumque victum expendunt. And did not Popes, Popish Prelates, Abbots then do so likewise, spending their own, and others revenues to exempt themselves from due obedience, taxes to their own Emperors and Christian Kings?

Pope Innocent Anno 1143. having by the forces and valour of the Romans reduced the Rebellious Tiburtes, punished them farre lesse then they demerited, and the Romans expected; whereupon, *Romani, qui a parva victoria ferociores evaserant, & irati, acerbiorè pœna Tiburtes afficiendos putabant, à Pontifice flagitarunt, ne tantam defectionem tam molli vindicasse conditione vellet; Tiburtes mernisse, ut muris disiectis è Latii finibus truderentur, neq. ipsum à defectionibus esse tutum futurum, nisi in auctores eorum atrocius esse foret animadversum. Contra verò Innocentius, postulationem eorum iniquam esse contendit, neque in dedititios, ac veniam pacemque petentes, tam acerbè consulere convenire, ab Ecclesia certè, quæ communis omnium mater esset, tam acre vindicanda contumacia studium abhorreere. Quod ubi Romani audiverunt, ira vehementius exarscrunt, quod neque hostes à quibus læsi essent, puniri pro libidine possent, neque aequi aliquid à Papa impetrarent, cui operam magno suo detrimento navassent. Itaque tumultu in urbe concitato, ac Civitate antiquo seditionis morbo furente, Concione ex templo in Capitolio convocarunt. Ibi pro se quisque ferocissimè ac superbissimè est loquutus, atque antiquam Romanorum animorum opemque magnitudinem ipsa verborum magnificentia, atque orationis granditate est facile consecutus. Ad extremum multis distis sententiis, omnes in eam qua maxime popularis, & splendida visa est, descenderunt. Ueterem Romanæ libertatis statum restituendum; (being all weary of the Popes Tyranny, Vassallage, and resolving to shake off his usurped power over them) pristinos ordines, magistratusque Republicæ reponendos, Pontifici unam sacrorum curationem relinquendam in urbe esse. Hoc decus, hanc speciem dignitatis majores saepe, sed irritò incepto tentasse, id eo sibi apud posteros splendidius ac magnificentius fore, si ipsi tantam urbi laudem, majestatemque pepererint; pro certo autem parituros, si viribus suis agnitis parem ad causam animum*

animum, constantiamque attulerint. Ad hanc itaque opinionem venisse ** Arnoldi* hæretici potissimum auctoritate videntur, cujus ejusmodi tum adversus Pontificem decreta vulgari hominum sermone celebrabantur. Itaque inita defectione, ordinem Senatorium jam pridem extinctum popularibus suffragiis revocarunt, ac bellum cum Libertibus renovarunt. Innocentius his rebus cognitis, primum per amicos summa auctoritate prados Romanos redigere ad sanitatem contendit; dein ubi se incassum laborare animadvertit, ad insula edicta confugit, ac populum Romanum a sacris amovet, eumque Pontificio jure Comitiorum, cujus a primis temporibus ad eum usque diem particeps fuerat, spoliavit. Verum ne ita quidem furorem sanare eorum potuit. Itaque in timorem Romani amittendi Dominatus adductus, tantum ex ea re sollicitudinis hausit, ut languore confectus 8. Kalendas Octobris perierit. Hæc cum Innocentio instituta contentio tanti momenti fuit (as Sigonius observet) ut omnes deinde Pontifices usque ad Clementem tertium exercuerit.

** Sepulto Innocentio, Cardinales excluso populo ad Comitium conbenerunt, ac post die eius diei (in perante Conrado) Vidonem Civem, Castellum, ex Cardinali collegio, Pontificem sublegerunt, ac mox consecratum Celestinum secundum vocarunt, Vir grandævus, super vires quædam animo concipiens adversus Rogerium Regem Sicilia, propter eandem Siciliam qua juri Apostolico competebat. Fuerat autem alumpus Andegavensium, eorumque manus corroborare in depulsionem Regis Stephani Anglia proposuerat, (such was his treachery) had he not suddenly been cut off by the Plague (then raging in Italy) 5 months and 13. days after he was elected Pope; his short life hindering him from doing so much mischief as his predecessors to the Crowns of Emperors, Kings and the Church of Christ. I shall only transcribe 2. Epistles of St. Bernard, the one to this Pope Celestine himself, the other to the whole Court of Rome, in behalf of Henry Murdac the intruded Archbishop of York, setting forth their grosse corruption, Injustice, and Pope Innocents too, with the mischief, and vexation of Appeals from forreign parts. * Ad Dominum Papam Celestinum, pro intruso Eboracensi, Epist. 234. Oportet vos secundum justitiam quæ ex lege est suscitare semen tractis vestri detuncti, quo i dignè implebitur, si Papa Innocentio cui in hereditate Domini successistis, & defenditis bene gesta & minus adimpleta perficatis. Præ manibus est, in quo id liceat experiri. Causam Eboracensis Ecclesiæ per eum fuisse decisam quis nesciat? At quomodo executioni mandatum sit quod egressum est de labiis tanti viri? utinam nesciatur. Quis det ut non annuncietur in Geth, neque in compitis Aiscalonis! Sed ut verbum abbrevia:um faciam auribus occupatis, audiat paucis Dominus meus quid dictum fuerit, & quid factum ce-neamus. Cum in multis accusaretur is qui sibi vindicare electionem in præfata Ecclesiæ impie cupiebat, tandem omnis controversia ad testimonium viri illustris Willielmi ipsius Ecclesiæ tunc Decani conquire cere jussa est, ut nisi capitulum intrusionis quod huic inter cetera impingebatur ille propria manus juramento amoveret, suis omnino conatibus tanta frustraretur ambitio. Hoc autem non ex iudicio, sed ex misericordia. Sic enim rogaverat ipse. Mitissima plane sententia, quippe cum de plurimis & pessimis pulsetur quæ nullatenus propulsare valebat, sed utinam vel ipsa stet. Quid enim si non sufficit Iuri, dummodo sufficiat Ecclesiæ liberationi? Non causamur sententiæ remissionem quæ nil nocuit. Neque enim proficit avversario etsi largior indulgentia, qui ne ipsum quod ultro sponderat implere prevaluit. Nam de quo præsumere visus est defecit ei ne sibi ipsi deficeret, pejerans. Quando enim vir bonus attestaretur homini, quem rumor publica opiniois & operis veritas detestatur? Quid ergo? Ille non juravit, & iste Episcopus est? O rem ignorantium omnium dignam, et perpetuo si fieri posset silentio comprimendam: Ceterum id sero, Heu notus est ubi triumphus Diaboli, ubique personat plausus incircumcisozum et plandus bonozum, pro eo quod videatur sapientiam vicisse malicia. Demonstratur digito matris Ecclesiæ turpitudine, Patris Innocentii verenda iridentur denudata a serbo nequam, quoniam mortuum putat, sed vivit in vobis. Si is exitus im-*

** See p. 350.*

Anno 1143.
* Sigonius l.
11. p. 276.
Robertus de
Monte, Volat-
teranus, Platina
Fasciculus
Temporum,
Cent. Magd. 12
c. 10. Balæus,
Onuphrius,
Stella, Vicellius,
in Celestino
3. Mar. Paris,
Mar. Westm.
Johannis Prior
Hagustidensis
Continuatio.
Simeon Du-
nelmensis Hist.
col. 173. Chron-
icon Johannis
Bromton, col.
1032. Poly-
chronicon, l. 7.
c. 19. Henry
de Knyghton,
de Eventibus
Angliæ, l. 2. c. 5.
* Bernardi
Epist. 234. See
Godwins Cata-
logue of Bi-
shops, p. 456.
Henry Murdac

† 2 Reg. 1.

minebat

minebat cur e longinquo Romam est pertractata causa spurcissima, umbra magis et angulo digna? Cur tanta mari terraque a multis assumpta fatigatio? Cur a finibus terræ evocati viri religiosi qui eum accusarent, et pauperum Christi marsupia longi itineris expensis exhausta sunt? Non poterat Episcopari turpis infamisque persona (quod inuitus dolensque loquor) nisi quam in illo horrebat Angliā, Franciā abominabatur, etiam Roma cognosceret? Quanto melius in Romana Curia causa ejus minime ventilata fuisset: et non tangeret vel sacra limina generalis atque horribilis sætor? Quanto tolerabilius ignorasset Apostolica sedes tam intollerabile malum, quam tolerat manifestum? Quid istud temeritatis fuit? publice infamatus, ante indicem accusatus, nec purgatus, imo et conbictus, et sic consecratus est? Viderit qui huic manum post ista imposuit, an magis execratus dicere debuerim. *Non enim negabit sic se ista habere, non negabit si se ex literis Apostolicis ad se pro hoc ipso directis eadem comperisse.* Dicat forte aliquis quod non est datum iudicium, non fuisse convictum. Ego dico & confessum. Nam qui ut iudicium evaderet, ultro elegit ad testimonium Wilhelmi Decani confugere, illo sibi deficiente, quid nisi suo iudicio a causa decidit ore proprio condemnatus? *Quæ cum ita sint, Uide Domine Pater ne declinet cor vestrum in opus malitæ, quoniam secundum Prophetam, declinantes in obligatione adducet Dominus cum operantibus iniquitatem.* Alioquin quod consilium datis missis Abbatibus illis quos ad accusandum eum vocatio Apostolica Romana traxit, sed & aliis quampluribus ex illo Episcopatu viris religiosis, sint ne obediri huic, & Sacramenta accepturi ab homine his intruso? primo quidem per Regem, deinde per Legatum. Quippe qui illum in Sanctuarium Dei contra ius et fas, contra mandatum Summi Pontificis in injuriam summæ Sedis, et totius Romanæ Curie, cum non potuit per ostium, fodit argenteo (ut aiunt) sarculo, unde impudenter intrusit. Ante (nisi fallor) suis sedibus erulabunt, quam dare acquiescant manus Idolo huic, nisi vestra violenta auctoritas obviarit. Cæterum quam Sanctiorum vestroque Apostolatu digniori zelo gladium Phinees in confusione duorum tam turpiter fornicantium stringeretis, quam tot sanctos aut de suis fugere locis permittitis, aut contra conscientias suas cogit remanere.

Psal. 124.

Bernardi Epist.
235. fol. 221.

His other Epistle *Ad totam Curiam Romanam*, runs thus, *Domini & Patribus reverendis, Episcopis & Cardinalibus Curie Romanæ, frater B. Claravallis vocatus Abbas salutem, & nostras qualescunque orationes.* Omnibus scribendum fuit de eo quod spectat ad omnes. Nec vereor ne forte presumptionis arguar, quippe qui licet omnium minimus, tamen Romanæ Curie injuriam, a me non iudico alienam. *Arnimur assidue dico vobis, urimur graviter nimis, ita ut nostræ deat etiam vivere.* In domo Dei videmus horrenda, et quod corrigere nos non possumus, saltem suggerimus his ad quos spectat. *Siquidem emendaverint bene; sin autem, nos animas nostras liberavimus, vos excusationem non habetis de peccato; Non ignoratis, prolatam esse sententiam à Domino Papa bona memoria Innocentio, cum vestro & Romana Curia generali assensu, irritam esse Wilhelmi Eboracensis electionem, immo intrusionem, nisi Wilhelmus alter, tunc Decanus, quod obiectum ei fuerat, propriæ manus juramento repelleret.* Nec vos latuit quàm plena esset sententia, non iudicii sed misericordia, nimirum cum hoc Wilhelmus ipse quæsisset. Sed utinam vel ipsa stet, & quod adversus eam factum est stare non possit. Quid enim, Non jurabit ille, et iste in Cathedra pestilentie sedit? Quis tribuat ut adversus fornicationem hanc, Phinees cum pugione procedat, aut vivat in sede sua Petrus, qui Spiritu labiorum suorum interficiat impios? Multi clamant ad nos in toto corde suo: ut sacrilegium hoc digna animadversione vindicare studeatis. Alioquin

Alioquin dico vobis scandalum magnum nimis erit in Ecclesia Dei, et timen ne Romanæ sedis auctoritas gravem admodum jacturam et detrimentum grande suscipiat, nisi in eum qui pervertit generalem ejus sententiam vindicta processerit, et taliter ut cæteri metum habeant. Quid enim de eo dicam, quam occultas, et vere tenebrosas literas habuisse se gloriatur *Wilhelmus* ille; utinam a Principibus terrarum, non a Principibus Apostolorum. Et ecce audierunt filii incircumcisozum, subsannant Romanam Curiam, a qua post datam tam manifestam sententiam furtim datas esse aiunt contrarias literas. Quid dicam vobis? Si non vos urit scandalum grave quo scandalizantur, non pusilli, sed magni et perfecti viri, si non compatimini pauperibus Abbatibus quos a finibus terræ vocatio Apostolica Romam traxit: si non miseremini magnis et religiosis Monasteriis quibus omnino sub incubatore illo destructio imminet, si (quod primum dicere debui) *Zelus domus Dei non comedit vos*. Nunquid usque adeo inimici hominis versutia prævalent, ut proprium quoque contemptum, et infamiam hanc pessimam Ecclesiæ Principes æquanimiter ferant? Quid enim si sacrilegam homo ille consecrationem recepit? Profecto longe gloriosius, erit jam elevatum dicere *Simonem*, quam prohibere conantem. Aliquin, quid facietis religiosi viris, qui omnino non inveniunt salva Conscientia; vel ipsa communia Sacramenta de leprosa manu suscipere? Ante (nisi fallor) eligent fugere, quam dare manus morti, & exulare priusquam velci idolotici. Quod si contra conscientias suas coegerit eos Romana Curia curbare genua ante Baal, videat Deus et Judicet, videat Curia illa cælestis, in qua nulla poterit ambitione subverti iudicium. In fine omnium obsecrat vos puer vestri, per viscera misericordie Dei nostri, si quis in vobis est *Zelus Dei*, miseremini Ecclesiæ Sanctæ saltem vos amici ejus, & quantum potestis date operam, ne tam detestabili facto deus assensu. But this Pope and the whole Court of Rome turning the deaf ear to these his Epistles; he thereupon (some years after) backed them with two other Epistles to Pope *Eugenius*, his Scholar, and familiar friend, which I shall here insert.

Ad Dominum Papam Eugenium, de Eboracensi intruso. Epistola 238. Importunus sum, & habeo excusationem Eugenii Apostolatus excusat me. Alium non vos esse Papam, sed me, & undique ad me confluant qui habent negotia. Nec desunt in tanta multitudine amicorum, quibus officium negare non possum, non solum abque scandalo, sed etiam absque peccato; Et nunc est etiam alia excusatio non minus idonea, quia causa honestissima est, contra Idolum illud Eboracensi iterato stylus dirigitur, ea scilicet necessitate, quod sapenumero hoc telo impetum a nobis necdum confossum est. Cur hoc? Quia nil forte a nobis tale directum est, qualis fuit Gladius Jonathæ qui nunquam rediit retrorsum; Nec sanè fuit culpa jaculi, sed dirigentis iaculum, Pater enim quod non in ea qua oportuit fortitudine missum est; Nec mirum, Quis enim in manu foris sagittas mittere potest; nisi filius excussorum? Qui locum Petri tenet, potest uno ictu extinguere Ananiam, uno Simonem Magum, & ut planius quod loquimur fiat, preceptoriam dare sententiam ad depositionem Episcoporum solius Romani Pontificis non scitur esse, pro eo nimirum quod & si alii multi vocati sunt in partem sollicitudinis, solus ipse plenitudinem habeat potestatis. Solus perinde si dicere audeam in culpa est, si culpa non feritur, qua ferienda est, et eo impetu quo fuerit ferienda. Quo autem impetu non dico ferienda sed fulminanda fuerit, prædicti Eboracensis culpa, vestra conscientia derelinquo. Ceterum quod factum non est vobis credimus reservatum, ut in eo experiat Ecclesia Dei, cui ipso auctore præstis, fervorem Zeli vestri, potentiam brachii vestri, & animi sapientiam, & timeat omnis populus Sacerdotem Domini, audiens sapientiam Dei esse in illo ad faciendum iudicium. Ad eundem pro eodem. Epistola 239. Quam cupio semper illa de vobis audire, in quibus glorificetur Deus, honoretur Ministerium vestrum, & anima mea letificetur. Inde est quod audita responsione vestra, de quibusdam qui ad officium

cium legationis nimium videbatur, & ambitiose aspirare, & impudenter sperare, supra quam dicere possumus facti sumus latantes, Non autem nos tantum, sed & omnes qui diligunt nomen vestrum, gavisi sunt gaudio magno. Porro visis literis vestris quas pro causa Rutinensis Ecclesie destinastis, tunc prorsus, tunc repletum est gaudium os nostrum, & lingua nostra exultatione, &c. Age ergo transeat iam Sanctus hic pietatis zelus, & ad miseram illam Ecclesiam transmarinam quia tenui merendi ejus Vinca Domini Sabbaoth est, vinea electa, vinea speciosissima, sed heu in desertum pene redacta, quod singularis ferus depascitur canis; Cur dicunt inter gentes, Ubi est Deus ejus? Ubi quem posuerunt custodem in vineis? Ubi manus putans? Ubi sarculus ercolentis? Quousque sarmen- to inutili occupatur tellus, suffocatur fructus? Et certe tempus putationis advenit. Siquidem homo pacis ejus in quo speravit, quod se purgare deberet, non purgatione sed amputatione opus esse testatur. Extant denique literae ipsius de eo ad Apostolicam sedis legatum, in quibus manifeste manifestam asserit intrusorem, electionem negat. Ita ergo quem sibi paraverat defensorem, accusatorem sustinet. Ad hac quae ubique de copula ea fama concelebrat, etiam virum militem possent omni jure spoliare Cingulo Militari. Quomodo iam poterit stare ubi multiplex vobis subest ratio deficiendi, & voluntas non deest? Legi siquidem Zelum vestrum pro Ecclesia illa in Literis vestris & jam exigo de manibus vestris. Quanam via procedendum sit ad ejus dejectionem (neque enim una via esse videtur) non est meum dictare sapienti. Nec multum nostra interest in qua parte arbor infeliciosa cadat, dummodo cadat. Dico tamen, qui sibi possessionem vendicat furtivarum commerciorum literarum, Nonne fur est & latro? Denique, ubi asserit habuisse se clandestinas literas execrationis suae, aut verum est aut falsum quod loquitur; Si verum, reus est furti, et Summi Pontificis criminatoz. Si falsum, debet audire, occidisti et possedisti. Ose enim quod mentitur occidit animam. Sed absit ut tanta de tali viro credatur duplicitas, quanta ab ipso ei imponitur. Nempe Innocentius hic erat, cui si pro se respondere liceret, proculdubio diceret huic, quia ego palam in te deli sententiam, & in occulto locutus sum nihil. At last, to satisfy St. Bernards importunity,* Eugenius removed William by his Papal power, and presently consecrated Henry Murdac Archbishop, sending him into England with his Pall, to the great offence of our King Stephen, who was much grieved with the disgrace of William (being his Cousin) which all men judged undeserved. The King thereupon denied to admit him, unless he would swear fealty to him in an extraordinary manner; which he refusing, the King detained his Temporalities, and the Citizens of Yorke shut their gates against him, for which resistance he interdicted the City; whereupon divers seditions and tumults were raised for the space of 3. years, till his submission and reconciliation to the King. Upon the death of Pope Eugenius and St. Bernard, (Williams heavy adversaries) he repairing to Rome complained to Pope Anastasius his successor, of his unjust deprivation by Eugenius; upon tidings of the death of Murdac, the Pope sensible of his former Injuries sustained, without any great suit, restored him unto all his honour of which he was unjustly deprived; soon after he returned with his Pall to his Archbishoprick, notwithstanding a new Appeal of the Dean and Archdeacon of Yorke to hinder his installment. Of which more in its due place; being here inserted only to evidence the grosse Injustice, Corruption, Bribery of Pope Innocent, Celestine, Eugenius, and the Court of Rome in cases of Appeals, by St. Bernards testimony, and Pope Anastasius his resolution, particularly in this case of William Archbishop of Yorke, relating to England; I now return to my Chronological method.

Sap. 1.

* Thomas Scabbs, A. 82 Pontificum Eboracensium, col. 172. 1722 Godwins Cata- logue of Bishops

* Otto Frisingensis l. 7. c. 31 Naucerus, Martinus Polonus, Platina, Onaphrius, Sic. 2, Volterranus, Fasciculus Temporum, Barnes, Balaeus, Crantzius, Sabellicus, Omerus, Cent. Magd. 12. in Lucio 2. Sigonius de Regno Italix, l. 11. p. 176. Johannes Marius, Robertus de Monte, Anno 1145. Mat. Paris, Anno 1142. Chronicon Johannis Bromton, col. 1142. Henry de Knyghten, de Eventibus Angliæ, l. 2. col. 2387. Cicest.ensis l. 7. cap. 19.

After the death of Pope Celestine the 2d. Anno 1144. post triduum Cardinales convocati, Gerardum Caccianimicum, Civem Bononensem, quem Honorius ex canonico regulari Cardinalem Sancti Crucis in Hierusaleni cooptaverat, sublegere, eoque consecrato, Lucium secundum edidit nomen: in omnia superbi Pontifex creabatur (writes Balaeus) Interim novum Romani tumultum excitaverunt, in opposition to the Popes Supremacy; etenim Senatoribus quos instituerant, non contenti, Patricium Celsio-

ris magistratum fastigii adiecerunt, ac vectigalia omnia tam urbana, quam peregrina Pontifici erepta ei attribuerunt. Pontificemque sacris decimis et largitionibus dignitatem tueri suam iusserunt, Ea dignitas delata primum est ad Jordanem Petri Leonis filium, hominem in urbe vetere nobilitate ac populari gratia potentissimum. Quas actiones Lucius primum blanditiis impedire contendit, deinde inanes eas expertus vim adhibendam putavit. Itaque postero inunte Anno (1145.) Lucius à Romanis propter hoc vehementer exagitatus, supplex per Legatos Conradum Imperatorem in Italiam vocabat, sed Conradus aliunde impeditus, illuc venire non poterat, nec ejus tunc inservire tyrannidi. Lucius ergo ex alia via rem comparandam ratus, expetebat donec semel essent Senatores omnes cum Patricio in Capitolio congregati ut de rebus suis consultarent, tunc exercitum comparato Senatores in Capitolio obsecrat (Papaliter factum) ordinem illum, qui libertatis Romanæ erat fundamentum cupiens vel omnino perire, vel saltem expellere. Quo apparatu cognito Jordanes Patricius cum majori manu occurrit, populusque ad arma cucurrit, commissaque prælio ipsum Pontificem cum suis à Capitolio repulit. Lucius militia inimicus Lipidibus & saxis ita est quassatus (so little did the people esteem his Papacy or Sanctity) ut neque amplius usque ad diem obitus sui, qui proximè consecutus est, in solio Pontificis consedisset, primo nondum finito sui Pontificatus anno. * Mat. Paris, Mat. Westmister and others write, that this Pope Lucius, sent a Pall to Henry Bishop of Winchester, volens apud Wintoniam novum constituere Archiepiscopatum, et septem ei Episcopos assignare, Henry going to Rome to obtain the name and office of a Legate, which some write he missed, but William Thorne assures us he obtained from Pope Lucius, who by his special Bull confirmed the agreement made between Hugh Abbot of St. Augustin and his brethren, and Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury, concerning an annual rent due to the Archbishop from the Monastery, which was composed at Rome, by this Pope, who ratified the Liberties of the Monastery and Church of Canterbury.

Pope Lucius dying of his bruises, * Eugenius the 3. Patria Pisanus, Cisterciensis olim sectæ, sub divo Bernardo Monachus, ejusque discipulus, & Romæ Sancti Anastatii Abbas, consensu Cardinalium, qui in sede Sancti Cæsarii convenerunt, Lucio in Papatu hac ratione successit; cogitaverant Cardinales, in præsentem tunc rerum statum non expedire, ut ex suo collegio quisquam in Pontificem eligeretur, cum ita jus Libertatis à Romanis civibus quaeratur. Bernardi quoque ex breviscentem famam, multum in rem suam facere putabant, atque si ejus discipulum eligerint, præceptoris auctoritatem, auxilium & consilium nunquam defuturum suis desideriis sperabant. Nec eos fessellit spes subdola, auxit enim Bernardus quantum potuit Romani Pontificis auctoritatem. As soon as St. Bernard heard of this election, being a plain-hearted man, he writ this chiding Epistle to the Cardinals and Bishops for making such an unfitting choyce. Epist. 236. ad Omnem Curiam Romanam quando eligerunt Abbatem Sancti Anastatii in Papam Eugenium. Dominis & Patribus venerandis, Cardinalibus & Episcopis omnibus qui sunt de Curia, puer Sanctitatis eorum. Parcat vobis Deus, quid fecistis? Sepultum hominem revocastis ad homines; fugitantem curas et turbas, cur denuo implicuistis, et immiscuistis turbis? fecistis novissimum primum, et ecce nobilissima illius periculosa periculis: Crucifixus mundo, per vos reviret mundo; & qui elegerat abjectus esse in domo Dei sui, ipsum vos in Dominum omnium elegistis. Cur consilium inopis confudistis? Cur pauperis hominis & mendici & compuncti corde iudicium perturbastis? Currebat bene: Quid vobis visum est sepiere vias ejus, avertere semitas, gressus involvere? Quasi descenderet de Hierusalem, et non magis ascenderet de Hiericho, sic incidit in latrones: et qui se (tquam violentis quibusdam) Diaboli manibus, carnis illecebris, et gloriæ seculi potenter excusserat, non tamen valuit effugere manus vestras. Num idcirco Pisam deseruit ut reciperet Romam? Num qui in una Ecclesia non sustinuit Vicedominatum, dominatum in omni Ecclesia requirebat? Quid igitur rationis vel consilii habuit defuncto summo Pontifice, repente irruere in hominem rusticum, latentem injicere manus, et excussa e manibus securi et ascia, vel ligone, in Palatium trahere, levare in Cathedram, induere pur-

* Ann. 1142. p. 180. Mar. West. p. 38. Simon Dunelmensis Hist. col. 273. Radulphus de Dicto, Abbreviationes Chroniconum, col. 508. Chronici Willielmi Thorne, col. 1824, to 1826. 2117, 2257.

Anno 1144. * Sigonius de Regno Italiæ, l. 11, p. 276, 277. Falcianus Temporum, Crispinus, Platina, Stella, Onuphrius, Barns, Balzue, Cent. Magd. 12 c. 70. Opmerus in Eugenio 3. Robertus de Monte, Mat. Westm. Mat. Paris, Simon Dunelmensis, Otto Frisingensis, l. 7. c. 31, 34. & De Gestis Frederici, l. 1. & 2. Sancti Bernardi Vita l. 2.

Psal. 149

Psal. 118

Phil. 4. 8.

Epistola 237.

1 Cor. 4. 14.

Psal. 76.

Gen. 17.

Mar. 3.

Act. 13.

1 Reg. 2.

Psal. 110.

2 Cor. 2.

Mat. 20.

Joan. 10.

2 Cor. 1. 24.

1 Pet. 5. 3.

pura et bysso; accingere gladio ad faciendam vindictam in nationibus, increpationes in populis; ad alligandos Reges eorum in compedibus, & Nobiles eorum in manicis ferreis? Sic non erat inter vos sapiens et exercitatus cui potius ista convenirent? Ridiculum profecto videtur, pannosum homuncionem, assumi ad præsidendum Principibus, ad imperandum Episcopis, ad regna et imperia disponenda. Ridiculum an miraculum? Plane unum horum. Non nego, non diffido posse fuisse hoc etiam opus Dei, qui facit mirabilia magna solus; præsertim cum audiam usquequaque ex ore multorum, quoniam à Domino factum est istud. Sed nec ego oblitus sum iudiciorum Dei antiquorum, & Scripturæ plurimos recensentis, ex privata seu etiam rustica vita olim assumptos in voluntatem Domini ad regendum populum ejus. Denique, nonne (ut unum è pluribus memorem) aliquodammodo elegit David servum suum, & suscepit eum de gregibus ovium, de post tetantes accepit eum? Ita inquam, ita & de nostro Eugenio in beneplacito Domini potuit contingisse: Non sum securus tamen, quoniam filius delicatus est, & tenera verecundia ejus assueta potius ocio & quieti, quàm tractandis quæ foris sunt; tremendumque ne non ea auctoritate qua oportuerit, sui Apostolatus officia exequatur. Quil putatis gerere animi nunc hominem illum, qui de secreto interna contemplationis, & amica sollicitudine cordis, tanquam infans è gremio & sinu matris subito perturbatus, tractum se ad medium videt, & quali ovem ad victimam ductum ad tam insueta et insuavia? Nisi Dominus supponat manum suam, heu necesse est obzuatur, et opprimatur onere insueto et nimio; quod et gygantinis (ut aiunt) vel ipsis quoque angelicis humeris formidabile videatur. Veruntamen quia sic factum est, & sicut multi dicunt, à Domino factum est; vestra interest carissimi vestris ferventibus studiis fidelibusque obsequiis sollicitè confoveri, quod vestris manibus constat elaboratum. Si qua ergo consolatio in vobis, si qua virtus charitatis in Domino, si qua miseratio pietatis, si qua compassio viscerum, assistite & collaborate illi in opere in quo assumptus est per vos à Domino. Quæcunque sunt vera, quæcunque pudica, quæcunque iusta, quæcunque sancta, quæcunque amabilia, quæcunque bonæ famæ, hæc ei suggerite, hæc suadete, hæc agite; & Deus pacis erit vobiscum.

He likewise writ another elegant Epistle to Pope Eugenius himself; *Amantissimo Patri & Domino Dei gratiâ Summo Pontifici Eugenio, &c.* Quia tamen semel capio lequor ad Dominum meum: jam enim filium dicere non audeo, quia filius in patrem, pater mutatus est in filium: Qui post me venit, ante me factus est; sed non invidio, quia quod mihi deerat in eo me habere confido, qui non solum post me, sed etiam per me venit. Nam si dignaris quodammodo per Evangelium ego te genui. Quæ est ergo spes nostra, & gaudium nostrum, & corona gloriæ? Nonne vos ante Deum? Denique, filius sapiens gloria est patris. Anodo tamen non vocaberis filius, sed vocabitur tibi nomen novum, quod os Domini nominavit. Hæc est mutatio dexteræ excelsi, & multi in mutatione ista gaudebunt. Nam quemadmodum olim Abram in Abraham, Jacob in Israel, & ut de tuis magis prædecessoribus tibi proponam: sicut Simon in Capham, Saulus in Paulum: sic filius meus Bernardus in patrem meum Eugenium, leta prorsus, & utili, ut speramus, translatione promotus est. Digitus Dei est iste, suscitans de pulvere Egenum, & de stercore erigens pauperem, ut sedeat cum Principibus, & solium gloriæ teneat. Superest ut facta hac mutatione tui, ipsa quoque quæ tibi commissa est Domini tui sponsa mutetur in mellus, & jam nequaquam Sarai sed Sara de cæterò nominetur. Intellige quæ dico. Dabit enim tibi Dominus intellectum. Si amicus Sponsi es, ne dixeris, dilectam ejus Principem meam, sed Principem, nil tuum in ea vendicans, nisi quod pro ea si oportuerit etiam animam dare debes. Si Christus te misit, æstimabis te non ministrari, sed ministrare venisse, & ministrare non solum substantiam, sed ipsam quoque animam, sicut præfatus sum. Cæterus Successor Pauli dicet cum Paulo; Non quia dominamur fidei vestræ, sed ad jutores sumus gaudii vestri; Petri hæres, audiet Petrum dicentem, Neque ut dominantes in Clerum, sed forma facti gregis; sic enim jam non ancilla, sed libera etiam & formosa speciosissimi sponsi per te in desideratos asciscitur amplexus. Alioquin per quem alium hæc tam debita libertas sperabitur,

fi & tu (quod absit) in Christi hereditate quaras quæ tua sunt, qui jam & ante edice-
ras non dico tua non retinere, sed nec tuus esse? Ergo fiduciam talem habens in
te, qualem in nullo prædecessorum tuorum, a multis retro tempo-
ribus visa est habuisse, exultat merito ubique & gloriatur in Domino Omnis Ecclesia
Sanctorum, & specialiter illa cujus uerus te portavit, & cujus uera tu fuisti. Quid
ergo, Nonne & mihi licet gaudere cum gaudentibus? Nunquid non ero unus de numero
latantium? Exultavi fateor, sed cum tremore. Exultavi, sed in ipsa exultationis
meæ articulo, timor et tremor venerunt super me. Ego enim etsi nomen patris
deposui, sed non timorem, sed non anxietatem, postremo nec affectum, nec viscera patris.
Considero gradum, et casum vereor: Considero fastigium dig-
nitatis, et intueor faciem abyssi jacentis deorsum. Attendo cel-
situdinem honoris, et e vicino periculum reformido, pro eo quod
scriptum est; Homo cum in honore esset non intellexit. Quod quidem ad causam
magis quam ad tempus arbitror esse referendum, ut sic intelligatur dictum, Cum in ho-
nore esset non intellexit; ac si diceretur, honor absorbit intellectum: Et quidem
elegit abiectionem esse in domo Dei tui, & recumbere in novissimo loco in convivio ejus;
sed placuit dicere ei qui te invitavit, Amice ascende superius. Itaque ascendisti in
altum, Noli altum sapere, sed time, ne forte contingat serò miserabilem illam e-
mittere vocem, A facie iræ & indignationis tuæ, elevans allisisti me. Altiozem
quippe locum sortitus es, sed non tutiozem; sublimiozem, non se-
curiozem; Terribilis proflus, terribilis est locus istæ. Locus, in-
quam, in quo stas, terra sancta est; locus Petri est, locus Principis Aposto-
lorum, ubi steterunt pedes ejus. Locus illius est quem constituit Dominus Dominum do-
mus suæ, & principem omnis possessionis suæ. Si forte declinaveris a via Domini,
sepultus es in eodem loco, ut sit ibi contra te in testimonium.
Miror tali Pastori, tali nutritio commissa est Ecclesia cum adhuc tenera, adhuc in
cunabilis esset, cujus docta magisterio, & exemplo educata omnia terrena calca-
ret, utpote qui excusserat manus suas ob omni munere, qui di-
cebat de corde puro et conscientia bona, Argentum & aurum non est
mihi. Hac hætenus. Cæterum causa quare ante tempus scripserim vobis, hæc est.
Wintoniensis Episcopus, & Eboracensis Archiepiscopus non gratulantur uno Spiritu
cum Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, sed incedunt sibi ex adverso, & hæc vetus est de le-
gatione querela. Veruntamen quis est ille, & qui sunt illi? Nonne Eboracensis ipse est
cui te presente cum adhuc esset quasi unus ex nobis fratres tui resisterunt in faciem, eo
quod reprehensibilis erat? Sed speravit in multitudine divitiarum suarum, & prava-
luit in vanitate sua. Certum est tamen, quod non intravit per ostium in ovile ovium,
sed ascendit aliunde: si Pastor fuisset, diligendus erat; si mercenarius, tolerandus;
Nunc autem cavendus & repellendus utpote fur & latro. Quid dicam de Domino Win-
toniensi? Opera quæ ipse facit testimonium perhibent de eo. Porro Archiepiscopus Can-
tuariensis cui adversantur vir religiosus est, & suaveolentis opinionis. Pro ipso petimus
ut respondeat ei Justitia sua. Verum illorum iniquitas super eos, ut sit sicut scriptum
est, Justitia justi super eum erit, & impietas impii erit super eum. Cum acceperis
tempus secundum opera manuum illorum retribuere illis, ut sciant Prophetam esse in Israel.
Quis mihi det antequam moriar videre Ecclesiam Dei sicut in diebus antiquis, quando
Apostoli lacabant retia in capturam; non in capturam argenti vel
auri, sed in capturam animarum? Quam cupio illius te hæredi-
tare vocem, cujus adeptus es sedem, Pecunia, inquit, tua, tecum sit in
perditionem. O vox tonitru! O vox magnificentiæ et virtutis! ad
cujus terrorem confundantur et convertantur retrosum omnes
qui oderunt Syon. Hoc vehementer expectat, et omnino expetit
a te mater tua; hoc filii matris tuæ pusilli cum majoribus deside-
rant, hoc suspirant, ut omnis plantatio quam non plantavit Pater
cœlestis tuis manibus eradicetur. Ad hoc enim constitutus es super gen-
tes & regna, ut evellas, & destruas, & ædifices, & plantas. Multi audito hoc ver-
bo, dixerunt apud se, Jam securis ad radicem arborum posita est; Multi dicunt in
corde suo, Flores apparuerunt in terra nostra, tempus amputationis advenit, in quo
sarmenta sterilia recidentur, ut ea quæ prævalent uberius fructum
afferant.

Psal. 2.

Psal. 48.

Lu. 14.

Rom. 11.

Psal. 101.
Exod. 3.

Act. 3. 6.

Gal. 2.

Joan. 10.

Ezech. 18.

Act. 8.

Jer. 1. 10.

Mat. 3. 10.

afferant. *Confortare igitur & esto robustus, manus tua in cervicibus inimicorum tuo rum. Indica tibi animi constantia, & vigore spiritus partem quam dedit extri fratres tuos tibi omnipotens Pater, quam & tulit de manu Amorei in gladio & arcu suo. In omnibus tamen operibus tuis memento te esse hominem, et timor ejus qui aufert Spiritum principum semper sit ante oculos tuos.* * *Quantozum in hœvi Romanorum Pontificum mortēs tuīs oculis asperisti? Ipsi te prædecessores tui, tuæ certissimæ et citissimæ decessionis admoncant, et modicum tempus dominationis eorum paucitatem dierum tuorum nunciet tibi. Tugi proinde meditatione inter transeuntis gloriæ blandimenta, memorare nobilissima tua, quia quibus successisti in sedem ipsos sine dubio sequeris ad mortem.*

This Epistle of St. Bernard was seconded with sundry others, but especially with 5. several elegant Books *De Consideratione*, dedicated to *Pope Eugenius*, wherein he earnestly pressed him to the serious consideration and discharge of his Pastoral duty, which was not a *Dominion* or *Dignity*, but a *work* and *Ministry*, wherein he should study to profit, not to preside over others; discovering unto him the manifold abuses, corruptions of the Popes, Court of *Rome*, their Officers and proceedings under former Popes, which he exhorted him diligently to reform.

Anno 1145, 1146, and 1147. upon sad tydings from the Holy Land, that the *Saracens* on the night of Christs Nativity, by the treachery of some Christians, had entred the Temple of *Hierusalem*, slain the Archbishop and Clergy ministring in the Temple, subdued all *Mesopotamia*, and endangered the losse of all the Holy Land and Kingdome of *Jerusalem*; *Pope Eugenius* by his Bulls, and Saint *Bernard* by his Epistles and Sermons, excited the Emperor and most Christian Kings and Kingdoms to take up the Crosse and arms against them, granting him the same large indulgences for this service, as *Pope Urban* had done before them; *Omnibus inde rebus, quæ ad causam orientalem pertinebant, satis, ut tum potuit, constitutis*; the *Romans* mutining against the Pope to recover their ancient Liberties, he thereupon being greatly incensed, resolved to be avenged of them; *atque armis* (a Popelike argument) *ad pristinum Ecclesiæ studium obsequiumque reducere statuit. Itaque Lucii exemplo, hanc molli rem agendam brachioratus. Tiburtes, ceterosque Latii populos, quorum causa adeum furorem Romani venerant, ad arma sollicitavit, atq; ipsos eorum ope Romanos invasit. Romani cum per aliquot dies acerrimè resistissent, tandem rectorum eversionem, patria fortunarumque amissionem eximiescentes, pacem petierunt, eamque demum his conditionibus impetrarunt, ut Patricium abrogarent, Praefectum restituerent, Senatores ex Pontificia auctoritate teneant, et Arnoldum turbatum concitatozem urbe ejicerent. His rebus transactis Eugenius in Urbem revertit, populo, Cleroque faustis vocibus, Benedictum esse, qui veniret in nomine Domini, concinente.* After which, Anno 1246. *Romani seditionem redintegrantes, rursus ab Eugenio ut Tibur everteret, postularunt. Quare diserte negata, usque adeo exasperati animi sunt, ut se ni quod peterent impetrarent, vim adhibituos ostenderent. Itaque Eugenius consilio cum Cardinalibus habiturus Urbe cum eis cedere statuit, ac pedum pulvere ad terrorem injiciendum in eos excussit trans Tyberim, una cum Cardinalibus, populo ipso telis missilibusque eos hostiliter incessente, atque inde Tybur contendit. Hac re audita Bernardus ad populum Romæ literas obiurgationis plenas has scripsit.*

* *Bernardi Epist. 242 f. 224 Ad Romanos quando discesserunt à Domino Papa Eugenio.*

Nobilibus & Optimatibus, atque Universo populo Romano frater B. Clarevallis vocatus Abbas, Declinare à malo, & facere quod bonum est. Sermo mihi est ad te popule sublimis & illustris cum sim viles exiguaeque persona, ac nullius pene momenti hominatio. Id quidem verecundum atque onerosum mihi consideranti, quis quibus scribam, simulque quam aliter hoc alius judicare possit, sed levius reor verecundia apud homines periclitari, quam condemnari apud Deum silentio, veri aciturnitate & absconsione justitiae, &c. Communis est causa, & non est distinctio pusilli & magni. Dolor nempe in capite est, ac per hoc minime alienus, ne à minimis quidem vel extremis quibusque corporis partibus, nec a me. Pervenit profecto usque ad me, quamvis omnium minimum dolor maximus iste qui maximus est) & quod cum sit capitis non potest non esse & corporis, cujus membrum sum ego: Nunquid non dolente capite clamat lingua pro omnibus corporis membris

* Three of them dying within the space of one year.

* *Carolus Sigonius de Regno Italico, l. 11 p. 275, 279. Bernardi Vita, Platina, Baluzas Patas, Omphrius Stella, Cent. Magd. col. 2. c. 10. in Epistole, Hist. Westm. c. 11. l. 2. Paris. Ann. 1146, 8147 Bernardi Epist. 242.*

Sigonius l. 11. See Abbas Ulpigenis, & Cent. Magd. 12 c. 9. col. 1174, 1175.

membris, in capite se dolere; omnia per ipsam suum caput suumque capitis faceret incommodum. Dimittite proinde, quæso dimittite, ut plangam paululum apud vos dolorem meum, nec meum tantum, sed & totius Ecclesiæ. Nonne ipsius vox est hodie per universum mundum, **Caput meum doleo, caput meum doleo?** Quis namque vel novissimus Christianorum in toto sit orbe qui non gloriatur hoc capite, quod ambo illi gloriosi principes terra alter amisso, alter submisso in cruce capite, suo triumpho extulerunt, suo sanguine ornaverunt? Ad omnem itaque spectat Christianum injuria Apostolorum, & sicut in omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, sic lasso eorundem ab omnibus usquequaque sentitur, usquequaque plangitur, & doletur. Quid vobis visum est, O Romani, offendere Principes Mundi: vestros autem speciales patronos? Cur Regem terræ, cur Dominum cæli, furor tam intollerabili, quam irrationabili in vos pariter provocatis, dum Sacram & Apostolicam sedem divinis regulibusque privilegiis singulariter sublimatum, aut sacrilego incessere, suoque minuire honore contenditis, quam vel soli contra omnes si oportuisset defendere debuistis? Sic fatui Romani non judicantes, neque quod honestum est di. cernentes, caput vestrum atque omnium, quod in vobis est, deturpatis, pro quo magis nec vestris ipsis cervicibus parcendum a vobis foret, si necessitas exegisset. Patres vestri urbi orbem subjugaverunt, vos urbem properatis orbi facere fabulam. En Petri hæres, Petri sede, et urbe a vobis expulsus est: en rebus et domibus suis vestris manibus spoliati sunt Cardinales atque Episcopi Ministri Domini. O popule stulte et insipiens! O Columba seducta non habens cor! Nonne ille Caput, et illi oculi tulerant? Quid ergo nunc Romani sine Capite truncum corpus, sine oculis frons effossa, facies tenebrosa? Aperi Gens misera, aperi oculos tuos, & vide deolationem tuam iam-jamque imminentem. Quomodo in brevi mutatus est color optimus, facta est quasi vidua domina Gentium, Princeps Provinciæ: Verum initia malorum sunt hæc graviora timemus. Nunquid non propè interritum es si persistis; Revertere, Revertere Sunamitis, revertere ad cor tuum; agnosce jam vel serò quæ quanta, à quibus patiaris vel passa sis. Recordare qua causa, quo fine, per quos & in quos usus, non longe ante hos dies cunctum qua in te sunt Ecclesiarum, omnis ornatus et census profligatus est, quicquid in Altaribus et in Altarium vasis, quicquid in ipsis sacris imaginibus Auri et Argenti reperiri nunc potuit, manibus impiorum direptum et asportatum est. Quid ex his omnibus in tuis nunc mar-supis invenis? Porro decor domus Domini irrecuperabiliter perit, & nunc quid tibi visum est iterare malitiam, innovare de novo super te dies malos? Quid modo vel lucri amplioris vel certioris spei arridet tibi? nisi quod in eo novissima tua cernuntur incantiora prioribus, quod tunc quidem non solum multi de plebe, sed etiam de Clero & Principibus nonnulli per orbem in Schismate illo faverunt tibi. Nunc vero sicut manus tua contra omnes, sic manus omnium contra te. Mundus est à sanguine tuo mundus omnis præter te solum, & filios tuos qui in te sunt. Væ ergo nunc tibi popule miserandè, & væ duplo quam ante, non ab exteris nationibus, non feritate Barbarorum, non a millibus armatorum. Væ tantum à facie tuorum, tibi væ à domesticis & amicis, à clade intestina, à cruciatu prae cordiorum, à tortionibus viscerum. Agnosce ne jam, quod non omnes pacifici qui domestici, nec omnes amici qui videntur? Et si alias noveramus, sed nunc parte manifestius edocemur omnem veritatem illius sermonis Domini quem dixit, quoniam inimici hominis domestici ejus. Væ fratri à fratre in medio tui, & filiis à parentibus. Væ non à gladiis sed à labiis iniquis, & à lingua dolosa. Usquequo male in malo vos alterutrum confortatis, & Gladiis labiorum invicem sternitis, invicem perditis, ut ab invice consumamini. Congregamini oves dispersæ, redite ad pascua, redite ad Pastorem et Episcopum animarum vestrarum. Redite prævaricatores ad cor; quod loquor non quasi hostis convicians, sed quasi amicus oburgans. Habet vera amicitia nonnunquam oburgationem, adulationem nunquam, sed iungimus & obsecrationem. Obsecramus pro Christo reconciliamini Deo, reconciliamini Principibus vestris (Petrus loquitur & Paulum) quos utique in Nicario et Successore suo Eugenio suis sedibus et ædibus effugastis; Reconciliamini inquam orbis Principibus, ne forte incipiat pro eis pugnare orbis terræ contra insensatos. An nescitis quia his offensis nihil omnino valetis; his propitiis, nihil omnino timetis. Non, inquam, non timebis

Psal. 118.

Osce 7.

Mich. 7.

Mat. 10. 36. 37.

1 Cor. 5. 16.

Sap. 1.

*Sigonius, l. 11
p. 279.*Bernardus de
Consideratione
lib. 4. f. 242,
243.

timebis sub horum tutela millia populi circumdantis te, Urbs inclita, Civitas fortium. Reconciliare proinde illis simul & millibus martyrum, qui quidem apud te, sed contra te sunt propter grande peccatum quod peccasti, in quo & persistis. Reconciliare etiam omni Ecclesie Sanctarum qui ubique terrarum audito hoc verbo scandalizati sunt. Alioquin pagina ista contra te, in testimonium erit, sed & ipsi Apostoli & Martyres tui stabunt in magna constantia adversus eos qui se angusti verunt, & qui abstulerunt labores eorum, Sed jam finem loquendi omnes pariter audiamus. Annunciavi justitiam prænunciavi periculum, veritatem non taci, hortatus sum ad meliora; superest ut aut de vestra citius correctione lætemur, aut de iusta imminenti damnatione certi inconsolabiliter lugeamus ardescens & tabescens præ timore & expectatione qua superveniens universa Urbi.

The Romans notwithstanding this Letter persisting obstinately in their Opposition against *Eugenius*, to cast off his Papal Usurpation over them; this Pope thereupon, *veterum Pontificum exemplo*, in Franciam ire constituit, ut absentia desiderium sui Romanis efficeret; accordingly he retired into France to avoid the fury and treachery of the Romans, and that principally by St. *Bernard's* persuasion, who gave him this black Character of them. **Quid de populo loquar? Populus Romanus est. Nec brevius potui, nec expressius tamen aperire de tuis Parochianis quod sentio. Quid tam notum seculis, quam proterbia et fastus Romanorum? Gens insueta paci, tumultui assueta; Gens incivilis et intractabilis usque, adhuc subditi nescia, nisi cum non valet resistere. En plaga; tibi incumbit cura hæc; dissimulare non licet; Rides me, forsitan fore incurabilem persuasus; Noli diffidere, curam exegeris, non curationem. Denique audisti, curam illius habere, & non cura vel sana illum. Verum dixit quidam, Non est in medico semper relevetur ut æger, &c. Quem dabis mihi de tota maxima urbe, qui te in Papam receperit præcio, seu spe præcii non interveniente? Et tunc potissimum volunt dominari, cum professi fuerint servitutem. Fideles se spondent, ut opportuniis fidentibus noceant. Ex hoc non erit consilium tibi, à quo se arcendos putem, non secretum, quo se non ingerant. Si stante præ foribus, quoquam illorum moram vel modicam fecerit ostiarius; ego tunc pro illo esse nolo. Et nunc experire paucis; noverim ne & ego vel aliquatenus mores gentis. Ante omnia sapientes sunt ut faciant mala, bonum ante facere nesciunt. Hi in visis terra & calo, utrique iniecere manus, impii in Deum, temerarii in Sancta, seditiosi in invicem, amuli in vicinis, inhumani in extraneos, quos neminem amantes amat nemo; & cum timeri affectant ab omnibus, omnes timeant necesse est; Hi sunt qui subesse non sistent, præesse non noxunt, superioribus infideles, inferioribus importabiles. Hi in verecundi ad petendum, ad negandum frontosi. Hi importuni ut accipiant, inquieti donec accipiant, ingrati ubi acceperint. Docuerunt linguam suam grandia loqui cum oprentur exigua. Largissimi promissores, & parcissimi exhibitores. Blandissimi adulescentes, & mordacissimi detractores, simplicissimi dissimulatores, & malignissimi proditores, Excurrimus usque huc, plenius te atque expressius ad monendum putantes horum quæ circa te sunt in hac parte; jam ad ordinem recurramus.*

St. *Bernard* perceiving the Romans to persist obstinately in their Rebellion against *Eugenius*, whom they forcibly expelled, without hopes of any amicable reception of him by Letters or mediation, endeavoured to stir up the French King and other Princes to restore him, and reduce the Romans by force of arms to obedience both to the Pope and Emperor; to which end he writ this memorable Epistle to *Conrad* King of the Romans, evidencing the Emperors and Kings Supremacy in causes Ecclesiastical, that the defence, care of the Church and Religion, belongs primarily to them, not the Pope, and that Rome was the head, Inheritance of the Empire, though the See of the Papacy.

*Bernardi Epi-
stola, 243.
f. 225.

**Ad Conradum Regem Romanorum. Nec dulcius, nec amabilius, sed nec artius omnino Regnum Sacerdotiumque conjungi, seu complantari in invicem poterunt, quam ut in persona Domini ambo hæc paciter condecuerint, utpote qui factus est nobis ex utraque tribu secundum carnem, Summus & Sacerdos & Rex; non solum autem, sed et commiscuit ea nihilominus, ac confederabit in suo corpore, quod est populus Christianus, ipse caput illius, ita ut hoc genus*

nus hominum Apostolica voce, *gens electum, regale Sacerdotium* appelletur. In alia quoque scriptura, quotquot sunt prædestinati ad vitam, *Nonne omnes Reges & Sacerdotes* nominantur? Ergo, *qua Deus conjunxit, Homo non separet*: Magis autem quod divina sanxit autoritas, humana studeat adimplere voluntas, & jungant se animis, qui juncti sunt institutis. **Invicem se foveant, invicem se defendant, invicem onera sua portent.** Ait Sapiens, *Frater adjuvans fratrem, ambo consolabuntur.* Quod si alterutrum se (quod absit) corroserint & momorderint, nonne ambo desolabuntur? Non veniat anima mea in consilia eorum qui dicunt, **vel Imperio pacem et libertatem Ecclesiarum, vel Ecclesiis prosperitatem et exaltationem Imperii nocituram;** Non enim utriusque institutor **Deus in destructionem ea conneruit, sed in ædificationem.** Si hoc scitis, quousque vos communem contumeliam, communem dissimulatis injuriam? **Nonne ut Apostolica sedes, ita et caput Imperii Roma est?** Ut ergo de Ecclesia taceam, num honoꝝ Regi est truncum in manibus tenere Imperium? Et quidem ignoro quid vobis super hoc consulent Sapientes vestri & Principes Regni; sed ego in insipientia mea loquens quod sentio, non tacebo. Ecclesia Dei ab exortu sui, usque ad hæc tempora pluries tribulata est, & pluries liberata est, (to wit, by *Christian Kings and Emperors*) Denique, audite quid ipsa de se loquatur in Psalmo; Ipsius enim vox est; *Sæpe expugnaverunt me à juven-tu-e mea, etenim non potuerunt mihi: supra dorsum meum fabricaverunt peccatores, pro-longaverunt iniquitatem suam.* Certus esto, O Rex, quod nec nunc queque relinquet Dominus *Virgam peccatorum super sortem justorum.* Non est abbreviata manus Domini, nec facta impotens ad salvandum. Liberabit & hoc tempore absque dubio sponsum suam qui suo sanguine redemit eam, suo spiritu dotavit, donis celestibus exornavit, ditavit nichilominus & terrenis. Liberabit inquam, Liberabit; sed si in manus alterius, viderint Regni Principes, id ne honoꝝ Regis, regniue utilitas sit; non est utique. Quamobrem accingere gladio tuo super femur tuum potentissime, et restituat tibi *Cæsar quæ Cæsaris sunt, et quæ sunt Dei Deo, Utrumque interesse Cæsaris constat, et propriam tueri Coronam, et Ecclesiam defendere;* Alterum Regi, alterum convenit Ecclesiæ **advocato.** Victoria sicut in Domino confidimus præ manibus est; Superbia & arrogantia Romanorum plus quam fortitudo eorum. Quid enim? Nunquid quispiam magnus vel potens verbi gratia, **Imperator aut Rex, sædam Rem istam in Imperium pariter Sacerdotiumque præsumit?** Sed Populus hic maledictus, & tumultuosus; qui suas nescit metiri vires, cogitare finem, considerare proventum, insipientia sua, furore suo **ausus est hoc grande sacrilegium attemptare.** Absit ut vel ad momentum stare possit ante faciem Regis popularis manus, vulgi temeritas. Factus sum insipiens, qui cum sim vilis ignobilisque persona, tanquam aliquis magnus consiliis tantæ magnitudinis, tantæque Sapientiæ me ingessi, & de re magna. At quo ignobilior, atque obiectior, tanto liberior sum ad loquendum quod Charitas suggerit: Unde & adhuc, addo in eadem insipientia mea; **Si quis aliud quam locutus sum vobis, quod non credimus, suadere conabitur is profecto, aut non diliget Regem, aut parum intelligit quid Regiam deceat Majestatem, aut certe quæ sua sunt quærit, et non valde quæ vel Dei vel Regis sunt curare convincitur.** This Pope at last by St. Bernards solicitation and the assistance of *Conrade*, and *Ludovicus* King of *France*, was restored to the possession of his See at *Rome*.

In the mean time whiles *Eugenius* remained in *France*, the Emperor *Conrade* apprehended that St. *Bernard* had done something in derogation of the Empire and his Prerogative; whereupon he writ this short Epistle to him, to acquit himselfe from this accusation.

Querimonia Regis nostra sunt, & maxime illa quam dignanter exprimitis de insub-sione Imperii; Regis dedecus, Regni diminutionem nunquam vo-lui; Volentes odit anima mea: Legi quippe, Omnis anima potestatibus subli-mioribus subdita sit, Et qui potestati resistit, Dei ordinationi resistit. Quam tamen

[D d d]

senten-

1 Pet. 2.
Apoc. 1.
Matth. 19

Eccles. 4.9.11
Gal. 7. 25.

Psal. 123.

Psal. 124.
Esa. 59.
Acts 20.

Nota.

Ad Conradum
Regem Roma-
norum, Epist.
187.
Rom. 13;

sententiam, cupio vos & omnimodis moneo custodire, in exhibenda reverentia Summa & Apostolica Sedis, & beati Petri Vicario, sicut ipsam vobis vultis ab universo servari Imperio.

Pope *Eugenius* intending to hold a General Council at *Rhemes* in *France*, the French King conceiving it might derogate something from his Prerogative and right of his Crown, intended to prohibit it : hereupon *St. Bernard* writ this Epistle to persuade him to permit this Council to sit; promising that the Pope should correct and reform any thing wherein he had exceeded his Jurisdiction, to his prejudice, wherein he would assist him.

Bernardi Epist.
255. f. 225.
Ad Ludovicum
Regem Fran-
corum.

Ludovico Dei Gratia Excellentissimo Regi Francorum, B. Clarevallis vocatus Abbas, fidelis suus salutem, à Rege Regum & Domino Dominantium, ipsi & dilecta ejus, & filius ejus. Regna terræ, et jura Regnorum tunc sanè sana suis Dominis atque illa perscipiunt, si divinis ordinationibus ac dispositionibus non resistunt. Cur Domine irascitur furor tuus contra Dei electum, quem tua quoque sublimitas suscepit et prælegit tibi quidem in Patrem, filio autem tuo in Samuellem? Armatur Regia indignatio non plane in extraneos, sed in semetipsam et suos. Non mirum si juxta Scripturam, Ira viri justitiam Dei non operatur; quæ propria quæque militatis, sed indignitatis, sed salutis facit sapè ut nec manifestum omnibus advertas periculum, sentias damnum. Colligitur Consilium: Quid in hoc detrahitur Regiæ Gloriæ, Regni utilitatibus? Ibi Universæ Ecclesiæ commendabitur, ac rememorabitur Excel-

Jacob. 1.

lentiæ vestræ prompta et specialis devotio, quod Regum primus, aut certe inter primos rabie persequentium eandem matrem vestram strenuissime et Christianissime defendendo obviastis. Ibi gloriose ab ingenti illa multitudo debita gratiæ referuntur vobis, ibi a multis Sanctorum orabitur pro vobis et vestris. Alias autem quàm sit hoc eempore necessarius Conventus Episcoporum nullus ignorat, nisi qui durus corde, matris Ecclesiæ angustias non attendit. At calor inquinat nimis est; quasi nos glacialia corpora habeamus; An corda nobis magis congelata sunt, & nemo est qui juxta Prophetiam, Compatiatur super contritione Joseph. Sed hæc alias. Nunc autem ego minimus in regno vestro sed dignitate, non fidelitate, dico vobis, non expe. it velle impedire tantum & tam necessarium bonum. Nec desunt evidentes causæ quibus id manifestum facere possem, quas & nunc proferre in medium ad manum mihi est; nisi quod lat arbitror dictum Sapienti. Tamen si quid ex Apostolicæ auctoritatis rigore processit, unde se merito esse turbatam Celsitudinis vestræ Serenitas arbitratur; qualiter hoc ipsum revocetur, aut temperetur, prout oportet ad honorem vestrum, fideles vestri qui adherent totis viribus enitentur. Inter nos quoque, si quid possumus, non dissimulabimus. The design of this whole Epistle imports; 1. That the Pope himself could not then summon any Council in *France*, without the Kings special royal license, authority, and conviction of the grounds and necessity thereof. 2ly. That he had power to prohibit any Council to assemble in his Realm, if held by the Pope himself without his license and approbation. 3ly. That if the Pope did or had done any thing by his Decrees, or Papal authority, to the Kings offence, or prejudice of his honor, all his loyal Subjects and Clergy were obliged to endeavour to revoke and moderate it.

Amos 6.

Carolus Sigonius Hist. de Regno Italix, lib. 11. p. 277.

Eugenius by *S. Bernard's* instructions and assistance, beyond expectation of all men, became more courageous, Papal, & apt to govern the See of *Rome* then was imagined, whence *Sigonius* observes: *Eugenius* ubi primum est designatus, contra opinionem omnium ingentem animi indolem præ se tulit. Nam cum à Romanis ad remittenda urbis vectigalia urgeretur, eos ita aspernatus est, ut ne dignos quidem, quæ cum habitaret, putaret. Itaque urbe statim egressus ad Monasterium *Farfense* se contulit, eoque Cardinalibus evocatis novo instituto, ibi consecrationem accepit, atque inde aspectum pervicacis populi devitans, arce *S. Angeli Petri Leonibus* tradita, *Viterbium* se recepit. Sub eisdem dies *Arnoldus* Hæreticus ex *Germania* in *Italiam* reversus, captato *Romana* seditionis & Pontificiæ absentia tempore, in Urbem se conjecit, ac seditioni per se satis ardenti majores quoque faces admovit, populum ad vetera majorum instituta, factaque imitanda gravi inprimis, ac præsentibus temporibus

poribus oportuna oratione adhortans, qui senum consilio, et iuvenum manu totum sibi terrarum orbem subiecissent, reedificandum Capitolium ac Senatores, Equitesque Romanos renovandos, inclamans administrationem urbis ad Pontificem non pertinere, ipsum Ecclesiastico jure contentum esse oportere. Quibus vocibus incitati Romani, praefectura urbis omnino sublata, ceteros Magistratus Patricio subiecerunt, ac populari tumultu concito turres aliquot Laicorum, Clericorum, Nobilium deturbarunt, Basilicam Vaticanam ceperunt, ac peregrinos religionis causa Romanos protectores exspoliarent, quique multam petitam perdere recularunt, eos in porticu misere trucidarunt. Neque his contenti, literas ac Legatos ad Conradum Regem in Germaniam misere, eumque ad delendum dominatum in Urbe Pontificium vocavere, regemque Catholicum novo dissidio alienare ab Ecclesia contendere. Earum literarum hoc fuit exemplum. *Conrado Romanorum Regi, Senatus populisque Romanus salutem.* Multis literis certiores vos fecimus, quicquid admodum in auctoritate, fideque vestra maneamus, ac pro vestra Imperii Corona augenda quodvis decerneremus, ad quas quod nihil responderitis, satis mirari non possumus. Nos enim Regnum et Imperium Romanum redigere, cupientes in eam statum, qui fuit tempore Constantini et Justiniani, qui universum Orbem terrarum Senatus et populi Romani viribus pepererunt, Senatoribus restituitis, quique tantum honorem Imperio eripuerant, conculcatis, id agamus, ut vos quae Imperio debentur, obtineatis, nam Pacem & Justitiam petentibus cunctis praestamus, & turres ac domos potentium qui vestro Imperio una cum Sicilia, & Pontifice adversari moliebantur, occupavimus, & alias in vestra potestate tenemus, alias solo acquavimus. Verum hoc nomine Pontifex, Frangimus, & filii Petri Leonis, homines & amici Siculi, excepto Jordano nostro vestri studiosissimo, Ptolemaeus quoque & alii plures nos oppugnant, ne vobis Imperialem Coronam, ut convenit imponamus. Quare oramus ne iniquis de Senatoribus, nobisque sermonibus credatis, vestrumque nobis auxilium denegatis, sed primo quoque tempore in Italiam veniatis, quia quicquid optabitis, nullo negotio assequemini, atque in Urbe terrarum Principi toti Italiae dominantes, commodius quam majores vestri fecerunt, ut nos quidem cupimus, habitabitis, Pontem Milvium, qui ad intersepiendos Imperatorum ad urbem aditus erat everfus, ne Petri Leones vobis ex arce Sancti Angeli obesse venientibus possent ut statuerunt cum Pontifice & Sicilia, institueramus, & brevi muro firmissimo ac Siciliis munitum habebimus. Notum etiam vobis esse optamus Pontificem, ut audivimus, Sicilia concedisse virgam & anulum, dalmaticam, & Mitram & Sandalia, et ne quem in terram suam mittat Legatum nisi quem ipse poposcerit, et Siculam grandem adversus vos perniciem tribuisse. Petimus a vobis ut in posterum Legatos nostros benigne accipiat, & eis nomine nostro agentibus fidem habeatis, sunt enim magnae Auctoritatis viri, Guido Senator, Jacobus filius Sixti Procuratoris, & Nicholas eorum Socius. Hac Romani. Conradus autem indignitate & vanitate literarum commotus, ut Legatos Romanorum palam respuit, sic contra Guidonem Praetorem Cardinalem, aliosque qui a Pontifice missi fuerunt, comiter accepit, ac liberaliter eis omnia (quod petierunt) privilegia confirmavit. By which passages it is observable, that both the Pope and Romans then appealed to the Emperor Conrade, as their superiour Lord.

How much the Popes, Cardinals, and Court of Rome were degenerated from their pristine Usage of preaching and seeking the salvation of the peoples souls, through worldly Pomp, Pride, Ambition, St. Bernard thus complained to Eugenius himself, without hopes of reformation, *Quia non placebit Satrapis, plus Majestati, quam veritati faventibus. Fuerunt ante te qui se totos ovibus pascendis exponerent, pastoris opere & nomine gloriantes, nil sibi reputantes indignum, nisi quod saluti ovium obviare putarent.* Non quarentes quae sua sunt, sed impendentes; impendere curam, impendere substantiam, impendere & seipsos. Unde unus illorum, Et ego (ait) superimpendar pro animabus vestris; Et tanquam dicerent, non venimus ministrari sed ministrare, ponebant quotiens opportuisset sine sumptu evangelium. Unus erat de Subditis quastus, uxa pompa, unaque voluptas, si quomodo eos possent parare Domino plebem perfectam. In omnimodis satagebant, etiam in multa contritione cordis & corporis, in labore & æ-

* Bernardus de Consideratione ad Eugenium, l. 4. f. 242.
2 Cor. 12.
Mat. 20.
1 Cor. 9.
Luke 1.
2 Cor. 11.

rumna, in fame & siti, in frigore & nuditate. Ubi nunc quæso consuetudo hæc? subit dissimilis valde, longe in aliud mutata sunt studia, et utinam non in peius. Cura tamen & anxietas, & amulatio & sollicitudo fateor perseverant. Translata hæc, non imminuta. Testimonium vobis perhibeo, quod nec substantia parciitis, non magis quam antè. Diversa autem locatio dissimilitudinem facit. Magna abusus, pauci ad os Legislatoris, ad manus omnes versificant, &c. Quale est quod de spoliis Ecclesiarum emuntur, qui dicunt tibi Euge, euge? Pauperum vita in plateis divitum seminaur, Argentum micat in luto, accurritur unigue, tollit illud non pauperior sed fortior, aut qui forte citius percurrit. At tamen mos iste, vel potius mors ista non cepit, in te utinam desinat.

In his 3d. Booke, he hath this memorable discourse concerning the great abuse, grievance, vexation of Appeals to the Court of Rome, which he pressed Eugenius seriously to consider and redresse.

* Bernardus de
Consideratione
l. 3. f. 240, 241.

* Annon limina Apostolorum plus jam ambitio, quam devotio terit? An non vocibus ejus vestrum toto die resultat Palatium? Annon quæstibus ejus tota legum Canonumque disciplina insudat? Annon spoliis ejus omnis Italica inhiat inextinguibili aviditate rapacitas? Quid ita tua ipsius spiritualia studia non saltem intercidit, sed abscondit, quotiens sacra & facunda tua abortiri oia fecit inquietum, & inquietans malum? Aliud est quod ab oppressis appellatur ad te, aliud autem quod ambitio in Ecclesia per te regnare molitur. Nec deesse illis, nec huic aliquatenus assentire opus. Quam vero inique fovetur illa, spernuntur illi, utrisque tamen debitor es; illis ut erigas, istis ut reprimas. Et quoniam incidit de Appellationibus, prosequi aliquatenus non erit ab re. Magno in his & pio opus intus est, ne quod magna fuit necessitate prohibum, male utendo reddatur inutile. Michi videtur & in multam posse eas devenire perniciem si non summo moderamine adtentur. Appellatur de toto mundo, ad te quidem in testimonium singularis primatus tui. At si tu sapias, non primatu gaudebis, sed fructu. Apostolis dictum est, In hoc nolite gaudere quod Spiritus subjiciuntur vobis. Appellatur ad te, ut dixi, et utinam tam fructuose, quam necessarie. Utinam cum oppressus clamat, sentiat oppressor, et non superbiat impius unde incenditur pauper. Quia e regione tui perversum, tam recti alienum, ut lætatur qui malum fecit, et qui tulit inaniter fatigetur? Inhumaniissime non moveris erga hominem cui illata injuria cumulare ère dolorem, & labor itineris, & damna expensarum. Sed nichilominus ignavissime in illum non moveris, qui huic tot calamitatum partim author, partim extitit causa. Evigilia homo Dei, cum hac contingunt, moveatur misericordia, moveatur & indignatio tua; Alteram laeso, alteram lædenti debes. Consoletur ille damnorum resarcitu suorum, satisfactione injuriarum, sine calumniarum. Cum isto ita agatur ut pœniteat fecisse, quod non timuit facere, & non de pœnis innocentis rideat. Arbitror idem debere pati illum qui sine causa forte appellavit. Formulam hanc iustitia præfigit tibi, & divine incommutabilis ratio aequitatis, & ni fallor ipsa Appellationum lex, ut illicite usurpata appellatio, nec prosit appellanti, nec appellato obstat: ut quid enim frustra fatigatus sit homo? Quam plenum iustitiæ, ut sese potius læserit qui voluit proximum? Appellasse inique iniquum est, inique et impune iniquarum Appellationum fomes. Iniqua autem omnis appellatio, ad quam Iustitiæ inopia non coegit. Appellare non ut graves, sed si graveris licet. Appellandum a sententiâ: ante sententiâ improbe omnino, nisi ob manifestum gravamen præsumitur appellatio. Qui igitur non gravatus appellat, liquet, quod aut gravare intendit, aut tempus redimere. Non est autem suffragium appellatio, sed refugium. Quantos novimus appellasse pulsatos, quo interim liceret quod nunquâ licet? Nonnullis etiam quoad vixerunt licuisse appellationis suffragio nefaria scimus; Verbi gratia, incestum, adulterium. Quale est hoc tur-

LUC. 4.

turpitudini patrocinari, quod vel maxime formidari a turpibus oportebat? Quousque murmur universæ terræ aut dissimulas, aut non advertis? Quousque dormitas? quousque non edigilat consideratio tua ad tantam appellationum confusionem, atque abusum? Præter jus et fas, propter morem et ordinem fiunt. Non locus, non modus, non tempus, non causa discernitur, aut persona. Præsumuntur leviter passim, plerunque et nequiter. *Vole-tes malignari nonne his potissimum terreri solebant?* Nunc terrores ipsi ex his magis fiunt atque id bonis. Antidotum verum in venenum: non mutatio dexteræ excelsi hæc. Appellatur boni a malis, ut non faciant bona; et supercedent a voce tonitruum formidantes. Denique, appellantur Episcopi, ne illicita audeant Matrimonia solvere, vel prohibere. Appellatur, ne rapinas, ne furtiva, ne sacrilegia et quæ ejusmodi sunt punire ullatenus, vel cohibere præsumant. Appellatur, ne indignas et infames personas a sacris officiis beneficiisque repellere, seu amovere queant. Quod tu invenis remedium morbo huic, ne quod repertum ad remedium fuit, reperiatur ad mortem? Zelatus est Dominus domum orationis factam speluncam latronum; Tu ejus Minister dissimulas miserorum refugium; datum arma iniquitati. Videas præcipi passim partes oppressorum, et prozumpere ad appellandum, non tam gravatos, quam gravare volentes: Quid hoc mysterii? Tuum est considerare, non meum commentari istud. Et cur, inquis, male appellati non veniunt offensuri suam innocentiam, malitiam convicturi? Dico quod dicere ad hoc solent. Nolumus vexari frustra; In curia esse qui proclibibus faveant appellantibus, foveant appellationes. Cessuris Romæ domi cedere satius. Fateor me non omnino credere his. *Quum das mihi in tam crebris appellationibus quæ hodie fiunt, qui pro expensis itineris, vel nummum restituerit illi quem forte appellavit?* Mirum vero si ita omnes et appellantes iusti, et appellati rei vestro examine inventi sunt. Dilige, inquit, justiciam qui judicatis terram. Parum est justiciam tenere, nisi et diligas. *Qui tenent, tenent, qui diligunt zelantur. Amator justitiæ inquit justiciam, & prosequitur eam.* Porro omnem justiciam prosequitur. Nihil tibi et illis, qui appellationes venationes putant. Pudet Elogii, quod apud Ethnicos jam vertitur in Parabolam, duos movimus servos pingues, ut mitius loquar, plus facitiæ quam justitiæ hic; Tu si amas justiciam, appellationes non affectas, sed sustines. Aeruntamen quid emolumenti affert Ecclesiis Dei tua unius hominis justitia, ubi sententia prævalet aliter affectorum? *At istud loci illius erit cum caperint versari qui circa te sunt. Nunc vero non te existimes ociose vacare considerationi huic, quæ appellationes ad legitimam si fieri potest revoces usum.* Et si hinc mea quaratur vel potius curetur sententia, dico Appellationes ut non contemnendas, sic nec usurpandas omnino. Porro horum quid insolentius censeam hand facile dixerim, nisi quod usurpatio quondam videtur inducere contemptus necessitatem, ac per hoc fortè acius insectanda quia amplius noceat: Aut non verè nocentior est mala in se, in partem pejor? Nonne ipsa est quæ ipsum jus quoque natura, aut extenuat at exterminat? Nam sæpe rebus etiam preciosis, precii gratiam non modo demit, sed adimit. Quid Sacramentis acceptius? usurpata tamen ab indignis, indigne tractata, minime acceptantur. Magis habent damnationem, quia debitam venerationem non habent. Fateor, grande et generale mundo bonum esse appellationes; idque tam necessarium, quam solem ipsum mortalibus. Revera quidam sol Justitiæ est, procedens ac redarguens opera tenebrarum; prorsus, fovenda & manutenenda sunt, sed quas extorsit necessitas, non calliditas adinvenit: Usurpatore sunt hujusmodi omnes, non subvenientes in necessitate, sed opitulantes iniquitati. Quid ni veniant in contemptum?

Nota.

Sap. 2.

Mich. 6. 8.

* cervos.

temptum? Quanti ut talibus quoque deferrent etiam de proprio cessere jure ne longo et casto itinere fatigarentur? Plures tamen sua amittere, non ferentes Appellationes minus oportunas, et celsa nomina importunius contemserunt. Dico aliquid quod al rem pertinet, exempli causa; Quidam sibi publice desponsaverat uxorem, adest dies celebris nuptiarum, Parata omnia, invitati multi, & ecce homo concupiscens uxorem proximi sui in vocem appellationis inopinata prorumpit affirmans, sibi traditam prius, suam potius esse debere. Stuper Sponsus, irascunt omnes, sacerdos non audet progredi: frustratur omnis apparatus ille, descendit quisque in domum suam cenam manducaturus; Sponsa a mensa et thalamo sponsi suspenditur, quousque Roma reditum est; Parisiis contigit hoc nobili Galliarum Civitate sede Regia. *Kursum in Civitate eadem*, quidam sibi desponsata uxore diem constituit nuptiarum: Interim emergit calumnia, dicentibus quibusdam, non debere conjungi. Ad iudicium Ecclesiae causa delata est; sed non est expectata sententia, appellatum est sine causa, sine gravamine, solo frustratoque dilationis intuitu: ac ille sive perdere quae pararat, sive dilectam tandem frustrari consortio nolens, nihilominus quod proposuerat, contempta sive dissimulata Appellatione peregit. Quid illud quod in Antisiodorensi Ecclesia nuper a quodam adolescentulo praesumptum est? Nempe defuncto Sancto Episcopo volentibus Clericis alium, ut moris est eligere sibi, intervenit ille appellens, et vetans ne fieret quousque, isset et redisset ab urbe: Cui tamen Appellationi nec ipse detulit. *Nam cum videret se contemni tanquam qui irrationabiliter appellasset, accitis quos potuit sibi tertia die post factam ab aliis electionem, fecit suam. Cum itaque ex his & innumeris talibus liqueat, non ex contemptu gigni usurpationem, sed ex usurpatione contemptum, videris tu quid sibi velit quod Zelus vestitus assidue per te vindicat illum, istam dissimulat. Vis perfectius concutere contemptum? Cura in ipso utero pessimae matris praefocari Germen nequam, quod ita fiet si usurpatio digna animadversione mulctetur. Colle usurpationem et contemptus excusationem non habet. Porro inexcusabilitas ausum explodet. Non sit proinde Usurpator, et contemptor nullus erit, aut admodum rarus. Bene facis tu, quod appellationum negato suffragio, imo suffugio, multa remittis negotia ad cognoscentes, vel qui noscere citius possunt. Ubi enim certior ac facilius notio, ibi decisio tutior expeditiorque esse potest. Quam plenum Gratiae, quam multorum quoque per hoc & laboribus parcis & sumptibus? At quibus sic credas id tibi omnimodis attendendum. Poteram multa de eodem utiliter addere his, sed memor praepositi mei contentus interim occasionem dedisse.*

Nota

* De Consideratione ad Eugenium, l. 3. p. 241.

L. 22.

2 Cor. 12. 14
Thim. 4.

After thus he thus censures the Avarice and Bribery of the Pope and Court of Rome, *Alia tranſeo. Et primum quod occurrit minime tranſcendum reor; Praes, et singulariter: Ad quid? Eget tibi dico consideratione, Nunquid ut de Subditis crescas? Nequaquam; sed ut ipsi de te, Principem te constituerunt, sed sibi, non tibi; Alioquin quo pacto te reputas superiorem his a quibus beneficium mendicis? Audi Dominum, Qui potestatem habent super eos, benefici vocantur; At istud de his qui foris sunt; Quid ad nos? Tu id mendaciter diceris, si non tam beneficis esse, quam beneficiis praesse intendas. Parvi deiectionis animi est, de Subditis non profectum querere subditorum, sed quæsum proprium; In summo praesertim omnium nihil turpius. Quam pulchre magister gentium; Parentes filiis, non filios debere censuit, thesaurizare parentibus. Non mediocris gloria vexilla identidem ipsius, non requiro datum, sed fructum. At jam tranſeamus & hinc, ne quis moram in his meam, avaritia in te notam interpretetur, &c. Hic locus avaritiam carpit, a quo vitio immunis satis tua opinio est, an et opus tu videris? Vidimus tamen, Germanicos detinuisse saccos, sed precio, non massa. Argentum reputatum est farum: summarii non levati sarcinis, onusti nihilominus repatriant vel inviti. Nova res: quando hactenus Roma aurum refudit? et nunc Romanorum consilio id usurpatum non credimus. (vi oblata a pauperibus.)*

In

I shall adde his Notable passage of complaint against this and other Popes frequent exemptions of Abbots, Bishops and others (for mony) from subjection and obedience to their Superiors; by subjecting them immediately to the Pope himself: because his arguments against them hold as firmly in cases of Popes exempting themselves, and absolving Bishops, Clergymen, or Lay-subjects from allegiance and obedience to their Princes: and gives a notable check to the pretended plenitude and absoluteness of the Popes will and power to do what he pleaseth.

Murmur loquor, et querimoniam Ecclesiarum; Truncari se clament, et demembrari vel nullæ, vel paucae admodum sunt quæ plagam istam non doleant, aut non timeant. *Queris quam? Subtrahuntur Abbates Episcopis, Episcopi Archiepiscopis, Archiepiscopi Patriarchis, sive Primatibus.* (He might have as truly added, *Regibus & Imperatoribus suis:*) **Bona ne species hæc? Mirum si excusari queat vel opus.** Sic facitendo probatis, vos habere plenitudinem potestatis, sed iustitiæ forte non ita. **Facitis hoc quia potestis; sed utrum et debeatis? quæstio est.** *Honorum ac dignitatum gradus & ordines quibusque suos servare positi estis, non invidere, ut quidam vestrorum ait; Cui honorem honorem: Spiritualis homo ille, qui omnia dijudicat, ut ipse à nemine dijudicetur, omne opus suum trina quadam consideratione prævenit. Primum quidem, an liceat? deinde, an deceat? postremo, an expediat? Nam etsi consistat in Christiana utique Philosophia, non decere nisi quod licet; non expedire, nisi quod dicitur, & licet; non tamen omne quod licet dicere aut expedire consequens erit. Age, appetimus si possumus tria ipsa opera huic.* **At quomodo non indecens tibi voluntate pro lege uti; et quia non est ad quem appelleris, potestatem exercere, negligere rationem? Tunc maior Domino tuo qui ait; Non veni facere voluntatem meam.** Quamquam non minus dejecti quam elati animi est veluti rationis expertem, non pro ratione, sed pro libitu agere, nec iudicio agi sed appetitu. Quid tam bestiale? et si indignum cuiusvis utenti ratione vivere ut pecus, quis in te rectore omnium tantam contumeliam naturæ, honoris injuriam ferat? Sic degenerando, quod absit, generale opprobrium fecisti proprium tibi: Homo cum in honore esset non intellexit, comparatus est jumentis insipientibus, & similis factus est illis. *Quid enim tam insignum tibi, quam ut totum tenens, non sis contentus toto, nisi minutias quasdam atque eriguias portiones ipsius tibi creditæ universitatis, tanquam non sint tuæ, satagas nescio quomodo facere tuas? Ubi etiam meminisse te volo parabolæ Nathan, de homine qui multas oves habens, unam quæ erat pauperis concupivit, Hæc quoque venias facillimum, imò facinus Regis Achab, qui rerum summam tenebat, & unam vineam affectavit. Avertat Deus à te quod ille audiuit; Occidisti & possedisti. Nolo autem præteritas fructus emancipaturis ipsius, nullus est enim, nisi quia inde Episcopi insolentiores, Monachi etiam dissolutiores fiunt: quid quod et pauperiores? Inspice diligentius talium ubique libertorum & facultates & vitas, si non pudenda admodum ut tenuitas in his, & in illis secularitas invenitur: Matris noxiæ libertatis gemina soboles hæc. Quid ni peccet licentius vagum, & malum liberum vulgus, cum non sit qui arguat? Quid ni licentius quoque spoliatur ac deprædetur inermis religio, cum non sit qui defendat? Quo enim refugium illis? Nunqui ad Episcopos dolentes injuriam? Ridentibus profecto aspiciunt oculis, sive quæ faciunt mala, sive quæ patiuntur. Quæ demum utilitas in sanguine isto? Vereor ne illa quam in Propheta comminatus est Dominus, ille, iniquus, in iniquitate sua morietur, sanguinem autem ejus de manu tua requiram. Si enim extollitur qui subtrahitur, & cui subtrahitur uritur, qui subtrahitur quomodo innocens? Parum est, involvimus ignem arandi apertius, si is qui murmurat secundum animam mortuus est, qui instigat quomodo vivit? Quomodo non reus mortis amborum, et lux pariter, qui gladium dedit unde ambo morerentur? Hoc est quod dixeram, Occidisti & possedisti. Adde, quod qui audiunt scandalisantur indignantur, detrahant & blasphemant, hoc est vulnerantur ad mortem. Non est bona arbor faciens fructus tales, insolentias, dissolutiones, dilapidationes, simultates, scandala, odia, quodque magis dolendum inter*

* De Confid.
1. 4. f. 241. A.

Rom. 13.
1 Cor. 3.

Joan. 6.

Psal. 49. 20.

2 Reg. 12.
3 Reg. 21.

Ezeck. 3.

3 Reg.

ter Ecclesias, inimicitias graves perpetesque discordias. *Vide quam*
verus sit sermo ille. Quam mihi licent, sed non omnia expediunt. Quin si forte
 nec licet, Ignosce mihi, non facile adducor licitum consentire quod
 tot illicita parturit. Tunc denique tibi licitum censeas suis Ec-
 clesiis mutilare membris, confundere ordinem, perturbare terminos
 quos posuerunt Patres tui? Si iustitiæ est jus cuique servare, au-
 ferre cuique sua, iusto quomodo poterit convenire? Erras si ut sum-
 mam, Ita et solam institutam a Deo vestram Apostolicam potesta-
 tem existimas. Si hoc sentis, dissentis ab eo qui ait, Non est potestas
 nisi a Deo. *Proinde quod sequitur,* qui potestati resistit Dei ordinationi resistit,
 et si principaliter pro te facit, non tamen singulariter; Denique
 idem ait. Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit. Non ait sublimio-
 ri tanquam in uno, sed sublimioribus tanquam in multis. Non
 ergo tua sola potestas a Domino, sunt et mediocres, et sunt infe-
 riores. Et quomodo quos Deus conjunxit non sunt separandi, sic nec
 quos subjunxit comparandi. Monstrum facis, si manu submovens
 digitum facis pendere de capite superiorem manui, brachio collate-
 ralem. Tale est si in Christi corpore membra aliter locas quam disposuit ipse. Nisi
 tu putas alium esse qui posuit in Ecclesia quosdam quidem Apostolos, quosdam autem
 Prophetas, alios vero Evangelistas, alios Doctores & Pastores, ad consummationem
 Sanctorum, in opus Ministerii, in ædificationem corporis Christi. *Aque hoc corpus*
quod tibi ipse Paulus suo vere Apostolico figurans eloquio, & capiti convenientissime ap-
pellans totum ex eo compactum perhibet & connexam, per omnem juncturam submini-
 strationis secundum operationem in mensuram uniuscuiusque membri, augmentum
 corporis faciens in ædificationem sui in Charitate; Nec vilem reputas formam hanc
 quia in terra est, exemplar habere celo. Neque enim filius potest facere quicquam
 nisi quæ viderit patrem facientem, præsertim cum ei sub Moyli nomine dictum sit. Vi-
 de omnia quæ facias secundum exemplar quod tibi in monte monstratum est. *Vide-*
rat hoc qui dicebat, Vidi Civitatem Sanctam Hierusalem novam descendentem de
 celo a Deo paratam. Ego enim propter similitudinem dictum reor, quod sicut illic Seraphim
 & Cherubim, ac ceteri qui quævisque ad Angelos & Archangelos ordinantur sub uno capite
 Deo, ita hic & qui sub uno Summo Pontifice, Primates vel Patriarcha, Archi-epi-
 scopi, Episcopi, Presbyteri vel Abbates, & reliqui in hunc modum. Non est parvi-
 pendendum quod et Deum habet Authorem, et de celo ducit originem.
 Quid si alicui Episcopus; Nolo esse sub Archiepiscopo, aut Abbas, Nolo obedire Episcopo;
 hoc de celo non est, nisi tu forte Angelorum quicquam dicentem audivisti, Nolo
 sub Archangelis esse, aut ex alio quolibet inferiorum ordinum aliquem non ferentem sub-
 esse cuique nisi Deo. Quid inquis, Prohibes dispensare? non, sed dissipare. Non enim
 tam rursus, ut ignorem posito vos dispensatores, sed in ædificationem non in destructionem.
 Deinde quaritur inter dispensatores ut fidelis quis inveniat. Ibi necesse est argui, ex-
 cusabilis dispensatio est, Ibi utilitas provocat, dispensatio laudabilis est: Utilitas dico
 communis, non propria. Nam cum nihil horum est, non plane fidelis dispen-
 satio, sed crudelis dissipatio est.

* De Confid.
 ad Eugenium,
 l. 4.

Besides St. Bernard complains much of Popes Bishops, Clergymen at Rome and else-
 where great care of their temporal estates, and carelessness of the peoples and their
 own souls. *Mira res, satis superque Episcopi ad maxum habent quibus animas credant,*
& quibus suas committant facultates non inveniunt. Optimi videlicet estimatores re-
 rum, qui magnam de minimis, parum aut nullum de maximis curam gerunt, unde datur
 intelligi, patientius sermum Christi iactura quam nostram. Quotidianas
 expensas quotidi. no recipimus scrupulo, sed in ædificationem non in destructionem.
 De precio scarum, & numero panum cum ministris quotidiana
 discussio e; raro admodum cum presbyteris celebratur collatio de pec-
 catis populozum. Cadit asina, et est qui sublebet eam; perit anima, et
 nemo qui reputet; Nec mirum, cum nec nostros quidem assiduos sentimus de-
 fectus, &c.

* Bernardus de
 Consideratio-
 ne ad Eugeni-
 um, l. 4. c. 42.

He further complains of the pompous, effeminate, disguised apparel of Prelates,
 Clergymen, and their attendants, after this Popes Canons made in the Council of
 Rhemes against this abuse; which he thus recites; *Discant à te Coepiscopi tui &*
coma-

